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Volume 18

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Hanan Eshel

Exploring the Dead Sea Scrolls

Archaeology and Literature of the Qumran Caves

edited by
Shani Tzoref / Barnea Levi Selavan

Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht

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"ויטע אשל בבאר שבע וגו' " (בראשית כא, לג) -- רבי יהודה ורבי נחמיה.
רבי יהודה אמר: אשל, פרדס: שאל מה תשאל, תאנים, וענבים, ורמונים.
ר' נחמיה אמר: אשל, פונדיק: שאל מה תשאל, עיגולא, קופר, חמר, ביעין.
רבי עזריה בשם ר' יהודה בר סימון: אשל, סנהדרין: היך מה דאת אמר (שמואל א כב, ו): ושאול יושב בגבעה תחת האשל ברמה.
על דעתיה דרבי נחמיה דאמר אשל פונדיק: אברהם היה מקבל את העוברים ואת השבים ומשהיו אוכלין ושותין אמר לון: בריכו! והן אמרין: מה נימור? ואמר להון: ברוך אל עולם שאכלנו משלו, הה"ד (בראשית כא): ויקרא בשם ה' אל עולם (בראשית רבה נד, ו)

"*And he planted a tamarisk* (Gen 21:33) …
[The interpretation is disputed between] R. Judah and R. Nehemiah.
Rabbi Judah said: "tamarisk" (*eshel*) is an orchard. Ask for whatever you would like: figs, and grapes, and pomegranates.
R. Nehemiah said: "tamarisk" is an inn: Ask for whatever you would like: bread, meat, wine, eggs.
R. Azariah in the name of R. Judah b. Simon said: "tamarisk" is a court (*sanhedrin*), as in 1 Sam 22:6, "And Saul was seated under the tamarisk tree on the hill at Gibeah."
According to the opinion of R. Nehemiah, who said that "tamarisk" (*eshel*) is an inn, Abraham used to receive all the wayfarers, and when they would eat and drink he would say to them "Bless!" And they would say: "What should we say?" And he would tell them, "Blessed is the Eternal Lord that we have eaten of His [bounty]." That is as is written (Gen 21:33), "and there he called on the name of the Lord, the Eternal God" (*Midrash Genesis Rabbah* 54:6)

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Preface

Among the most prominent hallmarks of the late Prof. Hanan Eshel's scholarship are generosity, passion, and an integrative approach. As he described vividly in his introduction to his book *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*, Prof. Eshel strove to create and maintain conversation between archaeologists and historians, and to link texts and realia, and the specialists interested in both. This commitment is highlighted also in the Festschrift dedicated to Hanan: *Go Out and Study the Land (Judges 18:2): Archaeological, Historical, and Textual Studies in Honor of Hanan Eshel* (JSJSup 148; ed. Aren M. Maeir, Jodi Magness, and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 2012). Shortly before his untimely death, Prof. Eshel selected the essays in the current volume to serve as a legacy of that aim. In organizing the selections according to provenance, he contextualized the textual finds within their archaeological settings and within the contours of contemporary scholarship. The Qumran texts that stand at the center of these articles are correlated with archaeological and geographic information and with a variety of textual sources including epigraphic evidence and, especially, the Hebrew Bible, Josephus, and rabbinic texts.

It has become commonplace in recent years to describe evidence from antiquity as "snapshots" from the past. Similarly, the current volume may be seen as a sort of album or portfolio of the author's multi-faceted contribution to the field of Qumran studies. Towards this end, the editorial approach has been one of minimal intervention. Save for occasional minor modifications for clarification and for the sake of consistency within the volume, those articles that were originally published in English have been reproduced as published. Translations of Hebrew articles have aimed for maximal faithfulness to the original; English sources have been substituted for Hebrew bibliographic references in the footnotes where possible. Unless otherwise noted, the Hebrew Bible is cited according to NJPS and the New Testament is cited according to NRSV. Where necessary, editorial notes have been added in square brackets. In the few cases where footnotes have been added, they are numbered by the addition of an alphabetic superscript (1^a, 1^b etc.) in order to maintain consistency with the footnote numbers in the original publication.

Despite the eclectic nature of the essays included here, some recurring themes and interests stand out. These include the 364-day calendar, Psalms, purity, the Samaritans, paleo-Hebrew script, and Hasmonean-era chronology and history. Some of the articles touch upon theological concerns. Many of them reflect personal relationships in some way, including but not limited to the

co- authored articles and those with explicit dedications. Above all, the collection signifies Hanan's personal relationship with the academic community at large, comprising his hand-picked gifts to share with colleagues and students.

The volume is divided into six sections: the *Damascus Document*, Cave 1, Cave 3, Cave 4, Cave 11, and "Beyond Qumran."

The initial section is devoted to the *Damascus Document*, the first of the Dead Sea Scrolls to be encountered in modern times, in the form of two medieval manuscripts found among the texts of the Cairo Geniza half a century before the discovery of ancient copies in Caves 4–6 at Qumran. In these articles, Eshel approaches the *Damascus Document* as a sectarian composition of the Qumran Community.

Chapter 1 combines philological and socio-historical examination of the warning against Belial's "three nets" in CD 4:16–18, and the attribution of this warning to Levi. Eshel supports the identification of the "Levi" source as *Aramaic Levi Document* (*ALD*) 6:1–3. He proposes that the word פחז in CD reflects an interpretation of *ALD*'s פחז as "avarice," pointing to the possibility of such a usage in scriptural descriptions of false prophets. He further discusses the scriptural background for the statement in *ALD* itself, and parallel references to the triad of sins, e.g., in *Jubilees* and Ephesians. Eshel develops Menahem Kister's suggestion of a connection between 4QMMT and the polemical use of "the three nets of Belial" in CD to critique the Jerusalem priesthood, and proposes that in the Qumran context the list indicates the reasons for the Community's separation from the Jerusalem establishment.

Chapter 2, "The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran," traces the ancient reception of Jeremiah's predictions of a seventy-year exile in the Hebrew Bible and the Qumran corpus. Scriptural sources indicate a literal understanding of the prophecy during the time of the return from the Babylonian exile (Ezra-Nehemiah, Haggai, Zechariah), whereas Daniel 9 re-interprets the seventy years to mean seventy "weeks" of years, i. e., 490 years. In turn, the 490-year prophecy of Daniel 9 is itself re-interpreted in 4Q390 and the *Damascus Document*. Eshel suggests specific dates for the historical phases described in these compositions. He concludes that the two compositions followed different specific chronological schema, but that both the author of the *Damascus Document*—whom he identifies as a follower of the Teacher of Righteousness, and the author of 4Q390—whom he views as outside the Qumran Community, expressed opposition to the reigning Hasmoneans and interpreted Daniel 9 as predicting imminent redemption.

Chapter 3, "CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran," integrates archaeology, halakha, biblical exegesis, and Qumran texts. Eshel investigates two passages in the Qumran corpus that relate to (im)purity of vessels, against the backdrop of the large number of stone vessels found at Qumran and related sites, and the rabbinic halakha that stone vessels are impervious to ritual defile-

ment. He suggests that the *Temple Scroll* pre-dated the widespread production of stone vessels for storage purposes, and that the later *Damascus Document* understood stone and unfired clay vessels to be generally impervious to defilement, but susceptible to defilement after coming in contact with oil.

The articles in the second section of this volume relate to compositions from Cave 1, with particular attention to how later discoveries re-shaped initial interpretations of the first scrolls.

"Recensions of the *War Scroll*" (chapter 4), co-authored with Esther Eshel, compares 1QM to related documents from Cave 4, supporting Duhaime's assessment that 1QM represents a late form of the *War Scroll*. Focusing upon two examples of literary development, the authors aim to "establish the scroll's composite nature, and to uncover some of the sources on which its recensions are based." The article traces the development of a triumphal hymn on Jerusalem that is attested in three passages, showing that col. 12 of 1QM represents a late recension of the version preserved in col. 19 and 4Q492 (4QM[b]). The authors further argue, with recourse to the physical evidence of the manuscript, that col. 19 is actually from a separate scroll than 1QM, and suggest that it be relabeled as 1QM[a]. The second example compares 1QM col. 2 to 4Q471 frag. 1, with respect to the Temple service. The Eshels suggest that the *War Scroll* adapted the *Temple Scroll*'s description of the guarding of the king, extending participation in the Temple service to include laymen as well as priests and Levites. Further interaction with these proposals can be found in the work of Brian Schultz, in his Ph.D. dissertation written under the supervision of Hanan Eshel and subsequently published in the monograph, *Conquering the World* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

Further discussion of participation in the Temple service in the *War Scroll* is found in chapter 5, "Two Notes on Column 2 of the *War Scroll*." Here, Eshel attempts to resolve two difficulties in the *War Scroll* on the basis of the special status vested in the sabbatical year. The first problem is the enumeration of twenty-six priestly watches rather than the twenty-four stipulated in 1 Chronicles and Josephus. Early scholars of the *War Scroll* attributed this departure from the previously known sources to the Qumran Community's use of a 52-week solar calendar, but this explanation is deemed unsatisfactory since the calendrical *Mishmarot* texts from Qumran Cave 4 also attest to twenty-four watches. Eshel thus proposes that the twenty-six watches in 1QM col. 2 reflect a special accommodation for the sabbatical year, introduced by the author in order to coordinate the 6-year cycles evidenced in the Cave 4 *Mishmarot* texts with the 7-year sabbatical system. The second crux relates to 1QM 2:6–10. Eshel suggests that there is a corruption in this text introduced by a scribe who misunderstood the timing and duration of the stages of the eschatological war, mistakenly identifying the six years of preparation mentioned in column 1 as a reference to sabbatical years. According to Eshel's reconstruction, the war of the *War Scroll* was

originally expected to last a total of forty-nine years, a full Jubilee, rather than forty as per the consensus in modern scholarship.

In "The Two Historical Layers of *Pesher Habakkuk*," Eshel argues that *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab) was originally composed in the second century BCE, but was updated in the mid-first century BCE. He identifies an original textual layer, which applied Hab 1–2 to internal sectarian conflicts during the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness. He posits that the pesher was later revised in response to Pompey's invasion of Judea in 63 BCE, whereupon the Chaldeans (i. e., the Babylonians) of Habakkuk's prophecy were identified with the Romans, termed the "Kittim" in the pesher. The original publication of this article in *Zion* prompted Bilhah Nitzan's response, "Are there Two Historical Layers in 1Q Pesher Habakkuk?" (*Zion* 72 [2007]: 91–93 [Hebrew]). She opined that the distinctions noted by Eshel can be explained as a reflection of a single author's adherence to the content and structure of the scriptural text of Habakkuk, rather than redactional development. Eshel's reply, "Response to Bilhah Nitzan," was published alongside Nitzan's critique (*Zion* 72 [2007]: 94–96 [Hebrew]).

The third section of the volume contains two articles on the *Copper Scroll*. As noted by Eshel (p. 114), the excavation of Cave 3 yielded a modest number of identifiable scrolls fragments—from Ezekiel, Psalms, Lamentations, Isaiah (perhaps the remnant of a pesher), and *Jubilees*, and around fifty additional unidentifiable fragments. By far the most sensational discovery from this cave, however, was the list of hidden treasures inscribed on the *Copper Scroll*. In ch. 7, "What Treasures are Listed in the *Copper Scroll*" Eshel and Ze'ev Safrai introduce an intriguing perspective to the ongoing question of the authenticity of the data recorded in the Scroll. They present a medieval parallel, *Tractate Keilim*, to support the assessment indicated in the sub-title of the original Hebrew publication of this essay: "A Sectarian Composition Documenting Where the Treasures of the First Temple Were Hidden." *Tractate Keilim* records the concealment of the vessels of the First Temple, alongside hoards of silver and gold, and states that the list existed in more than one copy, including one inscribed on copper. Eshel and Safrai outline further parallels between the texts, and present additional traditions regarding the concealment of the First Temple treasures. They conclude that the *Copper Scroll* was written by a separatist group living in the Judean Desert in order to establish authority by claiming knowledge of the hidden location of these treasures. The article contextualizes this hypothesis within traditions of opposition to the legitimacy of the Second Temple, and addresses the possible Essene identification of this group.

In "Aqueducts in the *Copper Scroll*," Eshel correlates information from archaeological excavations of aqueducts in the Judean Desert with references to aqueducts in the *Copper Scroll*. The first part of this article describes four ancient aqueduct sites in the vicinity of Qumran, including the aqueduct to Qumran itself, as well as others that are associated with royal fortresses: Hyrca-

nia (actually, two aqueducts); the aqueduct from Wadi el-Qelt (supplying Tel el-Aqabeh and Jericho); and the aqueduct of Doq at Ras Qarantal. The second section discusses references to aqueducts in the *Copper Scroll*, identifying the Scroll's Secacah with Qumran, and proposing possible identifications of references to the aqueducts of Hyrcania and a hint to the one at Wadi el-Qelt, as well as noting two additional references to otherwise unknown aqueducts.

The section on Cave 4 hints at the diversity of the finds in this cave, the site in which the majority of the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus was discovered. The first selection reflects Eshel's interest and expertise in the Samaritans, the subject of his Ph.D. thesis ("The Samaritans in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: The Origins of Samaritanism" [Hebrew University, 1993; Hebrew]); the second and third articles in this section relate to liturgy and the calendar, and the third is devoted to history and the pesharim—a topic that is given extensive treatment in Eshel's *Hasmonean State*.

In chapter 9, "The '*Prayer of Joseph*' from Qumran, a Papyrus from Masada, and the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim," Eshel assembles variegated evidence to illuminate a Qumran text identified as an anti-Samaritan polemic. This article was originally published in 1991, just after Schuller's 1990 preliminary publication of 4Q372, then designated "A Text about Joseph." In the official DJD publication of 4Q371–372 (DJD 28, 2001), Schuller and Bernstein adopted the more cautious label *4QNarrative and Poetic Composition*$^{a\text{-}b}$, but maintained their characterization of the text as anti-Samaritan. Eshel suggests that the prayer was composed as an expression of opposition to the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim, perhaps in order to commemorate its destruction. This leads to a discussion of the archaeological and textual evidence concerning the date and location of the Samaritan Temple(s). Eshel endorses the view that "a temple dedicated to the God of Israel was built in the city of Samaria towards the middle of the fourth century BCE," and destroyed by Macedonian troops shortly thereafter. He dates the construction of the Mt. Gerizim Temple to the beginning of the second century BCE, under the Seleucids, and maintains that it stood for about eighty years before being destroyed by John Hyrcanus. In the final section of this article, Eshel discusses the "Mount Gerizim" fragment from Masada within this same context, demonstrating that neither the writing of the toponym as a single word nor the use of paleo-Hebrew are conclusive evidence of Samaritan provenance. This tantalizing scrap may thus be, instead, a remnant of another anti-Samaritan text.

Chapter 10, "*Dibre Hame'orot* and the Apocalypse of Weeks," correlates two compositions dated to the mid-second century BCE. The liturgical composition *Dibre Hame'orot* (4Q504–506) is a collection of prayers for the seven days of the week. Eshel builds upon Chazon's analysis of this text, which showed how the content of the different prayers for the successive days of the week reflects a chronological order, moving from references to creation on Sunday through

the patriarchs, Sinai, the monarchy and Temple, and possibly the destruction of Judah and the exile, before culminating in Thanksgiving on the Sabbath. Eshel demonstrates that this sequence follows that of *1 Enoch*'s "Apocalypse of Weeks," which chronicles world history in segments of time units called "weeks": seven weeks from the creation of the world until the end of days and three additional weeks of divine judgment of the wicked. He posits direct dependence of *Dibre Hame'orot* upon the Enochic composition, as it is most likely for the liturgical composition to have drawn upon a prior chronological source. Eshel notes further dependence upon the Apocalypse of Weeks in 4Q247 (*Pesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks*) and also in 11QMelchizedek, as indications of the pervasive influence of *Enochic* writings in the Second Temple era.

Chapter 11, "When Were the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* Recited?" is devoted to another liturgical composition, attested in multiple copies from Qumran (ten from Cave 4 and one from Cave 11) and in a manuscript from Masada. It consists of thirteen hymns that were recited in the course of thirteen consecutive Sabbaths, i. e., one quarter of a 52-week solar year, or one season. Newsom understood the headings within the text to indicate that the hymns were intended for the first quarter of the year, identifying allusions to Passover and Shavuot—festivals that occur in this first season. Maier suggested that the cycle was repeated in each of the four annual seasons. In this article, Eshel presents support for Maier's position, identifying allusions in the text to the Day of Trumpeting and the Day of Atonement, festivals that occur in the third quarter.

Chapter 12, "Abraham's Fulfillment of the Commandment 'Honor Your Father' in Early Jewish Exegesis and the Dead Sea Scrolls," was originally published in the journal *Moed*, with a dedication to Eshel's father and brother. The tone of the article is geared to a broader readership than most of the specialized selections in the volume, but the approach remains representative: intertextual analysis of the treatment of a biblical crux in Second Temple writings and proposed textual reconstructions of two Qumran texts. There is an additional dimension of a theological and ethical underpinning to the question of Abraham's neglect of his obligation to his father by leaving Terah behind in Haran when he departed to Canaan. Eshel first reconstructs the ages and departure dates of Terah and Abraham in 4Q252. These dates and calculations play a role in ancient exegesis, since some commentators aimed to eliminate the gap between Abraham's departure and Terah's death by moving Terah's death earlier than in MT or by moving Abraham's departure later. Secondly, Eshel proposes the restoration of the name Nahor in 4Q225 *Pseudo-Jubilees*, following the indication in the book of *Jubilees* that the duty of caring for Terah devolved upon Nahor rather than Abram. This complements an innovative interpretation found in Genesis Rabbah. According to the midrash, God stated to Abraham "I exempt you from the duty of honoring your parents, though I exempt no one else from this duty." Eshel suggested that this compara-

tive wording was not intended merely to highlight the uniqueness of Abraham's exemption, as it is generally understood, but rather to emphasize that the honor to Terah would be the responsibility of others, specifically Nahor and Milcah.

The fifth section of this volume contains essays devoted to two of the most significant scrolls from Cave 11, the *Temple Scroll* (ch. 13) and the *Psalms Scroll* (chs. 14 and 15). Chapters 14 and 15 are both devoted to the question of acrostics in the apocryphal Psalms from Qumran, the former co-authored with John Strugnell and the latter with Shlomit Kendi-Harel.

Chapter 13, "The Fortieth Anniversary of the Discovery of the *Temple Scroll,*" was originally published in the journal *Moed*. The article is structured on the basis of Yadin's editions of the *Temple Scroll*. In this overview, Eshel summarizes and interacts with Yadin's descriptions of the discovery, acquisition, and publication of the scroll; the compositional principles and techniques of the scroll (especially "harmonistic editing") and its major topics (festivals and 364-day calendar, Temple architecture, Law of the King); and the socio-religious provenance and status of the Scroll in antiquity. Eshel also offers updated discussion of the relationship of the *Temple Scroll* to other Qumran texts, including potential sources and additional manuscripts, the Aramaic *New Jerusalem* texts, and the Scroll's broad impact on Qumran studies, especially, together with 4QMMT, in the shift to interest in halakha. Eshel places special emphasis on calling for a corrective to the erroneous binary framework of the scholarly controversy over whether the Scroll was "sectarian" or "non-sectarian." He argues for a three-fold division (also advocated by Devorah Dimant), distinguishing: (1) scrolls written by the Qumran Community (i. e., "followers of the Teacher of Righteousness"), (2) sectarian scrolls authored by scribes outside of the Qumran Community, and (3) non-sectarian scrolls. This remains a valuable model, even as subsequent scholarship has introduced schema of further complexity and diversity.

Chapter 14 is a wonderful fusion of the approaches of Eshel and his esteemed mentor, John Strugnell, marked by Strugnell's distinctively expressive style. The article begins with a general discussion of alphabetic acrostics in early Hebrew writings, followed by reconstruction and analysis of acrostics found in 4QPs^{f} col. 9–10, in the *Apostrophe to Zion* (attested in 11QPs^{a} and in 4QPs^{f}), and in MT Pss 9–10. The introductory survey contains a useful chart of alphabetical acrostics in Hebrew literature, including notes about the extent of each acrostic, its meter, and irregularities in form which are evaluated as "acceptable" deviations from the acrostic or corruptions. In the analysis of 4QPs^{f} col. 9–10, the authors demonstrate the unity of a text that had been previously published as two distinct psalms but is in fact the remains of a single alphabetical acrostic *Eschatological Hymn*. In the discussion of *Apostrophe to Zion*, the reconstruction of the original acrostic contributes to a greater understanding of the psalm's content and purpose. It is suggested that the expression of yearning for the reconstruc-

tion of Jerusalem even during the time of the Temple sheds light on Luke 2:36–38 and 24:53. In the final section the authors reconstruct MT Psalms 9–10 as a single alphabetical acrostic, resolving longstanding questions about the form and order of these chapters by means of the creative suggestion that the original psalm relied on a variant order of the alphabet (the *elementum*, in which ל-ת preceded א-כ), a convention that has been identified in early epigraphic sources.

Chapter 15 is a further investigation of alphabetical acrostics in an apocryphal psalm. Co-authored by Eshel and his student Shlomit Kendi-Harel, "Psalm 155: An Acrostic Poem on Repentance from the Second Temple Period" applies and extends the technical and formal aspects of Eshel's work with Strugnell, with greater focus on content, structure, and meaning. The authors' identification of the psalm as a penitential composition is highlighted in their new edition and translation, where the arrangement into stichs emphasizes the reconstructed acrostic and the relationship between form and function. The detailed exegetical commentary, sophisticated structural analysis, and penetrating and sensitive literary discussion demonstrate how such techniques as the inclusio structure, resumptive repetition, antithesis, and strategic placement of *Leitwörter* both represent and effect the flow of the movement from the penitent's desperate request in the opening stanza to the favorable response in its conclusion.

In the final section of the volume, the perspective is shifted, as the scrolls are brought to bear on questions with a starting point outside the corpus: the origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch, two minor holidays listed in *Megillat Ta'anit*, and the list of high priests in the first century CE.

Chapter 16, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," co-authored with Esther Eshel and published in 2003, was a groundbreaking contribution to the field of Biblical text criticism, elaborating upon the nature of the "harmonistic" scrolls from Qumran and the question of the dating and origin of the Samaritan Pentateuch. The authors review the nature of the differences between the Samaritan Pentateuch and MT, noting that the Samaritan version is characterized by "sectarian" variants with specifically Samaritan valence (e.g., reference to Mt. Gerizim) and "non-sectarian" variants, most notably a tendency to harmonization of parallel biblical texts, especially inserting elements from a "rich" text into a less-detailed or "poor" parallel text. The authors survey Qumran scrolls that have been identified as having readings and tendencies characteristic of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and demonstrate overlaps, similarities, and differences in the exegetical approaches found in the two corpora, with particular focus on the treatment of the Decalogue. They urge that the Qumran exemplars ought to be designated as "harmonistic texts" rather than, as currently, "Pre-Samaritan" or "Proto-Samaritan" texts—a label that originated in Cross' now discredited "local text theory." On the basis of the stages identified in the types of harmonistic editing evidenced in the Qumran scrolls, they date the Samaritan break-off to the phase that is

evidenced in the second century BCE. This is separated from the dating of the emergence of the Samaritan script, which the authors date to the Common Era, on the basis of epigraphic evidence of the use of paleo-Hebrew script in late Second Temple Judea.

Chapter 17 is a short note regarding "*Megillat Taʿanit* in Light of Holidays Found in *Jubilees* and in the *Temple Scroll*." *Megillat Taʿanit* is an early rabbinic text listing thirty-five annual holidays, most of which were established to commemorate events that occurred in the time of the Second Temple. Eshel points out that two of the holidays listed in *Megillat Taʿanit* occur on dates that were designated in the book of *Jubilees* and in the *Temple Scroll* as festivals of biblical character. The 15th of the third month, which is the date of *Shavuot* according to *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*, is listed in *Megillat Taʿanit* as commemorating an event in which "the men of Bethshean and 'the Valley' were exiled." Also, the twenty-second of Elul, which corresponds to the date of First-fruits of Oil in the *Temple Scroll*, marks an event in which "they resumed slaying the wicked" (תבו לקטלא משמדיא). Eshel offers some brief discussion of the origin and nature of the historical events specified, with reference to Vered Noam's commentary in her edition of the text, and to Josephus and archaeological excavation, particularly the evidence from Tel Itztaba, Hellenistic Bethshean, for the violent Hasmonean conquest of the region in 108–107 BCE. Eshel interprets the establishment of these dates as minor holidays in *Megillat Taʿanit* as an indication that the author of this composition did not recognize the dates as biblical festivals. He therefore infers that the composition is the product of a group that followed a lunar calendar, in contrast to the solar calendar used in *Jubilees* and in the *Temple Scroll*.

Chapter 18, "Some Notes Concerning High Priests in the First Century CE," first published in 1999, examines references to priests in textual material discovered in Jerusalem and the Judean desert. Eshel raises the methodological question of how to go about "correlating and identifying people mentioned in the epigraphic documents with figures known from historical sources." In this case, he seeks to fill in the gap in Josephus' list of high priests. Josephus' enumeration of high priests stops at time of Herod, but scholars have culled references to twenty-eight high priests in his subsequent narrative, and used these to attempt reconstructions of the genealogies of the high priestly houses. In this article, Eshel examines the impact of evidence uncovered in archaeological excavations. The first section focuses on explicit epigraphic evidence, including a stone weight with the inscription "the son of Kathros" found in Avigad's excavations of Jerusalem's Upper City, in "the Burnt House," and an ossuary inscription "Yehohanah the daughter of Yohanan the son of Theophilus the high priest." The second section is devoted to a financial document from the so-called "Seiyal collection." The deed designated "4Q348" contains a list of personal names, many of them characteristically priestly names, and is dated according to the

year of "[…]*os* high priest" (וס כוהן גדול[…]). Eshel proposes identifying the high priest as Joseph, son of Camydus, who served 46–47 CE. He suggests that the unusual formula may reflect an ideological deviation from the normal practice of dating documents according to the reigns of Roman emperors. The final section addresses the "Seal of Eliani." As background for his interpretation of the seal, Eshel supports Joseph Naveh's identification of the "Hananiah inscription" from Masada as a certification of purity, against the view of Yadin, followed by Wise, that it was an indication of ownership. Following Naveh's observation that paleo-Hebrew was used in the Second Temple period for purposes of particular ideological significance or sacred matters, Eshel proposes that the Eliani seal, dated by Nahman Avigad to the first century CE, belonged to the High Priest Eliehoeinai the son of Cantheros or Eliehoeinai the son of Haqqayyaf and may have served for certification of purity.

As noted above, this volume was initiated by Prof. Hanan Eshel but, like so many of their joint ventures, it was brought to fruition through the efforts of Professor Esther Eshel, Hanan's partner in life and in scholarship, and his successor as the head of the David and Jemima Jeselsohn Epigraphic Center for Jewish History at Bar-Ilan University. It goes without saying that this volume could not have seen the light of day without Esti's invaluable cooperation and the generous support of the Jeselsohn Center. Appreciation is due as well to the editors of the Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplement Series (Armin Lange, Bernard M. Levinson, and Vered Noam), and particularly to Armin for his vital role in the publication process, as well as to the production team at Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. We are very grateful to the following colleagues who kindly offered their assistance, especially in commenting upon drafts of the translations that were produced for this volume (listed in alphabetical order): Rachel Adelman, Yonatan Adler, Albert I. Baumgarten, Jonathan Ben-Dov, Moshe J. Bernstein, Amit Gvaryahu, Sandra Jacobs, David Katzin, Haggai Misgav, Hillel Newman, Gary A. Rendsburg, Brian Schultz, Nadav Sharon, Daniel R. Schwartz, and Eibert Tigchelaar. Any errors that remain are of course the responsibility of the editors.

The epigraph at the opening of this volume references the functions of the *eshel* tree in the Hebrew Bible and related traditions. In particular, midrashic traditions recorded in Genesis Rabbah 54:6 interpret Abraham's planting of a tamarisk in Gen 21:33 as a symbol for his great contributions to society and religion. The midrash credits Abraham, whose quintessential attribute is hospitality, with the planting of an orchard, or establishing an inn for wayfarers, or setting up a court of law. This quality of hospitality, of nourishing and nurturing, epitomized Hanan Eshel as a scholar and a human being. His engagement with every interlocutor, whether a small child or a renowned scholar, was infused with a sincere and intense interest, which was invariably motivating and inspiring. This volume is one more example of the generative nature of Hanan's hospitality.

> According to the opinion of R. Nehemiah, who said that "tamarisk" (*eshel*) is an inn, Abraham used to receive all the wayfarers, and when they would eat and drink he would say to them "Bless!" And they would say: "What should we say?" And he would tell them, "Blessed is the Eternal Lord that we have eaten of His [bounty]." (*Midrash Genesis Rabbah* 54:6)

How blessed are we who have partaken of the bounteous fruits of Hanan's scholarship. May his memory be for an eternal blessing.

The editors, Shani Tzoref and Barnea Levi Selavan, Jerusalem
26 Elul, 5774
22 September, 2014

Abbreviations

AB	Anchor Bible
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*
AJS Review	*The Journal of the Association for Jewish Studies*
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review*
BAIAS	*Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archeological Society*
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BDB	Francis Brown, S. R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968)
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologicarum lovaniensium
BIES	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society (= Yediot)
BINS	Biblical Interpretation Series
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CBQMS	CBQ Monograph Series
CIIP	*Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae* (3 vols.; ed. Hannah Cotton et al.; Berlin: De Gruyter, 210–2014)
CQS	Companion to the Qumran Scrolls
CSCO	*Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium.* Edited by I. B. Chabot et al. Paris, 1903–
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DSD	*Dead Sea Discoveries*
EDSS	*Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)
EI	*Eretz-Israel*
EJ	*Encyclopedia Judaica*
FOTL	Forms of the Old Testament Literature
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUCA	*Hebrew Union College Annual*
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
ICC	International Critical Commentary
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
INJ	*Israel Numismatic Journal*
JAJSup	Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements
JANESCU	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University*

JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JJS	*Journal of Jewish Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JQR	*Jewish Quarterly Review*
JPS	*The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text: A New Translation with the Aid of Previous Versions and with Constant Consultation of Jewish Authorities* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917)
JSem	*Journal for Semitics*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Periods*
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSP	Judea and Samaria Publications
JSP	*Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha*
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
MGWJ	Monatschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums
NJPS	*Tanakh: The Holy Scriptures: The New JPS Translation according to the Traditional Hebrew Text* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society)
NRSV	New Revised Standard Version
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PTSDSSP	*The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; 7 vols.; Tübingen: Möhr Siebeck, 1994–2011)
RB	*Revue biblique*
RevQ	*Revue de Qumran*
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
StPB	Studia post-biblica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
SVTP	Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigraphica
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
VTSup	Vetus Testamentum Supplement Series
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*
ZKT	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*

Previous Publications

Following are the original publication details for the articles collected in this volume. We are grateful to Brill Publishers, the Israel Exploration Society, Sheffield Academic Press, the Catholic Biblical Association, and *Revue Biblique* for granting permission to reprint those articles that were previously published in English (chapters 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 14, 15, and 16).

1. "The *Damascus Document*'s 'Three Nets of Belial:' A Reference to the *Aramaic Levi Document*?" in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism* (ed. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 243–55.

2. "The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran," in *Teshura Le-ʿAmos: Collected Studies in Biblical Exegesis Presented to ʿAmos Hakham* (ed. Moshe Bar-Asher, Noah Hacham, and Yosef Ofer; Alon Shvut: Tevunot, 2007), 429–44.

3. "CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February 1998* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45–52.

4. "Recensions of the *War Scroll* (1QM)," co-authored with Esther Eshel, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–35, 1997* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov, James C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 351–63.

5. "Two Notes on Column 2 of the *War Scroll* (1QM)," in *Israel's Land: Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee* (ed. Joseph Geiger, Hannah M. Cotton, and Guy D. Stiebel; Raanana: The Open University of Israel, 2009), 87–98.

6. "The Two Historical Layers of *Pesher Habakkuk*," in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006* (ed. Anders Klostergaard Petersen et al.; STDJ 80; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 107–17. (rev. and transl. from Hebrew, *Zion* 71 [2006]: 143–52).

7. "What Treasures are Listed in the *Copper Scroll*," co-authored with Ze'ev Safrai, *Cathedra* 103 (2002): 7–20 (Hebrew), with the Hebrew title אילו אוצרות נרשמו במגילת הנחושת? and the English title, "The Copper Scroll: A Sectarian Composition Documenting Where the Treasures of the First Temple were Hidden."

8. "Aqueducts in the *Copper Scroll*," in *Copper Scroll Studies* (ed. George J. Brooke and Philip R. Davies; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 92–107.

9. "The *Prayer of Joseph* from Qumran, A Papyrus from Masada, and the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim," *Zion* 56 (1991): 125–36.

10. "*Dibre Hame'orot* and the Apocalypse of Weeks," in *Things Revealed; Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, David Satran, and Ruth A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 149–54. (rev. and transl. from Hebrew, *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 3–8.

11. "When Were the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* Recited?" *Meghillot* 4 (2006): 3–12.

12. "Abraham's Fulfillment of the Commandment 'Honor Your Father' in Early Jewish Exegesis and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Megadim* 46 (2007): 9–15.

13. "The Fortieth Anniversary of the Discovery of the *Temple Scroll*," *Moed* 18 (2008): 42–54.

14. "Alphabetical Acrostics in Pre-Tannaitic Hebrew," co-authored with John Strugnell, *CBQ* 62 (2000): 441–58.

15. "Psalm 155: An Acrostic Poem on Repentance from the Second Temple Period," co-authored with Shlomit Kendi-Harel, *Revue Biblique* 84 (2015): 34–66. (rev. and transl. from Hebrew, in *Zaphenath-Paneah: Linguistic Studies Presented to Elisha Qimron* [ed. Daniel Sivan, David Talshir, and Chaim Cohen; Beer Sheva: Ben Gurion University Press], 29–51).

16. "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," co-authored with Esther Eshel, in *Emanuel; Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Weston W. Fields; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 215–40. (rev. and transl. from Hebrew, in *The Samaritans* (ed. Ephraim Stern and Hanan Eshel; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2002), 129–52.

17. "*Megillat Ta'anit* in Light of Holidays Found in *Jubilees* and in the *Temple Scroll*," *Meghillot* 3 (2005): 253–57.

18. "Some Notes Concerning High Priests in the First Century CE," *Tarbiz* 64, 4 (1999): 495–504.

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The Damascus Document

Chapter 1: The *Damascus Document's* "Three Nets of Belial": A Reference to the *Aramaic Levi Document*?*

Two exceptions to the rarity of allusions to, or quotations from, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical works in the Dead Sea Scrolls are found in the *Damascus Document*. CD 16:3–4 makes reference to the book of *Jubilees*, and CD 4:15 quotes the words of Levi, the son of Jacob, attributed by most scholars to a pseudepigraphical Levi composition.[1] The existence of these allusions in CD has significant bearing on the question of the dating of *Jubilees* and of the composition from which the Levi quote derived. The first part of this article attempts to identify the source of the aphorism attributed to Levi in CD, and to explain how it was interpreted by the author of CD; the second part suggests that this Levi citation was understood as reflecting the reasons for the Qumranites' split from Jerusalem.

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1 Apart from the references in CD treated here, only three other Qumran scrolls (4Q228, 4Q166, and 4Q390) appear to quote *Jubilees*. See James C. VanderKam, "228. Text with a Citation of *Jubilees*," in Harold Attridge et al., *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part I* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 177–85. Menahem Kister ("Two Formulae in the Book of Jubilees," *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 289–300, at 297 n. 44 [Hebrew]) is not convinced that the quotes in 4Q228 are from *Jubilees*; similarly, he doubts that the quote in CD refers to *Jubilees*. In a personal communication he commented that this reservation holds for 4Q228 as well. Evidently, *Pesher Hosea*[a] (4Q166=4QpHos[a])'s interpretation of Hosea 2:13 cites *Jub.* 6:34–38, and 4Q390 (1 7–8; 2 i 10) twice cites the same verses from *Jubilees*. See Moshe J. Bernstein, "Walking in the Festivals of the Gentiles: 4QpHosea[a] 2.15–17 and *Jubilees* 6.34–38," *JSP* 9 (1991): 21–34. For the view that CD 16:3–4 does not quote *Jubilees*, see Devorah Dimant, "Two 'Scientific' Fictions: The so called *Book of Noah* and the Alleged Quotation of *Jubilees* in CD 16:3–4," in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. Peter W. Flint, James C. VanderKam, and Emanuel Tov; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 230–49.

The Three Nets of Belial

CD's pesher to Isa 24:17–18 contains a statement attributed to Levi ben Jacob:

12. …ובכל השנים האלה יהיה
13. בליעל משולח בישראל כאשר דבר אל ביד ישעיה הנביא בן
14. אמוץ לאמר פחד ופחת ופח עליך יושב הארץ פשרו
15. שלושת מצודות בליעל אשר אמר עליהם לוי בן יעקב
16. אשר הוא תפש בהם בישראל ויתנם פניהם לשלושת מיני
17. הצדק הראשונה היא **הזנות** השנית **ההון** השלישית
18. **טמא המקדש** העולה מזה יתפש בזה והניצל מזה יתפש
19. בזה[2]

12. …But during all those years,
13. Belial will run unbridled amidst Israel, as God spoke through the hand of the prophet Isaiah, son of
14. Amoz, saying, "Fear and a pit and a snare are upon you, O inhabitant(s) of the land." This refers
15. to the three nets of Belial, of which Levi, the son of Jacob, said
16. that he (Belial) entrapped Israel with them, making them seem as if they were three types of
17. righteousness. The first is *fornication*, the second *avarice*, and the third
18. *defilement of the sanctuary*. He who escapes from this is caught by that and he who is saved from that is caught
19. by this…[3]

I interpret lines 16–18 as follows: Belial has placed before Israel three nets of [un]righteousness: the first is fornication, the second is avarice, and third is defilement of the Temple. In what follows, CD goes on to detail some of the laws relating to fornication and defilement of the Temple (4:19–5:21).[4]

In suggesting this pesher, its author seems to have not only Isa 24:17 but also Jer 48:43–44 in mind: "Terror, and pit, and trap upon you who dwell in Moab! – declares the Lord. He who flees from the terror shall fall into the pit; and he who

2 The transcription follows Magen Broshi, ed. *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 17, col. 4; emphases here and in succeeding quotes are mine [—*HE*. *Eds*.: Note that in line 17, the manuscript contains the word ההין, but Eshel follows Broshi and others in correcting this to ההון. The reading השניה in the same line in Eshel's original publication is probably an inadvertent error].

3 Translation, slightly revised, from Joseph Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "The Damascus Document (CD)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. Vol. 2: *The Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Möhr Siebeck, 1995), 19.

4 A small fragment of this section was preserved in 4QD[a] (4Q266) 3 i. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 40.

climbs out of the pit shall be caught in the trap." Based on Jeremiah, this in turn led the author to conclude the pesher by stating: "He who escapes from this is caught by that and he who is saved from that is caught by this."

I am by no means the first to attempt to identify the source of the Levi quote. Upon his publication of the two Geniza manuscripts of CD, Solomon Schechter proposed that the reference in question was to the Greek *Testament of Levi,* part of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.*[5] This hypothesis was accepted by R. H. Charles. However, because the *Testament of Levi* contains no verses specifically identifiable as the source for the quote in CD,[6] Charles simply noted a number of verses in the Greek *Testament of Levi* in which Levi warns his children not to sin by fornication, avarice, and desecration of the Temple.[7] For example, *T. Levi* 14:5–6 cites cultic sins, sexual licentiousness, and avarice alongside conjoining with Gentile women.[8] If we view the latter as a form of fornication, then these verses contain sins similar to the ones found in CD. Nonetheless, it is extremely unlikely that Greek *Testament of Levi* predates CD;[9] thus it could not have served as the source for the Levi quote.

Jonas Greenfield's 1988 suggestion that the citation attributed to Levi in CD comes not from Greek *Testament of Levi* but from an early work today known as the *Aramaic Levi Document,* one of the sources for the Greek *Testament,* seems more likely.[10] Greenfield submitted that the reference in CD relates to the words

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5 Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, vol. 1: *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910), xxxv n. 17.

6 This point was noted by Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Document* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 16, and by Hans Kosmala, "The Three Nets of Belial," in idem, *Studies, Essays and Reviews* (2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1978), 2:115–37, esp. 115.

7 See R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:790. Charles suggested a link between the citation and Greek *Testament of Levi* 9:9, 14:5–6, and 16:1.

8 *Testament Levi* 14:5–6 reads as follows: "You will rob the offerings of the Lord and steal from his portions and before sacrificing to the Lord take the choice things, eating contemptuously with harlots; you will teach the commandments of the Lord out of covetousness, pollute married women, be joined with harlots and adulteresses, take to wives daughters of Gentiles, purifying them with an unlawful purification, and your union will be like Sodom and Gomorrah in ungodliness" (Harm W. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* [SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985]).

9 See Marinus de Jonge, "The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and Related Qumran Fragments," in *For a Later Generation: The Transformation of Tradition in Israel, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity* (ed. Randal A. Argall, Beverly A. Bow, and Rodney A. Werline; Harrisburg, Pa.: Trinity Press International, 2000), 63–77.

10 Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Words of Levi Son of Jacob in Damascus Document IV, 15–19," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 319–22. Before Greenfield's article appeared, Józef T. Milik ("Ecrits préesséniens de Qumran: d'Hénoch à Amram" in *Qumran: sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* [ed. Mathias Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978], 95) noted that the statement found in CD is not attested in *Aramaic Levi*.

of Isaac to his grandson Levi, found in *Aramaic Levi* 6:1–3. The advantage of this suggestion is that, like CD, the passage in question names three sins.[11]

1. ואמר לי לוי אזדהר לך ברי מן כל טומאה ומן כל חטא דינך רב הוא מן כל בשרא *vacat*
2. וכען ברי דין קושטא אחיזך ולא אטמר מינך כל פתגם לאלפותך דין כהנותא
3. לקדמין הי<ז>דהר לך ברי מן כל **פחז וטמאה** ומן כל **זנות**

1. And he said to me, Levi my son, | beware of all uncleanness and | of all sin, your judgment is greater than that of all | flesh.
2. And now, my son, I will show | you the true law and I will not hide | anything from you, to teach you the law | of the priesthood.
3. First of all, be<wa>re | my son of all *fornication* and *impurity* and of all *harlotry*.[12]

Comparison of the lists from *Aramaic Levi* and CD shows that *Aramaic Levi* 6:3 has פחז, טומאה, and זנות as opposed to CD's הזנות, ההון, and טמא המקדש.[13] Thus both lists have in common זנות (fornication) and impurity: the טומאה in *Aramaic Levi* can be seen as parallel to CD's טמא המקדש. Yet, any attempt to accept Greenfield's proposal to link the Levi reference in CD to *Aramaic Levi* must, however, establish and explain the connection between פחז and הון. Greenfield solved this difficulty by attributing the replacement of פחז by הון to a scribal mistake,[14] arguing

11 This conclusion has important implications for the dating of *Aramaic Levi*. See Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 19–22.

12 Ibid., 74–75.

13 According to this proposal, the citation in CD is not an exact Hebrew translation of *Aramaic Levi*, but rather a paraphrase of the verse. Moreover, CD's author does not cite *Jubilees* precisely either, even though *Jubilees* was written in Hebrew: "And the explication of their times, when Israel was blind to all these; behold it is specified in the Book of the Divisions of the Times in their Jubilees and in their Weeks" (CD 16:2–4). Most scholars assume that the reference to *Jubilees* addresses the expression "explication of their times" (ופרוש קציהם), namely, the historical division into periods. However, this topic does not appear in *Jubilees*. For other suggestions, see Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Date of the Eschaton in the Book of Jubilees: A Commentary on Jub 49:22–50:5, CD 1:1–10 and 16:2–3," *HUCA* 56 (1985): 87–101 and the bibliography cited in n. 1 there. Other scholars contend that CD's author meant some work other than *Jubilees*. See, for example, Roger T. Beckwith, "The Significance of the Calendar for Interpreting Essene Chronology and Eschatology," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 167–202, at 173, and Kister, "Two Formulae," 297 n. 44. Still other scholars submit that the description in CD is a paraphrase based on *Jub.* 23:11, which states regarding the generations after Abraham: "[they] will grow old quickly…. It will be their knowledge that will leave them…; all of their knowledge will depart." These scholars attribute the reference to *Jubilees* to the phrase "when Israel was blind" (עורון ישראל); see, for example, Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, 790. If indeed CD's author was alluding to a verse in *Jubilees,* taken in conjunction with the verse attributed to Levi, this provides evidence that in citations from nonbiblical works, he did not quote exactly but rather paraphrased.

14 Greenfield, "Words of Levi," 332.

that the ninth-century scribe who copied CD from a Qumran manuscript had difficulty deciphering Second Temple period handwriting.[15]

The absence of any physical resemblance between these words makes Greenfield's proposal difficult to accept, particularly because the concept הון appears elsewhere in CD, with a negative connotation, as in the passage under consideration.[16] As a disciple of the Teacher of Righteousness, CD's author was an adherent of the worldview that rejects private property, detailed in the *Rule of the Community*'s regulations governing communal property. These circles viewed avarice as a focal sin, and accordingly their members held no private property. This makes attributing CD's enumeration of הון as one of the nets of Belial to a ninth-century scribal error problematic and led to the rejection of Greenfield's proposal.[17] The denial of any connection between the verses in the two documents impacts on the dating of *Aramaic Levi*.[18]

Yet Greenfield's proposal is not entirely without merit. I tentatively suggest that, rather than seeking a linguistic link between CD's הון and *Aramaic Levi*'s פחז, we direct our attention to the conceptual relationship between the two. Crucial to this argument is the assumption that the authors of CD and other sectarian works found at Qumran (the pesharim in particular) were learned men, fully conversant with the Bible, which they evidently knew by heart. They certainly assumed a high level of familiarity with Scripture by their audience, an understanding germane to my explanation of how CD's author linked *Aramaic Levi*'s term with הון.[19]

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15 On the discovery of the *Damascus Document* at Qumran in the early Middle Ages, and on the two later copies that found their way to the Cairo Geniza, see the summation by Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (CQS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 15–18.

16 For further examples of CD's negative attitude toward avarice, see CD 6:15–16; 8:5–8; 10:18; 12:7; 19:17–19.

17 See, for example, James L. Kugel, "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings," *HTR* 86 (1993): 55–58, esp. n. 52; Menahem Kister, "Studies in 4QMiqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah and Related Texts: Law, Theology, Language and Calendar," *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 317–71, at 348 n. 141 (Hebrew). Baumgarten and Schwartz ("Damascus Document," 19 n. 38) stress that the passage in CD is followed only by laws relating to fornication and defilement of the Temple, and make no reference to avarice (פחז or הון). Henry Drawnel (*An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran* [Leiden: Brill, 2004], 19–20), who dates *Aramaic Levi* very early, agrees that the passage in CD "echoes the language of *A. L. D.* 16"; nonetheless, he rejects Greenfield's proposal and argues "it cannot be recognized as a citation of the Aramaic work." Robert A. Kugler (*From Patriarch to Priest* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996], 99) simply notes Greenfield's proposal but does not express an opinion as to whether or not it should be accepted.

18 Kugel ("Levi's Elevation," 54–64) dates *Jubilees* earlier than *Aramaic Levi.* Cana Werman ("Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," *DSD* 4 [1997]: 211–25) critiques Kugel's view and defends the accepted approach that dates *Aramaic Levi* earlier than *Jubilees.*

19 For an illustration of the view that the Qumran authors knew Scripture by heart, and alluded to certain verses by using phrases that appear in them, see Hanan Eshel, "The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 409–20, esp. 415–19.

The form פחז is attested twice in Scripture: in Gen 49:4 and Jer 23:32, and the participle פוחז, usually interpreted as reckless or foolhardy, also appears twice, in Judg 9:4 and Zeph 3:4. Most attempts to arrive at the meaning of פחז rely on the better known verse from Jacob's blessing to Reuben: "Unstable (פחז) as water, you shall excel no longer; For when you mounted your father's bed, you brought disgrace—my couch he mounted!" This verse's allusion to a connection between פחז and fornication underlies the use of this word to denote sexual licentiousness in Second Temple Hebrew and Aramaic,[20] a meaning reflected in a Cave 4 document describing the dangers of a wicked woman (4Q184 *Wiles of the Wicked Woman*):

13. ... עיניה הנה והנה ישכילו ועפעפיה **בפחז** תרים לראו[ת לא]יש
14. צדיק ותשיגהו ואיש[ע]צום ותשכילהו ישרים להטות דרך ולבחורי צדק
15. מנצור מצוה סמוכי .[...]. להביל **בפחז** והולכי ישר להשנות ח[וק] להפשיע

13. Her eyes glance keenly hither and thither, and she *wantonly* raises her eyelids to seek out
14. a righteous man and lead him astray, and a perfect man to make him stumble; upright men to divert (their) path, and those chosen for righteousness
15. from keeping the commandment; those sustained with [...] to lead along with *wantonness*, and those who walk uprightly to change the st[atute].[21]

I submit, however, that CD bases its interpretation of this term not on Gen 49:4's meaning of licentiousness, but rather upon Jeremiah and Zephaniah's descriptions of the false prophets, whose avariciousness was a watchword. Jeremiah 23:32 reads: "Behold, I am against them that prophesy lying dreams, saith the Lord, and do tell them, and cause My people to err by their lies, and by their wantonness [ובפחזותם]; yet I sent them not, nor commanded them" [1917 JPS]. Zephaniah 3:4 states: "Her prophets are wanton [פחזים] and treacherous persons;

20 See Jonas C. Greenfield, "The Meaning of פחז," in *'Al Kanfei Yonah: Collected Studies of Jonas C. Greenfield on Semitic Philology* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Michael E. Stone, and Avital Pinnick; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2001), 2:725–30; Menahem Kister, "A Contribution to the Interpretation of Ben Sira," *Tarbiz* 59 (1989–90): 328–30 (Hebrew). The primary early meaning of this root is most likely 'to jump up with excitement', or 'to act in excitement' as documented in 4QSam^{b} 6:7 at 1 Sam 20:34: ויפחז יונתן מעל השלחן בחרי אף ("and Jonathan sprang up excitedly from the table"), as well as in 4QSam^{a} 32:7 at 1 Sam 25:9: ויפחז נבל ("And Naval jumped up with excitement"). See Frank M. Cross et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: 1–2 Samuel* (DJD 17; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 87, 233. On the importance of the Samuel scrolls from Cave 4 for the understanding of פחז, see Armin Lange, "Die Wurzel *pḥz* und ihre konnotationen," *VT* 51 (2001): 497–510.

21 John M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 82–84 (slightly revised). This work also attests to the combination אישוני פחז ("wanton eyes"–4Q184 3 5) and the verb derived from the concept פחז as found in the sentence: לבה יכין פחוז ("Her heart prepares to be reckless"–4Q184 1 2).

Her priests have profaned that which is holy, They have done violence to the law" [1917 JPS]. I propose that the author of CD understood פחז in these verses, with reference to the actions of the false prophets, as avarice, an interpretation undoubtedly influenced by the well-known accusatory verses from Micah 3:9–11: "Hear this, you rulers of the House of Jacob, You chiefs of the House of Israel, Who detest justice And make crooked all that is straight, Who build Zion with crime, Jerusalem with iniquity! Her rulers judge for gifts, Her priests give rulings for a fee, And her prophets divine for pay; Yet they rely upon the Lord, saying, 'The Lord is in our midst; No calamity shall overtake us.'" That these verses from Micah attacking the eighth-century BCE Jerusalem establishment were well known in the late biblical period emerges from Jer 26:17–19. I imagine that the Qumranites identified with these verses, viewing the Jerusalem establishment of their day as tainted with the same kind of corruption and greed described by Micah. Moreover, that the false prophets delivered comforting prophecies in order to receive monetary favors is a recurring theme in Scripture.[22] I submit that CD understood Jer 23:32, Zeph 3:4, and Micah 3:11 to admit an interpretation of פחז as referring to avarice.

Having explained how CD's author could have made a conceptual connection between פחז and הון, I suggest that the triple combination of פחד, פחת, and פח found in Isa 24:17 and Jer 48:43 sparked an association with פחז, which appears in *Aramaic Levi.* The difficult reading "three types of righteousness" in CD, explained here as three types of unrighteousness,[23] can perhaps be linked to Levi's remarks immediately preceding the detailing of the sins, in which he notes his desire to teach his sons דין קושטא,[24] namely, the true or just law.

If my understanding of CD's author's mindset as one of the disciples of the Teacher of Righteousness—who sharply opposed the avarice of the Jerusalem establishment and favored communal property—is correct, then by relying on Jeremiah 23, Zephaniah 3, and Micah 3, he apparently sought, and found, a way

22 See 1 Kgs 22:10–13; Amos 7:12–17; Jer 14:13–18; 20:1–6; 23:9–40; 28:1–17; 29:21–29; 37:19; and Ezek 13:1–19. At the end of his article ("The Meaning of פחז"), Greenfield suggests interpreting Jer 23:32's ופחזותם and Zeph 3:4's פחזים according to the late meaning, namely, as denoting sexual licentiousness, linking these verses with Jer 29:21–23, which relates how the false prophets Ahab ben Kolaiah and Zedekiah ben Maaseiah commit "adultery with the wives of their fellows" (v. 23). See Greenfield, "The Meaning of פחז," 730 n. 15. I find the association of the false prophets with avarice to be more prominent.

23 Negative expressions containing the word צדק, to which the brief phrase מיני צדק found in CD refers, appear in the *Temple Scroll,* for example: "for the bribe perverts justice, and subverts the cause of the righteous" (11QT[a] 51:13); "perverts righteous judgment" (11QT[a] 51:17), and in the *Apostrophe to Zion*: "Who has ever perished (in) righteousness, or who has ever survived in his iniquity?" (11QPs[a] 22:9). For the importance of the latter verse, see Hanan Eshel and John Strugnell, "Alphabetical Acrostics in Pre-Tannaitic Hebrew," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 449–53 [reprinted in this volume, 208–25].

24 *Aramaic Levi*, 6:2.

to link one of the accusations in *Aramaic Levi* with avarice. Note that this sheds no light on how the author of *Aramaic Levi* interpreted פחז, and there is no reason to assume that he understood it as avarice.[25] The different order of the sins found in CD—fornication, avarice, and defilement of the Temple—as opposed to *Aramaic Levi* may reflect how CD's author ranked their importance.

This triad of sins appears not only in *Aramaic Levi* but also in *Jub.* 7:20–21, which relates that Noah commanded his sons "to keep themselves from fornication, uncleanness, and from all injustice, For it was on account of these three things that the flood was on the earth…."[26] Because CD attributes the quote to Levi and not to Noah, this indicates either that *Aramaic Levi* was written before *Jubilees* and that CD's author preferred to quote it and not *Jubilees*, or that CD's author felt that attribution to Levi rather than to Noah would impact more strongly on his audience. A third possibility is that CD's author preferred to quote *Aramaic Levi* because of its use of פחז, as in Isa 24:17 and Jer 48:43–44, as opposed to *Jubilees*' "injustice" (חמס).[27]

These same three sins are also mentioned twice in the NT. Ephesians 4:19 notes how the rest of the gentiles have abandoned themselves to licentiousness, to the practice of every kind of immorality, and to greediness. Ephesians 5:1–3 turns to its audience with the following request: "Therefore be imitators of God, as beloved children, and live in love, as Christ loved us and gave himself up for us, a fragrant offering and sacrifice to God. But *fornication* and *impurity* of any kind, or *greed*, must not even be mentioned among you."[28] This is reiterated in Eph 5:5: "Be sure of this, that no *fornicator* or *impure* person, or one who is *greedy* has any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." The double mention of "greed" suggests that the epistle's author adopted the tradition reflected in CD, which, as we saw, understands פחז as avarice. The author of the Epistle to the Ephesians undoubtedly drew these cardinal sins from sectar-

25 Note that Levi's prayer in *Aramaic Levi* 3:5 mentions three similar sins: ארחק [מני מרי רוח עויה ורעיונא ב]אישא וזנותא ("Make far [from me, my Lord, the unrighteous spirit, and evil thought] and fornication"; reconstructed according to the Greek text). See Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *Aramaic Levi Document,* 60–61. Perhaps this request to keep distant from unrighteousness, evil thought, and fornication is linked to what Levi heard from his grandfather Isaac, found in *Aramaic Levi* 6:3.

26 Kosmala ("Three Nets of Belial," 132) notes the similarity between these verses and the description found in CD.

27 *Jubilees* 7:21–22 were not preserved in the copies found at Qumran and are found only in the Ethiopic manuscripts; thus, it is difficult to determine whether the original Hebrew read חמס or פחז. Note that the editions of both Abraham Kahana (*Ha-Sefarim ha-Ḥizonim* [Tel Aviv: Mekorot, 1937] 1:238) and Elia Samuele Artom (*Ha-Sefarim ha-Ḥizonim: Sippurei Aggadah* [Tel Aviv: Yavneh, 1965], 2:36) translate the three sins as: זנות טמאה וחמס.

28 On the relatively late date of the Epistle (c. 100 CE) and the likelihood that its author was familiar with some of the works found at Qumran, see Helmut Koester, *Introduction to the New Testament* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 2:267–72. Koester cites Ephesians 5:3 as one of the verses that demonstrate Qumran influence.

ian writings, as Hans Kosmala notes.[29] As we shall see, these three cardinal sins have broader significance in the Qumran context.

The Reasons for the Sectarian Departure for the Desert

Thus far, I have attempted to establish that CD's author linked *Aramaic Levi*'s פחז with avarice. Indeed, the greed of the Jerusalem priestly establishment is one of three main factors identified by scholars for the separation of the Qumran sectarians from the people.[30] I propose that CD's author understood the three concepts of sin mentioned in *Aramaic Levi* as alluding to the reasons that prompted his group to leave Jerusalem.[31] Apparently, CD's interpretation of the verse from *Aramaic Levi* created parity between the sins of the Jerusalem priests during the Hasmonean period and the behaviors from which Levi, the son of Jacob, asks his sons the priests to refrain in preparation for learning the laws of the priesthood.[32]

Qumran scholars attribute the decision of the disciples of the Teacher of Righteousness to separate from the multitude of the people[33] and to live in the desert to three main factors: (1) their criticism of the moral and financial corruption which had in their opinion spread among the Jerusalem priesthood;[34] (2) the dispute over which calendar to observe in the Temple;[35] and (3) their stringent halakhic method which was not accepted by the ruling establishment

29 See Kosmala, "Three Nets of Belial," 132–33. This scholar's other attempts to find echoes of this passage in CD in other NT passages are less convincing.

30 See Chaim Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), 53–70; Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "The Critique of the Princes of Judah," *RB* 79 (1972): 200–216; E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 240–57; Daniel R. Schwartz, "On Two Aspects of a Priestly View of Descent at Qumran," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 157–79, at 163–65; David Flusser, "The Social Message from Qumran," in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 193–201.

31 Ben Zion Wacholder (*The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (HUCM 8; Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1983], 119–29) similarly suggested that the three nets of Belial in CD constituted the factors prompting the relocation of the sect in the desert.

32 *Aramaic Levi* 6:2.

33 The description פרשנו מרוב העם ("we have separated ourselves from the multitude of the people") is attested in MMT. On the importance of this statement, see Hanan Eshel, "4QMMT and the History of the Hasmonean Period," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 53–65, at 59–61.

34 See the studies in n. 30 above.

35 See Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Calendar of the Judean Covenanters of the Judean Desert," in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 147–85.

in Jerusalem. The details of these halakhic disputes are found in the halakhic letter known as *Miqṣat Maʿaśe ha-Torah* (4QMMT).[36]

Menahem Kister suggests a connection between MMT and CD's "three nets of Belial." He divides MMT into three sections: one part treats defilement of the Temple (most of the letter), another fornication (2:75–82), and still another avarice (3:5–7).[37] Accordingly, these are the three underlying factors for the Qumranite separation from the majority and, from the Qumran perspective, the halakhot detailed in MMT reflect their opposition to what they viewed as defilement of the Temple and fornication.[38] It makes sense to assign the calendrical dispute to the rubric of defilement of the Temple, because adherence to the lunar calendar would, according to the Qumranites, make the Temple rites unhalakhic.[39]

Not only were the Qumranites aware of the three reasons for their self-imposed exile,[40] as emerges from the criticism heaped upon their opponents in CD, the pesharim, and MMT, but they also mention them explicitly in their works. There may then be confluence between the reasons that brought the sect to the desert—financial corruption, the dispute over the proper way to observe the Temple cult (the calendrical dispute and other laws discussed in MMT), and the laws relating to fornication detailed in the halakhic letter and in CD—and the three nets of Belial. I further suggest that the "three nets of Belial,"[41] or the three reasons for the Qumranite split from the majority, are referred to in the third and final part of MMT, where the letter writer notes in his summation:

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36 On its halakhic method, see Yaakov Sussman, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Maʿaśe ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 179–200. For the views of scholars who attribute the splitting off of the Qumranites to halakhic disputes, see the comprehensive bibliography in Albert I. Baumgarten, "But Touch the Law and the Sect Will Split: Legal Dispute as the Cause of Sectarian Schism," *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 5 (2002): 301–15.

37 See Kister, "Studies in *4QMiqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah*," 348.

38 For the halakhot dealing with incest and accusing the people and the priests of fornication, found at the end of MMT, see Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:54–57. These halakhot must be linked to the ones appearing in CD immediately after the passage citing the three nets of Belial (4:20–5:13).

39 See James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London: Routledge, 1998), 44–51, 110–12.

40 The concept בית גלותו, 'his house of exile,' with reference to the Teacher of Righteousness appears in *Pesher Habakkuk* 11:6. See Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries and Related Documents. The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations* (PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Möhr Siebeck, 2002), 180–81.

41 See the important discussion by Kister ("Studies in *4QMiqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah*," 348 n. 141) where he shows that each of the groups with which the Qumran sect debated—Ephraim, the Wicked Priest, and the Princes of Judah—was accused of failing with regard to two of the three nets of Belial. This insight supports CD's description, "He who escapes from this is caught by that and he who is saved from that is caught by this."

8. ...ואתם י[ודעים שלוא]
9. [י]מצא בידנו **מעל ושקר ורעה** כי על [אלה]אנחנו נותנים א[ת לבנו ...]

8. ...And you [know that no]
9. *treachery* or *deceit* or *evil* can be found in our hand (i.e., in us), for we have given [some thought (?)] to [these issues].[42]

In my opinion, the word מעל, with which the list of three cardinal sins opens in MMT, should be interpreted in accord with Lev 5:15–16: "When a person commits a trespass, being unwittingly remiss about any of the Lord's sacred things, he shall bring as his penalty to the Lord ... He shall make restitution for that wherein he was remiss about the sacred things, and he shall add a fifth part to it." Seen in this light, מעל was interpreted in MMT, and in another Qumran scroll that sharply criticizes the Second Temple priests (4Q390) for enriching themselves "by ill-gotten wealth and illegal profit and injustice"(2 i 7–9),[43] as unlawful enjoyment of property donated to the Temple, also the subject of Mishnah *Meʿilah*.[44] This accusation, which must be linked to avarice, was certainly applied by the Qumranites to the priests running the Jerusalem temple. In their eyes, these priests dipped their fingers into the public treasury, making use of money donated to the Temple to forward their personal interests and status.[45]

Intriguingly, in MMT as well we find a three-sin pattern, which to my mind reflects the same sins as the ones found in the lists in *Aramaic Levi* and CD, even

42 Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:58–59 (cols. 8–9); slightly revised.

43 In 4Q390 we find the priests accused: "and they shall not know nor understand that I was angry with them for their unfaithfulness [במועלם]. [...They shall fors]ake Me and do evil before Me. In that which I do not desire, they have chosen to enrich themselves by ill-gotten wealth and illegal profit and [injustice]" (2 i 7–9). For a discussion of 4Q390, see Hanan Eshel, "4Q390, the 490-Year Prophecy, and the Calendrical History of the Second Temple Period," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, 2005), 102–10. [See also, idem, "The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran," 41–60, in this volume].

44 For this explanation of the term מעל, see Baruch M. Bokser, "*Maʿal* and Blessings Over Food: Rabbinic Transformation of Cultic Terminology and Alternative Modes of Piety," *JBL* 100 (1981): 561–62; Daniel R. Schwartz, "MMT, Josephus and the Pharisees," in Kampen and Bernstein, *Reading 4QMMT*, 67–80, at 76. Menahem Kister has reservations regarding this explanation; see his "Studies in *4QMiqṣat Maʿaśe Ha-Torah*," 320–21, esp. n. 9. I do not find his arguments convincing, because מעל could certainly refer at times to a general notion of religious sin, and at others, specifically denote stealing from property dedicated to the Temple. Indeed, Kister's proposition that MMT reflects the three nets of Belial supports the suggestion that the מעל mentioned in MMT should be connected with avarice; for if not, then MMT contains almost no references to sins related to the pursuit of wealth.

45 The Hellenizing priests who were active in Jerusalem in the seventies and sixties of the second century BCE embezzled Temple funds. Sometimes these Temple funds were sent to the Seleucid kings in order to entrench their political status; at other times, the priests took funds for personal needs. For descriptions of such instances, see 2 Macc 3:4–6; 4:1, 7–9, 32, 39–42; 5:15–21; 11:3, and 1 Macc 1:21–24; 6:12.

preserving the order of *Aramaic Levi*. If so, MMT's שקר is equivalent to *Aramaic Levi*'s impurity and CD's defilement of the Temple, and its רעה corresponds to the fornication found in the other two lists.

The following table summarizes this hypothesis that the lists of three sins in CD and in MMT exemplify how the Qumranites applied *Aramaic Levi* 6:3 to the reasons for their schism with the rest of the people.

Aramaic Levi	CD	MMT	Reasons for Split
1. פחז	2. הון	1. מעל	Financial corruption of the priestly establishment
2. טומאה	3. טמא המקדש	2. שקר	Lunar calendar and different Temple laws
3. זנות	1. זנות	3. רעה	Laws relating to fornication

If I am correct, the triad of fornication, avarice, and defilement of the Temple found in CD derived from the *Aramaic Levi Document* and was reflected in other Qumran works and continued in the New Testament. In the Qumran context, this list of sins also mirrors the sect's rationale for its separation from the majority, alluded to in MMT. Apart from the insight into the conceptual basis for the link between CD and *Aramaic Levi* that I have tried to establish, these conclusions have broader significance because they support an early date for *Aramaic Levi*—late third or second century BCE—if CD, composed in the latter half of the second century BCE,[46] indeed quotes the *Aramaic Levi Document*.

46 The *Damascus Document* is usually dated to the latter half of the second century BCE. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Damascus Document," in *EDSS* 1:169.

Chapter 2: The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran*

1. Seventy-Year Prophecies in the Book of Jeremiah

Two prophecies in the book of Jeremiah predict that the period of Babylonian rule would last seventy years. Chapter 25 records a prophecy dated to the fourth year of the king Jehoiakim (= 605 BCE), in which Jeremiah declared:

> 11 ….and those nations shall serve the king of Babylon seventy years.
>
> 12 When the seventy years are over, I will punish the king of Babylon and that nation, and the land of the Chaldeans, for their sins, declares the LORD … (Jer 25:11–12)

Chapter 29 cites a letter sent by Jeremiah to the elders who had been exiled with Jehoiachin. The precise date of the composition of this letter cannot be determined, but it is clear that it was written after the exile of Jehoiachin in 597 BCE.[1] The letter states:

> 10 For thus said the LORD: When Babylon's seventy years are over, I will take note of you, and I will fulfill to you My promise of favor—to bring you back to this place. (Jer 29:10)

Prophecies foretelling that certain places were destined for seventy years of destruction were common in Israel and in the Ancient Near East. Thus, for example, in the eighth century BCE, Isaiah the son of Amoz prophesied: "In that day,

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* [*Ed. note*: This article was originally published in Hebrew in *Teshura Le-Amos: Collected Studies in Biblical Exegesis Presented to Amos Hakham* (ed. Moshe Bar-Asher, Noah Hacham, and Yosef Ofer; Alon Shvut: Tevunot, 2007), 429–44].

1 See the literature cited in the recent analysis of 70-year prophecies in the book of Jeremiah by Mark Leuchter, "Jeremiah's 70-Year Prophecy and the *Atbash* Codes," *Biblica* 85 (2004): 503–22. Leuchter suggested that the reversal of digits in the Esarhaddon inscriptions (discussed below) was known in Judea. He connected the 70-year prophecies in the book of Jeremiah to the fact that Jeremiah contains two examples of terms encoded in "Atbash" (Jer 25:26; 51:1). I am not convinced that there is a connection between the 70-year prophecies that deal with Babylonian rule in Judea and the prophecies in which "Atbash" code was used to record the names "Babylon" (ששך) and "the Chaldeans" (לב קמי). It is difficult to presume that Jeremiah's intended audience for these prophecies would have been aware of the reversal of digits in Esarhaddon's Akkadian inscriptions.

Tyre shall remain forgotten for seventy years, equaling the lifetime of one king" (Isa 23:15). Another example of this type of prophecy relates to the events of 689 BCE, when the Assyrian king Sennacherib destroyed the city of Babylon, including the temple of Marduk. Babylonian inscriptions state that Marduk left Babylon even before Sennacherib destroyed the temple.[2] Marduk had decreed that Babylon would remain in its desolate state for seventy years. Later, Marduk relented, forgave the people of Babylon, and "reversed" his decree so that seventy became eleven.[3] These parallels indicate that Jeremiah's 70-year prophecies were not to be taken literally. The prophecies referring to seventy years were not intended to delineate precise periods of time; rather, the prophet employed this number as representative of the lifespan of an individual blessed with longevity.[4]

The kingdom of Judah came under Babylonian rule in 605 BCE, and Cyrus king of Persia conquered Babylonia in 539 BCE, so that the description, "When the seventy years are over, I will punish the king of Babylon" (Jer 25:12) is very nearly accurate. Because of this accuracy, and especially because Jeremiah foresaw the destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of Babylonia, there were those who treated his chronological predictions very seriously. They thought that the returning exiles should refrain from building the Second Temple until seventy years had passed from the destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE. As we know, one year after Cyrus conquered Babylonia, he granted permission to the Jews to return to their homeland and rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem.[5] Despite

2 This detail is very significant for understanding the prophecies of Ezekiel in chapters 10–11.

3 This Babylonian "midrash" of the reversal of the decree is based on the fact that in cuneiform records large numbers were recorded in hexagesimal notation, rather than in the decimal system. If a number had a digit signifying "one" unit in the 60s column, then a "one" in the second column was taken to represent ten units, so that the number as a whole was taken to be 70. Reversing the digits, the new number would begin with a "one" in the "ones" column, and the following digit would signify ten, so that the number as a whole was 11. The reversing of the signs changed 70 (𒌋𒁹) to 11 (𒁹𒌋). Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, did in fact rebuild Babylon, and he restored the statue of the god Marduk in 678 BCE. See H. W. F. Saggs, *The Greatness that was Babylon: A Survey of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley* (2nd ed.; London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1988), 117. On this event and its connections to the 70-year prophecies of Jeremiah, see Hayim Tadmor, "The Days of the Return to Zion," in *The History of Eretz Israel,* vol. 2: *Israel and Judah in the Biblical Period* (ed. Israel Eph'al; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1984), 251–83, at 262 (Hebrew); Leuchter, "Jeremiah's 70-Year Prophecy," 509–11.

4 See, e.g., Ps 90:10 "the span of our life is seventy years" and the explicatory emphasis, "equaling the lifetime of one king" in Isa 23:15.

5 See Hayim Tadmor, "The Historical Background of the Edict of Cyrus," in *Oz le-David: David Ben Gurion Anniversary Volume* (ed. Ezekiel Kaufman et al.; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1964), 450–73 (Hebrew); idem, "The Rise of Cyrus and the Historical Background of His Declaration," in idem, *"With My Many Chariots I Have Gone Up the Heights of the Mountains": Historical and Literary Studies on Ancient Mesopotamia and Israel* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2011), 835–59.

this proclamation, the reconstruction of the Jerusalem Temple was not completed during Cyrus' reign. The returning exiles made do with renewing the sacrificial service upon the altar, and laying the foundations for the Temple. On the basis of the permission granted by Cyrus, they began to gather building stones and to arrange for the transport of cedars from Lebanon by sea to Jaffa and then on to Jerusalem, but they did not complete the construction of the Temple. The author of the account of the construction of the Temple in Ezra 1–6 blamed "the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin," i. e., the residents of the city of Samaria, for impeding the construction (Ezra chs. 4–5). It is likely, however, that the process came to a halt because of financial difficulties, due to a number of years of drought.[6] The returning exiles would have found an additional reason to stop construction, in the 70-year prophecies of Jeremiah.[7] A portion of the returning population maintained accordingly that "the time has not yet come for rebuilding the house of the Lord" (Hag 1:2); that is, that the Temple should not be rebuilt until seventy years had passed from its destruction.

The dispute in Judah and Jerusalem that is ascribed in the book of Haggai to the second year of Darius (521 BCE)[8] relates to the question: did Jeremiah really say that the Temple would remain in a state of destruction for seventy years? And if he did say this, what was the intended starting point for the designated period? Should calculations begin from 605 BCE, when Nebuchadnezzar conquered Israel, and Jeremiah pronounced the first prophecy that mentioned seventy years? Or from 597 BCE, the exile of Jehoiachin? Or perhaps from the destruction of the First Temple in 586 BCE? Haggai thought that the Temple ought to have been rebuilt already in the days of Cyrus, and he argued against those who opposed this view. Presumably, quite a few people would have made calculations concerning when exactly to begin counting the seventy years. Zechariah stated that in the days of Darius, an angel of the Lord cried out, "O Lord of hosts! How long will You withhold pardon from Jerusalem and the towns of Judah, which you placed under a curse seventy years ago?" (Zech 1:12; see also Zech 7:5). The author of the account of the construction of the Temple in Ezra 1–6 opened his work with the statement, "In the first year of King Cyrus of Persia, when the word of the Lord spoken by Jeremiah was fulfilled, the Lord roused the spirit of King Cyrus of Persia to issue a proclamation throughout his

6 See Hag 1:5–6, 10–11; 2:16–19; Zech 8: 9–13.

7 See Hayim Tadmor, "'The Appointed Time Has Not Yet Arrived': The Historical Background of Haggai 1:2," in *Ki Baruch Hu*: *Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine* (ed. Robert Chazan, William W. Hallo, and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 401–8; repr. in Tadmor, *"With My Many Chariots"*, 861–69.

8 In support of dating the laying of the foundation of the sanctuary to the end of 521 BCE rather than 520 BCE, see Elias J. Bickerman, "En marge de l'Écriture," *RB* 88 (1981): 23–28, and Tadmor, "'The Appointed Time Has Not Yet Arrived.'"

realm…" (Ezra 1:1; cf. 2 Chr 36:21–22). One of the poets of the book of Psalms wrote in this context, in an address to the Lord: "You will surely arise and take pity on Zion, for it is time to be gracious to her; the appointed time has come" (Ps 102:14).

The foundation ceremony for the divine sanctuary took place at the end of 521 BCE, following Haggai's rebuke and in accordance with Zechariah's view that the seventy years had already ended (Hag 2:10–19; Zech 8:9–13; Ez 4:24).[9] But the actual building of the Temple proceeded gradually and was completed only on the third of Adar in the sixth year of Darius' reign (Ezra 6:15), i. e., in 515 BCE— half a year after the completion of seventy years from the destruction of the First Temple. It may be supposed that those returnees from exile who had been present at the fulfillment of Jeremiah's prophecies of destruction were determined to wait for the completion of seventy years from the destruction of the First Temple, before finishing the construction of the Second Temple. It may therefore be determined that the 70-year prophecies of Jeremiah "fulfilled themselves" in a precise manner.

2. The 490-Year Prophecy in the Book of Daniel

In chapter 9 of the book of Daniel, the 70-year prophecies of Jeremiah were updated, on the basis of the view that these prophecies were not intended to represent a period of seventy years, but rather a period of seventy "weeks" of years, i. e., 70 x 7 = 490 years. Verses 2 and 24–27 of Dan 9 state:

> [2]In the first year of his reign, I, Daniel, consulted the books concerning the number of years that, according to the word of the LORD that had come to Jeremiah the prophet, were to be the term of Jerusalem's desolation—seventy years….
>
> [24]"Seventy weeks have been decreed for your people and your holy city until the measure of transgression is filled and that of sin complete, until iniquity is expiated and eternal righteousness ushered in; and prophetic vision ratified, and the Holy of Holies anointed. [25]You must know and understand: From the issuance of the word to restore and rebuild Jerusalem until the [time of the] anointed leader is seven weeks; and for sixty-two weeks it will be rebuilt, square and moat, but in a time of distress. [26]And after those sixty-two weeks, the anointed one will disappear and vanish. The army of a leader who is to come will destroy the city and the sanc-

9 On this ceremony and its significance, see the discussion of Yoel Ben Nun, "The Day of the Laying of the Foundation of the Temple (יום ייסוד היכל ה') According to the Prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah," *Megadim* 12 (1991): 49–97 (Hebrew) (rev., in *"By Your Light We Will See Light": Collected Chanukah Articles in Memory of Lt. Daniel Cohen* [ed. Israel Rozenson and Rabbi Azaryah Ariel; Jerusalem: private publication by the Cohen family, 2004], 163–87 [Hebrew]).

> tuary, but its end will come through a flood. Desolation is decreed until the end of war. [27]During one week he will make a firm covenant with many. For half a week he will put a stop to the sacrifice and the meal offering. At the corner [of the altar] will be an appalling abomination until the decreed destruction will be poured down upon the appalling thing."[10]

The period of 490 years in Dan 9 seems to be divided into three sub-sections: (1) "Seven weeks," i. e., the 49 year period of Babylonian exile;[11] (2) "Sixty-two weeks," i. e., 434 years—most of the Second Temple era, from the rebuilding of Jerusalem until the days of Antiochus IV; (3) "One week," i. e., 7 years; during the first half of this period, sacrifice and offering would cease because the abomination of desolation would be brought into the Holy of Holies, but in the second half of this period, redemption would arrive.[12]

Various groups within Second Temple Judaism ascribed great importance to the prophecy of 490 years in the book of Daniel, and different calculations were made in order to determine the end of the 490 years and the arrival of the period of redemption.[13]

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10 For a critical interpretation of these verses, see John J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 344–60.

11 Jerusalem was destroyed in 586 BCE, and Cyrus granted the Jews permission to return in 538 BCE. The 49 year period in Dan 9 is thus historically accurate.

12 The description of the first half of the "week" in Dan 9:27 refers to the period when the statue was in the sanctuary: "For half a week he will put a stop to the sacrifice and the meal offering. At the corner [of the altar] will be an appalling abomination." See Dan 11:31, "they will desecrate the temple, the fortress; they will abolish the regular offering and set up the appalling abomination"; and Collins, *Daniel*, 357–58.

13 See Lester L. Grabbe, "'The End of the Desolations of Jerusalem': From Jeremiah's 70 Years to Daniel's 70 Weeks of Years," in *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis: Studies in Memory of W. H. Brownlee* (ed. Craig A. Evans and William F. Stinespring; Homage 10; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 67–72; Devorah Dimant, "The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9, 24–27) in the Light of New Qumranic Texts," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed. A. S. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1993), 57–76, at 58–61; Geza Vermes, "Eschatological World View in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Weston W. Fields; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 479–94, at 481–84; Daniel C. Olson, "Historical Chronology after the Exile according to *1 Enoch* 89–90," *JSP* 15 (2005): 63–74. In the last-mentioned article, Olson suggested that also in the final section of the *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 En*. 89:59–90:12), the 70-year prophecies of Jeremiah were interpreted to mean 490 years. While the *Animal Apocalypse* does indeed refer to seventy years, which are separated into four sub-divisions (of 12+23+23+12), I am not convinced that its author intended for each number to be multiplied by 7. See Devorah Dimant, "The Four Empires of Daniel, Chapter 2, in the Light of Texts from Qumran," in *Rivkah Shatz-Uffenheimer Memorial Volume* (ed. Rachel Elior and Joseph Dan; Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Thought 12; 2 vols; Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1996), 1:33–41, at 40 (Hebrew).

In this article, I discuss two compositions found at Qumran, in which we see different calculations made during the Second Temple period, based upon the 490-year prophecy in the book of Daniel.

3. The 490-year Prophecy in a Composition Attributed to Jeremiah

The manuscript designated 4Q390 does not contain any expressions typical of the "sectarian" compositions from Qumran.[14] It is thus likely that it was not composed by a scribe who belonged to the *Yahad* community.[15] This composition contains very sharp accusations against the priests who functioned during the Babylonian exile and the Second Temple period.[16] The details recorded in 4Q390 enable us to access the historical perspective of the author of this composition, and the way in which he interpreted the 490-year prophecy in the book of Daniel.[17] It seems that just as the 490-year prophecy updated the 70-year proph-

14 See Devorah Dimant, "New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha – 4Q390," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress; Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, March 1991* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:405–47. John Strugnell thought that 4Q390 was part of the composition that he termed "Pseudo-Ezekiel" or "Second Ezekiel" (see John Strugnell, "4Q Second Ezekiel (4Q385)," *RevQ* 13,1–4 [1988]: 45–58). Dimant (ibid.) initially thought that this composition had been ascribed to Moses, but in the official publication she identified the scroll as a composition attributed to the prophet Jeremiah. See Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4:XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 91–96.

15 Dimant pointed to the similarity in content between the "Apocryphon of Jeremiah" (including 4Q390) and sectarian compositions, and suggested that the Apocryphon belonged to an intermediate category between the sectarian Qumran compositions and the non-sectarian writings. See Dimant, DJD 30:110–13.

16 Dimant held that the non-sectarian compositions were pre-sectarian. In her view, after the founding of the community, no additional writings found their way into the hands of the community. She thus tended to date all non-sectarian compositions in the corpus earlier than the second century BCE. There is no reason, however, to assume that new members joining the community would not have brought along with them compositions written after its founding. With respect to paleography, Dimant determined that 4Q390 was copied between the years 30 and 20 BCE. See Dimant, DJD 30:236–37. In light of this data, there is no obstacle to understanding 4Q390 as a first century BCE updating of the 490-year prophecy found in the later section of the book of Daniel (chs. 7–12), which was edited in 165 BCE.

17 Cana Werman observed that the author of 4Q390 used a 490-year chronology, but she did not identify the week in which Israel would be "delivered up to the sword" in 4Q390 with the week mentioned in the book of Daniel. She also did not note that the composition was written in order to encourage the opponents of Alexander Jannaeus, who believed that after seventy years of Hasmonean rule, these priests ought be removed from the stage of history. See Cana Werman, "The Eschaton in Second Temple Literature," *Tarbiz* 72 (2002): 37–57, at 46–51 (Hebrew). [See now, in English, eadem, "Epochs and End-time: The 490-year Scheme in Second Temple Literature," *DSD* 13 (2006): 229–55].

ecy that appeared in the book of Jeremiah, so did 4Q390 update the prophecy that appeared in the book of Daniel regarding the division of a 490 year period.[18] The first column of this scroll states:[19]

2. [ו]מפ[ני וא]שוב [ונתתים] ביד בני אהר[ון ...]שבעים שנה [...]
3. ומשלו בני אהרון בהמה ולא יתהלכו [בדר]כי אשר אנוכי מצוך אשר
4. תעיד בהם ויעשו גם הם את הרע בעיני ככל אשר עשו ישראל
5. בימי ממלכתו הרישונים מלבד העולים רישונה מארץ שבים לבנות
6. את המקדש ואדברה בהמה ואשלחה אליהם מצוה ויבינו בכול אשר
7. עזבו הם ואבותיהם ומתום הדור *vac* ההוא ביובל השביעי
8. לחרבן הארץ ישכחו חוק ומועד ושבת וברית ויפרו הכול ויעשו
9. הרע בעיני והסתרתי פני מהמה ונתתים ביד איביהם והסגרת[ים]
10. לחרב והשארתי מהם פליטים למע[ן] אשר לא י[כ]ל[ו] בחמתי [ו]בהסתר פ[ני]
11. מהם ומשלו בהמה מלאכי המש[ט]מות ומ[אסתים ... ו]ישוב[ו]
12. ויעשו [את] הרע בעינ[י] ויתהלכו בשר[ירות לבם ...]

2. [and]be[fore me and a]gain I shall [deliver them] into the hand of the sons of Aar[on ...] seventy years[...]
3. And the sons of Aaron will rule over them, and they will not walk [in] my [wa]ys, which I command you so that
4. you may warn them. And they too will do what is evil in my eyes, like all that which the Israelites had done
5. in the former days of their kingdom, except for those who will come first from the land of their captivity to build
6. the Temple. And I shall speak to them and I shall send them commandments, and they will understand everything which
7. they and their fathers had abandoned. And from (the time) when that generation comes to an end, in the seventh jubilee
8. of the devastation of the land, they will forget statute and festival and Sabbath and covenant. And they will violate everything and they will do
9. what is evil in my eyes. Therefore I shall hide my face from them and deliver them into the hands of their enemies; and [I] shall deliver [them up]
10. to the sword. But I shall leave among them refugees, s[o] that [t]he[y] should not be an[nihi]lated in my wrath [and] when [my] fa[ce] is hidden

18 Dimant noted that the calculation in 4Q390 employs the "system of weeks" for its division of history, but she did not address the fact that it divides history into 490 years. See Dimant, "Four Empires." I have devoted a separate article to the connection between 4Q390 and 490-year prophecies, in which I did not discuss Jeremiah's 70-year prophecies and the chronology of the *Damascus Document*. See Hanan Eshel, "4Q390, the 490-Year Prophecy, and the Calendrical History of the Second Temple Period," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 102–10.

19 The text and translation of 4Q390 is cited throughout according to Dimant, DJD 30: 237–53. [The excerpted citations below have been adjusted from the original Hebrew article. They are formulated in the past tense, rather than retaining the future forms of the *ex eventu* prophecy in the text.—*Eds.*].

11. from them. And the Angels of Mas[te]mot will rule over them, and [I shall] sp[urn them and they] will return
12. to do [wh]at is evil in[my] eyes, and they will walk in the will[fulness of their heart …]

The historical overview continues in the next column of the scroll. The first column of fragment 2 of 4Q390 states:[20]

1. [ ]…ויחללו
2. [א]ת[ ]בית[י ומזבחי וא]ת מקדש הקד[ש …]
3. נעשה כן […] כי אלה יבואו עליהם[…] ו[ת]הי
4. ממשלת בליעל בהם להסגירם לחרב שבוע שנים[… ו]ביובל ההוא יהיו
5. מפרים את כול חקותי ואת כל מצותי אשר אצוה א[ותם ואשלח בי]ד עבדי הנביאים
6. וי[ח]ל[ו] להריב אלה באלה שנים שבעים מיום הפר ה[אלה וה]ברית אשר יפרו ונתתים
7. [ביד מל]אכי המשטמות ומשלו בהם ולא ידעו ולא יבינו כי קצפתי עליהם במועלם
8. [אשר עז]בוני ויעשו הרע בעיני ובאשר לא חפצתי בחרו להתגבר להון ולבצע
9. [ולחמס ואי]ש אשר לר[ע]הו יגזולו ויעשוקו איש את רעהו ואת מקדשי יטמאו
10. [ואת שבתותי יחללו] את [מו]עדי יש[כח]ו ובבני[נכר]יחלל[ו] את זר[ע]ם כוהניהם יחמסו

1. [… and they will desecrate[21]]
2. [my] house[and my altar and th]e holy of Ho[lies …]
3. so it was done […] for these things will befall them[…] and [there] will be
4. the rule of Belial over them so as to deliver them to the sword for a week of years [… and] in that jubilee they will be
5. violating all my statutes and all my commandments which I shall have commanded th[em and sent in the ha]nd of my servants, the prophets.
6. And [t]he[y] will be[gi]n to quarrel among themselves for seventy years, from the day of the violation of the [oath and the] covenant which they have violated. So I shall deliver them
7. [into the hand of the An]gels of Mastemot, and they will rule over them. And they will not know and they will not understand that I was angry with them because of their trespass,

20 According to Dimant, all of the scrolls fragments attributed to Jeremiah are different copies of a single composition, which she called "Apocryphon of Jeremiah." In the article in which these fragments were published for the first time, Dimant proposed that the second column of 4Q390 immediately followed the first column (idem, "New Light," 413). In the official publication, however, she suggested that there had been additional columns between these two, and that these columns had contained parts of the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah* that are preserved in other scrolls (DJD 30:236). Since there is no physical overlap between 4Q390 and the extant fragments of other scrolls that were attributed to Jeremiah, there is no certainty that the composition preserved in 4Q390 is the same as that of the other scrolls. In the earlier article, Dimant noted that Strugnell was inclined not to associate 4Q390 with the other scrolls (Dimant, "New Light," 412, n. 22). As I will show below, it seems most likely that the second column of 4Q390 is a direct continuation of the first.

21 The restoration here is mine—*HE*. See the discussion below.

8. [by which they will have for]saken me, and will have done what is evil in my eyes, and what I did not want they will have chosen: to pursue wealth and gain
9. [and violence, ea]ch robbing that which belongs to his neigh[b]our, and oppressing each other. They will defile my Temple,
10. [they will profane my sabbaths,] they will for[ge]t my [fes]tivals, and with fo[reign]ers [t]he[y] will profane their offsp[ring]. Their priests will commit violence

From the description in the beginning of the first column of the scroll, it should come as no surprise that the priests did not conduct themselves properly during the Second Temple period. Already during the "seventy years" mentioned in line 2, i. e., during the Babylonian exile, the priests did not walk in the ways of the Lord, but continued to act as they had during the time of the first Temple (lines 3–5).[22] Line 2 emphasizes: "I shall [deliver them]into the hand of the sons of Aar[on]." This attests to the correct historical understanding that in the days of the Second Temple the leadership of the nation of Israel passed from the house of David to the priests. For the group of exiles returning to Judah, God sent prophets: "And I shall speak to them and I shall send them commandments" (line 6), presumably a reference to Haggai and Zechariah who prophesied in the days of Darius. The resumption of the construction of the Temple marked the beginning of the period in which the returning exiles "understood everything that they and their fathers had abandoned" (lines 6–7). This period ended in the seventh jubilee from the destruction of the Land,[23] which apparently corresponds to the 343rd year (according to the calculation of 49 × 7) from the destruction of the First Temple.[24] At that time, the priests "forgot statute and festival and Sabbath" (line 8), indicating that they stopped managing the Temple

22 A similar claim, that the priests of the period of the Babylonian exile ceased to follow the proper path, is attested in the "Prayer of Joseph," preserved in 4Q371 and 4Q372, where it is written: ויחדל לוי להב[ין לחקי אל וגם יהודה יחד עמו]. See Eileen Schuller and Moshe J. Bernstein, "4QNarrative and Poetic Composition," in Douglas M. Gropp et al. (eds.), *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh*; and Eileen Schuller et al. (eds.), *Qumran, Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 151–197, at 157, 167; Hanan Eshel, "The Prayer of Joseph from Qumran, a Papyrus from Masada and the Samaritan Temple on APGAPIZIN," *Zion* 56 (1991): 125–36, at 125–29 (Hebrew; [Engl. transl. in this volume, 149–63]).

23 Enumerating dates according to jubilees and weeks was common in the Second Temple era. Such dates are found especially in the book of *Jubilees* and in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 En*. 91:11–17; 93:1–10). See Dimant, "Seventy Weeks Chronology," 61–72.

24 Interestingly, a similar calculation is brought by Josephus in *War* 7.435, where it is stated that Onias' temple in Egypt stood for 343 years. Most scholars have favored emending this to 243 years due to historical considerations. However, it seems likely that the determination of the 343-year duration is based on a belief that it stood for seven jubilees. See H. St. John Thackeray, *Josephus: The Jewish War, Books IV–VII*, (LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1928), 627.

according to the calendar that the author considered legitimate.[25] In addition to accusing the priests of violating the sacred festivals, the author also stated that they forgot the covenant and "violated everything" (line 8). Because of these sins God gave the Jews into the hands of their enemies—presumably a reference to Antiochus IV. Nevertheless, he ensured that the Jews would not be utterly obliterated (lines 9–10).

In the beginning of frag. 2 there is reference to a "week of years" (line 4). Despite the fragmentary state of lines 2–4 of this column, we may surmise that the week in which the altar, the Temple, and the men of Judah were "delivered to the sword" and became subject to the rule of Belial, is the same "week" mentioned in Dan 9:27. Of this week, it is written, "For half a week he will put a stop to the sacrifice and the meal offering. At the corner [of the altar] will be an appalling abomination." It seems that the beginning of the week in the book of Daniel and in 4Q390 corresponds to the three years of Antiochus IV's reign during which the Temple was defiled by placing a statue of Zeus in the sanctuary (167–164 BCE). I propose that the word ויחללו, "and they profaned," should be restored at the end of the first line of the second fragment, to yield: "[And they profaned my]house[and my altar, and th]e Holy of Ho[lies]."[25a] Throughout this time, the priests were "violating all my statutes and all my commandments" (line 5), apparently a reference to the Hellenizing high priests, Jason, Menelaus, and Alcimus, who served in the Temple in the 70s and 60s of the second century BCE. It is difficult to determine whether the statement "And they will begin to quarrel among themselves" (line 6), alludes to the conflicts that erupted between these high priests (i. e., to the violent rivalry between Jason and Menelaus described in 2 Macc 5:5–10), or to the Hasmonean revolt.

The last historical phase described in 4Q390 seems to be the period of Hasmonean rule, which began after the "week" in which the Temple was desecrated. According to the scroll, this period will last "seventy years" (line 6). During this

25 On the basis of Dan 7:25, it may be inferred that Antiochus IV changed the calendar used in the Jerusalem Temple: "he will think of changing times and laws" (ויסבר להשניה זמנין ודת), i. e., he will "contrive" to institute these changes. As we shall see, it is possible that the author of 4Q390 also alludes to this event. For the suggestion that the verse in Daniel refers to changing the Temple calendar from a solar one to a lunar one in the time of Antiochus IV, see Annie Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et la secte de Qumran: Ses origines bibliques," *VT* 3 (1953): 250–64, at 263; James C. VanderKam, "2 Maccabees 6:7a and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem," *JSJ* 12 (1981): 52–74, at 60; Gabriele Boccaccini, "The Solar Calendars of Daniel and Enoch," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; 2 vols.; VTSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 2:311–28.

25a [*Eds*.: Dimant, DJD 30:244–43, restores a *waw* at the beginning of line 2: ואת. So too, now, Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2013), 2:248–49. This would preclude the precise reconstruction proposed here; however, the essence of the restoration could be retained by restoring the word חללו later in that line: [..ש חללו]ד הקד[ש מקד]ת ומזבחי וא[ת בית]י [וא] instead of ויחללו at the end of line 1].

time, the nation of Israel will be under the rule of "[the An]gels of Mastemot" (line 7), for the Hasmoneans "will not know and will not understand." The accusation of "trespass" (מעל) at the end of line 7 may allude to Hasmonean appropriation of funds from the Temple treasury,[26] as noted in the continuation in lines 8–9, that they "pursue wealth and gain [and violence]." In addition to accusing the Hasmoneans of the greedy pursuit of wealth, the author also states that they extorted one another, defiled the Temple, violated the Sabbath, and neglected festivals (lines 9–10). This last accusation presumably attests to the author's view that the Hasmoneans did not conduct Temple affairs according to the correct calendar. At the end of this first column of fragment 2, it is stated that they, i. e., the Hasmonean priests, profaned their offspring by mixing with foreigners and violated the priesthood (line 10).

The author of 4Q390 has updated the 490-year prophecy found in Daniel 9:24 by sub-dividing it into four phases:[27] (1) 70 years of Babylonian exile[28] (2) 343 years in which the returned exiles conducted themselves appropriately (3) 7 years (the "week") of the reign of Antiochus IV and (4) 70 years of Hasmonean rule.[29]

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26 In the original biblical context of Lev 5:14–15, the term מעל referred to illicit personal benefit from Temple property, which is the subject of the tractate *Meʿilah* in the Mishnah. On the concept of מעל before and after the destruction of the Second Temple, see Baruch M. Bokser, "*Maʿal* and Blessings Over Food: Rabbinic Transformation of Cultic Terminology and Alternative Modes of Piety," *JBL* 100 (1981): 557–74. On the use of מעל in this sense in the Hebrew of the Qumran corpus as well, see Daniel R. Schwartz, "MMT, Josephus and the Pharisees," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*) ed. John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 67–80, at 76–77; Hanan Eshel, "The Teacher of Righteousness and 4QMMT: The Question of the Sectarian Approach to the Religious Composition of *Miqṣat Maʿasé ha-Torah*," in *A Light for Jacob: Studies in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls, in Memory of Jacob Shalom Licht* (ed. Yair Hoffman and Frank H. Polak; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1997), 201–10, at 206 (Hebrew). [See also The Damascus Document's "Three Nets of Belial": A Reference to the *Aramaic Levi Document*, in this volume, 29–40, at 39].

27 As already noted by Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 254–55.

28 The author of 4Q390 seems to have believed that Jeremiah's prophecy necessitated a seventy-year duration for the Babylonian exile, rather than forty-nine years.

29 This reconstruction poses a certain difficulty, since the phrase "in the seventh Jubilee from the destruction of the land" in lines 7–8 of the first fragment seems to indicate that the seventy years of the Babylonian exile ought to be included in the 343 years. If this was in fact the intent of the author of 4Q390, then perhaps he added another seventy years after the Hasmonean period, in order to arrive at 490 years. Although most of the second column of frag. 2 has not survived, the few extant fragments of this column could possibly describe the period of redemption, which may have been expected to continue for another seventy years. The following words and phrases survive from this column (4Q390 2 ii 1–11): "and I shall send" (line 7); "and with spears to see[k]" (line 8); "and they will sacrifice in [it]" (line 10); "they[will pro]fane in it and[t]he alt[ar]" (line 11). See Dimant, DJD 30:250. 4Q390 is dated paleographically

4Q390 may thus be understood as a contemporizing historical interpretation of the prophecy found in Daniel chapter 9.[30]

We may presume that the author of 4Q390 anticipated the arrival of the redemption after the completion of the 490 year period. He must have expected, then, that the Hasmoneans would remain in power for seventy years. The author of 4Q390 may have begun calculating the seventy years of Hasmonean rule from the time of the purification of the Temple by Judah Maccabee in 164 BCE. Alternatively, he may have started his count from the appointment of Judah's brother, Jonathan the son of Mattathias, as high priest in 152 BCE. He may even have calculated from 140 BCE, with the gathering of the national assembly that appointed Simon son of Mattathias as ethnarch and high priest (1 Macc 14:27–49).[31] In any of these three scenarios, the author would have expected the 70-year period to end during the rule of Alexander Jannaeus. The Pharisees rebelled against Alexander Jannaeus in 94 BCE, and the ensuing civil war lasted until 88 BCE.[32] We may conclude that the composition preserved in 4Q390 was originally written by a scribe who aligned with the factions that opposed Alexander Jannaeus. He would have aimed to encourage these opponents of the regime to rise up in the struggle against the Hasmonean king, by writing a text that asserted that after seventy years of Hasmonean rule, the time was approaching for these priests to exit the stage of history.[33]

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to the end of the first century BCE (above, note 16). There is thus no obstacle to suggesting that this scroll might have contained references to events that occurred after the conquest of Pompey. This suggestion is made unlikely, however, by the proposal brought below—that the work was composed in order to encourage the rebels against Alexander Jannaeus.

30 For other examples of this type of updating, see Lester L. Grabbe, "The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy (Daniel 9:24–27) in Early Jewish Interpretation," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. Craig A. Evans and Shemaryahu Talmon; BINS 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 595–611.

31 See Uriel Rappaport, "The Foundational Document of the Hasmonean State (1 Macc 14:27–49), *Et-HaDaʿat* 2 (1998): 21–28 (Hebrew).

32 See Menahem Stern, "Judea and her Neighbors in the Days of Alexander Jannaeus," *Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981): 22–46, at 41–45.

33 I am grateful to Prof. Albert I. Baumgarten for this important suggestion—*HE*.

4. The 490-Year Prophecy in the Damascus Document

It may be possible to find another interpretation of the book of Daniel's 490-year prophecy in *the Damascus Document*, although in this case the proposal is more speculative.[34] The first column of CD states:[35]

5. ...ובקץ חרון שנים שלוש מאות
6. ותשעים לתיתו אותם ביד נבוכדנאצר מלך בבל
7. פקדם ויצמח מישראל ומאהרן שורש מטעת לירוש
8. את ארצו ולדשן בטוב אדמתו ויבינו בעונם וידעו כי
9. (אנשים) אשימים הם ויהיו כעורים וכימגששים דרך
10. שנים עשרים ויבן אל אל מעשיהם כי בלב שלם דרשוהו
11. ויקם להם מורה צדק להדריכם בדרך לבו

5. ...And at the end of (his) wrath, three hundred
6. and ninety years after giving them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon,
7. he turned his attention to them and caused to grow out of Israel and Aaron a root of planting, to inherit
8. his land and grow fat in the goodness of his soil. And they discerned their iniquity and knew that

34 The proposal that the author of the *Damascus Document* based his historical perspective upon Dan 9, i. e., that he supposed a 490-year chronology from the destruction of the first Temple, has been accepted in the following: F. F. Bruce, *The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts* (London: Tyndale, 1957), 17–18; idem., *Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1959), 59–62; Roger T. Beckwith, "The Significance of the Calendar for Interpreting Essene Chronology and Eschatology," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 167–202, at 169; Geza Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981), 147–48; (repeated in, idem, "Eschatological World View," 481–84). As will be seen below (n.45), this view was also accepted by Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998). Solomon Schechter suggested emending "390 years" in the first column of CD to "490 years" (Solomon Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries;* Vol. 1, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910], xxxi). In contrast, Ben Zion Wacholder maintained that since the extant fragments of CD do not explicitly state that the "Teacher of Righteousness" led the community for 40 years, we should not accept the conclusion that the chronology of the *Damascus Document* is based upon Dan 9. See Ben-Zion Wacholder, "The Date of the Eschaton in the Book of Jubilees: A Commentary on Jub. 49:22–50:5, CD 1:1–10 and 16:2–3," *HUCA* 56 (1985): 87–101, at 97–98.

35 The Hebrew text of the *Damascus Document* is cited from Magen Broshi (ed.), *The Damascus Documents Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 11. Translations are from Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations.* Vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995), 4–57, at 13.

9. they were guilty people; and they were as blind as those who grope for a way
10. for twenty years. But God discerned their works, (namely) that they sought him wholeheartedly,
11. and he raised up for them (the) Righteous Teacher to guide them in the way of his heart.

The expression "turned his attention" (פקדם) signifies either the physical return of the group to the Land of Judah, or, alternatively, the formation of the group. If we accept the text at face-value, then this event would have occurred at the beginning of the second century BCE: the First Temple was destroyed in 586 BCE, and so the period of 390 years that began at that date would have ended in the year 196 BCE.[36] However, there is no reason to suppose that the group was formed in precisely 196 BCE, since the number 390 in CD is taken from Ezek 4:5: "For I impose upon you three hundred and ninety days, corresponding to the number of years of their punishment, and so you shall bear the punishment for the House of Israel."[37] The author of 4Q390 apparently believed that it was the members of his community who were bearing the burden of Israel's iniquity, and so he stated that the group began to function 390 years after the destruction. Therefore, the number 390 should not be treated as precise historical information. An additional reason not to date the community's formation to precisely 196 BCE is that at the end of the Second Temple period the people of Judah were not aware of the fact that the Persian period lasted for a bit more than 200 years

36 For the suggestion that the community was formed in the Diaspora and emigrated to Israel as a unified group, see the important study of Jerome Murphy O'Connor, "The Essenes and their History," *RB* 81 (1974): 215–44. According to Murphy O'Connor, "Damascus" is not the name of the place that the group came from, but a sobriquet indicating a Diaspora location, on the basis of the verse in Amos (5:27), "As I drive you into exile beyond Damascus." Since we have no documentation of a Damascene Jewish community in the second century BCE, Murphy O'Connor suggested that the group returned to the land of Israel from Babylon. See the discussion of this topic in Charlotte Hempel, "Community Origins in the *Damascus Document* in the Light of Recent Scholarship," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 316–29; eadem, *The Damascus Texts* (CQS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 54–60.

37 On the connection between this passage in CD and Ezek 4:5, see H. H. Rowley, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 62–64; Isaac Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the Damascus ('Zadokite') Fragments," *JBL* 73 (1954): 11–35, at 33–34; Ephraim J. Wiesenberg, "Chronological Data in the Zadokite Fragments," *VT* 5 (1955): 284–308; Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 3; John J. Collins, "The Origin of the Qumran Community: A Review of the Evidence," in *To Touch the Text: Biblical and Related Studies in Honor of Joseph A. Fitzmyer* (ed. Maurya P. Horgan and Paul J. Kobelski; New York: Crossroad, 1989), 159–78, at 167–72.

(539–332 BCE).[38] Thus, the author of the *Damascus Document* would not have been able to calculate accurately how much time had passed from the destruction of the First Temple until the group's migration to Judah, nor to the date of the Community's formation. There were those who supposed that the religious reawakening that spurred the men of the "New Covenant in the Land of Damascus" to come together to act as a unified community was related to the purification of the Temple in 164 BCE, or to other successes of Judah Maccabee. The alternative proposal seems more plausible—that the group began to function some years prior to the Maccabean revolt, around the year 170 BCE.[39]

In contrast to the number 390, which seems to be typological and thus not valuable as precise chronological information, the specification of the "twenty year" period in which the members of the sect were like blind men groping in the dark, before the arrival of the Teacher of Righteousness, presents itself as a genuine historical detail.[40] Thus, approximately twenty years after the formation of the Community, the Teacher of Righteousness would have arrived and assumed leadership of the group.

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38 Examination of the writings of Josephus and *Seder Olam Rabbah* shows that during the Second Temple period, as well as during the Tannaitic and Talmudic eras, the Jews of the Land of Israel believed the Persian period to have been of short duration. One of the reasons for this misapprehension was that by the end of the Second Temple period they no longer remembered that some of the names of the Persian kings were borne by more than one ruler. The names Cyrus, Darius, and Artaxerxes were all used by more than one king, as signified today by the addition of a numeral following the name: Cyrus I, Cyrus II etc. See Joseph Tabory, "The Persian Period According to Hazal," *Milet: Everyman's University Studies in Jewish History and Culture* 2 (1985): 65–77 (Hebrew); Daniel R. Schwartz, "On Some Papyri and Josephus' Sources and Chronology for the Persian Period," in *The Samaritans* (ed. Ephraim Stern and Hanan Eshel; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2002), 107–28 (Hebrew). [See now, the English translation in *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* 21.2 (1990): 175–99]. For additional reasons not to take the 390-year period as a historical datum, see Vermes, "Eschatological World View," 481–82, esp. n.4.

39 For a proposal to associate the migration of the group to the Land of Israel with the successes of Judah Maccabee, see Murphy O'Connor, "The Essenes and their History," 224. If we would accept the claims of Tcherikover, that the decrees of Antiochus IV were enacted after a revolt by conservative circles in Jerusalem in 168 BCE, then we could surmise that the group began its activities as part of the religious revival that led to the revolt of the "Hasidim." See Victor Tcherikover, "The Decrees of Antiochus and their Problems," *Eshkolot* 1 (1954): 86–109 (Hebrew); idem, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1959), 152–203. The revolt by the conservative groups and the formation of the Community could both be associated with the religious revival attested in 4Q248. See Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 13–19.

40 Contra Philip Davies who viewed this datum, as well, as a secondary addition, without historical significance. See Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield 1983), 63.

In the extant material from the *Damascus Document*, there is no specification of the number of years in which the Teacher of Righteousness led the Community. From two extant passages, we learn that the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness suffered a crisis after his death. At the end of col. 19 and the beginning of col. 20, we read:[41]

19:33 ...כן כל האנשים אשר באו בברית
19:34 החדשה בארץ דמשק ושבו ויבגדו ויסורו מבאר מים החיים
19:35 לא יחשבו בסוד עם ובכתבם לא יכתבו מיום האסף
20:1 מורה היחיד עד עמוד משיח מאהרן ומישראל

19:33 ...Thus all the men who entered the new covenant
19:34 in the land of Damascus and returned and betrayed and departed from the well of living water
19:35 will not be accounted among the council of the people; and when (the latter) are written, they will not be written from the day
20:1 the unique Teacher was gathered in until there arises the Messiah from Aaron and from Israel

We see here that some of the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness left the group after his death. The author of the *Damascus Document* calls these people "traitors" who veered away from the teaching of the community's Teacher. This passage declares that those who entered the covenant and subsequently defected will not be considered among the "council of the people (בסוד עם)" and will not be inscribed among the Sons of Light when the time of redemption arrives. Since the transformation awaited by the members of the Community was delayed, and they did not attain control of the Temple as anticipated, there were some among the sect who despaired after the death of their leader. These men left the path established by the Teacher of Righteousness. In response to this situation, the author of the *Damascus Document* wrote in column 20:[42]

41 The transcription follows Broshi, *Damascus Document*, 45, 47; the translation follows Baumgarten and Schwartz, PTSDSSP 2:33, 35. Ben Zion Wacholder maintained that these passages do not refer to the death of the Teacher of Righteousness. He understood the Teacher of Righteousness to be an eschatological figure rather than a historical person. See Ben Zion Wacholder, "Does Qumran Record the Death of the 'Moreh'? The Meaning of 'he'aseph' in *Damascus Covenant* XIX, 35–XX, 14," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 323–30. Subsequent to Wacholder's publication of this article, Joseph Fitzmyer devoted an important article to these passages, in which he demonstrated that they do in fact refer to the death of the Teacher of Righteousness. See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Gathering in of the Community's Teacher," *Maarav* 8 (1992): 223–28. Despite Fitzmyer's proofs, Wacholder retained his view. See Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Teacher of Righteousness is Alive, Awaiting the Messiah," *HUCA* 70–71 (1999–2000): 75–92.

42 The transcription follows Broshi, *Damascus Document*, 47; the translation follows Baumgarten and Schwartz, PTSDSSP 2:35.

13. ... ומיום
14. האסף יורה היחיד עד תם כל אנשי המלחמה אשר שבו
15. עם איש הכזב כשנים ארבעים

13. …And from the day
14. the unique Teacher was gathered in until the end of all the men of war who turned away
15. with the Man of the Lie there will be about forty years

The author of the *Damascus Document* attempted to persuade his readers that there was no reason to be surprised by the delay in the redemption, since salvation would only arrive following the death of the "men of war" who left the proper path, rejecting the path of the Teacher of Righteousness to follow the "Man of the Lie." Only after the death of these traitors would the messiahs of Aaron and Israel arise. The scribe who composed the *Damascus Document* compared the Teacher of Righteousness to Moses, and the generation of the Teacher to the generation that wandered in the wilderness. Just as the ancient Israelites were delayed for forty years following the sin of the spies and the rebellion against Moses—until the sinners had all died; so too, the generation of the author's own time must wait forty years following the rebellion against the Teacher of Righteousness.[43] The author of the *Damascus Document* seems to have expounded on Deut 2:14 and Num 14:32–34 to formulate his point:

> The time that we spent in travel from Kadesh-barnea, until we crossed the wadi Zered was thirty-eight years; until that whole generation of warriors had perished from the camp, as the LORD had sworn concerning them. (Deut 2:14)
>
> But your carcasses shall drop in this wilderness, while your children roam the wilderness for forty years, suffering for your faithlessness, until the last of your carcasses is down in the wilderness. You shall bear your punishment for forty years, corresponding to the number of days—forty days—that you scouted the land: a year for each day. Thus shall you know what it means to thwart Me. (Num 14:32–34)

43 Another reference to the 40-year period of waiting following the death of the Teacher of Righteousness may be found in the pesher to Psalm 37, 4Q171 *Pesher Psalms*[a] ii 5–9: "And again a little while and the wicked one will be no more. When I look carefully at his territory he will not be there" [Ps 37:10]. Its interpretation concerns all the wicked at the end of forty years: they will be consumed, and there will not be found on earth any [wi]cked man." The translation follows Maurya P. Horgan, "Psalm Pesher 1," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. Vol. 6B, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2002), 6–23, at 10–11. See Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQM 8; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 8. The meaning of this pesher seems to be that at the end of the forty years following the death of the Teacher of Righteousness, the wicked will perish from the earth and redemption will arrive.

The midrash that was incorporated into the *Damascus Document* was intended to explain to the disciples of the Teacher of Righteousness why the expected revolution that would transform them from a marginal group dwelling in the wilderness into leaders of the people of Israel and of the Jerusalem Temple, had not yet occurred. According to this explanation, they had to wait until the traitors against the Teacher of Righteousness would pass from the world. The comparison between Moses and the Teacher of Righteousness draws a parallel between Moses' status as leader of the Israelites in the wilderness of Sinai and the leadership of the Teacher of Righteousness over his devotees in the Judean desert. Both leaders died before the people that they had been guiding in the wilderness succeeded in reaching the Promised Land.

To summarize, the *Damascus Document* delineates the following periods in its description of the history of the community:

390 years from the time of the Destruction of the first Temple until the formation of the Community;

20 years in which the members of the Community were like blind men groping in the darkness until the Teacher of Righteousness began to lead them;

A period in which the Teacher of Righteousness led the Community; the length of this period is not specified in the extant fragments of the *Damascus Document*;

Finally, there is a statement that forty years will pass from the death of the Teacher of Righteousness until the messiahs of Aaron and Israel will arise.[44]

If we posit that the author of the Damascus Document anticipated the arrival of the redemption 490 years after the destruction of the First Temple, following the prophecy in Daniel chapter 9, then we may deduce that the Teacher of Righteousness led the Community for forty years.[45] This detail would fill in the division of the 490 years into four sub-phases, according to the historical worldview of the group that accepted the leadership of the Teacher of Righteousness.[46]

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44 On the final period, see Hanan Eshel, "The Meaning and Significance of CD 20:13–15," in Parry and Ulrich (eds.), *The Provo International Conference*, 330–36.

45 Hartmut Stegemann placed the death of the Teacher of Righteousness around the year 110 BCE. See Hartmut Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 123. His calculation seems to be based on the supposition that the author of the *Damascus Document* believed, following Dan 9:24–27, that the End of Days would arrive 490 years after the destruction of the first Temple. Since Stegemann held the view that the Teacher of Righteousness joined the Community in approximately 150 BCE, he concluded that the Teacher died forty years later, in around 110 BCE.

46 In light of these calculations, I would date the editing of the *Damascus Document* to the end of the forty-year period after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness, i. e., to shortly before the year 70 BCE. The *Damascus Document* refers to a group it calls the "house of Peleg," whose members "left the holy city" (CD 20:22). The author of the composition saw this event as a fulfillment of Deut 7:9: "the steadfast God who keeps his covenant faithfully to the thousandth generation of those who love Him and keep His commandments." This group may

Summary

The authors of the *Damascus Document* and 4Q390 seem to have followed different chronological models of history. The author of 4Q390, who most likely was neither a member of the Qumran Community nor a follower of the Teacher of Righteousness, believed that 413 years had passed since the destruction of the First Temple (70 years of exile, and 343 years of the Second Temple era) until the beginning of the "week" in which Antiochus IV introduced the statue of Zeus into the sanctuary (the 7-year period that began in 167 BCE). In contrast, the author of the *Damascus Document* believed that 390 years had passed from the destruction of the First Temple until approximately the year 170 BCE, when his community began to function in Judah. These details demonstrate that in the Second Temple period it was difficult to calculate exactly how many years had passed from the destruction of the First Temple. It seems that in the Hasmonean era different scribes adhered to different chronological systems, which diverged from one another by a margin of about twenty years, regarding how much time had passed from the Destruction of the First Temple until the early 60s of the second century BCE.

The verses examined at the beginning of this article show the great importance that was attached to Jeremiah's 70-year prophecies during the early Persian period. The 490-year prophecy that appears in the book of Daniel updated the 70-year prophecies of the book of Jeremiah. Among the Hasmonean-era Judeans who calculated the End of Days, some were of the opinion that the Second Temple was not the ideal Temple. They expected a substantial positive transformation to occur in Jerusalem at the completion of 490 years from the destruction of the First Temple.[47] Such millenarianist scribes gave great weight to the prophecies in the book of Daniel, and some of them believed that the de-

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have left Jerusalem towards the end of the forty-year period following the Teacher of Righteousness' death. After the period was completed and the anticipated change did not occur, this group (together with other disappointed followers) returned to Jerusalem and joined the Sadducees. 4Q169 *Pesher Nahum*, written after Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem—i.e., after the year 63 BCE—mentions "the evil one[s of Manass]eh the house of Peleg, who are joined to Manasseh (4QpNah 3–4 iv 1). The translation follows Horgan "Pesher Nahum," in PTSDSSP 6B: 144–45, at 154–55. This pesher may be taken to attest the negative attitude of its author towards the people who became discouraged when their expectations of the promised transformation were not fulfilled, after the completion of the forty-year period following the death of the Teacher of Righteousness.

47 See David Flusser, "Jerusalem in the Literature of the Second Temple," in *Ve'Im Bigvurot: Fourscore Years. A Tribute to Rubin and Hannah Mass on their Eightieth Birthdays* (ed. Abraham Eben-Shushan et al.; Jerusalem: Yedidim, 1974), 263–295, at 265–81 (Hebrew) (repr. in *Judaism of the Second Temple Period: Sages and Literature* [ed. Serge Ruzer; Jerusalem: Magnes, 2002], 36–67; [Hebrew]).

tails of the eschatological prophecy at the end of the book (Dan 11:33–12:8) would come true in their own lifetimes. They functioned within a mindset of eager anticipation of the fulfillment of the details in these verses.[48] The two compositions discussed in this article, 4Q390 and the *Damascus Document*, appear to reflect disparate chronological systems. Yet both attest to the great interest shown by Judean scribes of the Hasmonean era in the 490-year prophecy in Daniel chapter 9.

48 This view is also found in the beginning of the *War Scroll*. See David Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll," in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period;* Vol. 1, *Qumran and Apocalypticism* (transl. Azzan Yadin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 140–58.

Chapter 3:
CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran*

The first man-made tools and vessels were of stone. These were later replaced by pottery and metal vessels; from that time on, the use of stone vessels was limited to grinding and crushing, a practice which continues to the present. In the late Second Temple period, from the first century BCE to the second century CE, there was a stone vessel industry in the Jerusalem region whose products were used for storage and measurement.[1] These stone vessels were made for observant Jews who observed the laws of purity strictly since, according to rabbinic halakha, stone vessels are impervious to ritual defilement and remain pure.[2]

Stone vessels used for storage and measurement were found at Qumran and related sites—about two hundred pieces at Qumran; seventy fragments at Ein Feshkha; and a few pieces at Ein el-Ghuweir.[3] I found this archaeological evidence puzzling. If, as some scholars claim, the sect held that stone vessels, like other vessels, are susceptible to impurity, how can we explain the presence of so many stone vessels at Qumran? This led me to re-examine two related sectarian halakhot.

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1 For the archaeological data regarding stone vessels used for measurement and storage in the late Second Temple Period, see Yitzhak Magen, *The Stone Vessel Industry in Jerusalem during the Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Society for the Protection of Nature, 1988) (Hebrew); in English, see now idem, *The Stone Vessel Industry in the Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002); Jane M. Cahill, "The Chalk Assemblages of the Persian-Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods," in *Excavations at the City of David 1978–1985* III (*Qedem* 33) (ed. Alon De Groot and Donald T. Ariel; Jerusalem: The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1992), 190–274; Roland Deines, *Jüdische Steingefäße und pharisäische Frömmigkeit*: Ein archäologisch-historischer Beitrag zum Verständnis von Johannes 2,6 und der jüdischen Reinheitshalacha zur Zeit Jesu (WUNT 2; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck), 1993.

2 See *m. Kel.* 10:1; *m. 'Ohal.* 5:5, 6:1; *m. Parah* 5:5; *m. Miqw.* 4:1; *m. Yad.* 1:2.

3 Robert Donceel and Pauline Donceel-Voute, "The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. Michael O. Wise et al.; NY: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 1–38, at 10–13; Pessach Bar-Adon, "Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at 'En el-Ghuweir on the Shores of the Dead Sea," *BASOR* 227 (1977): 1–25, esp. 7, 15–18.

1. The Temple Scroll (11QT[a] 49:11–16)

The first halakha is found in the *Temple Scroll* where we learn that, according to the sectarian halakhic system, millstones (רחיים) and mortars (מדוכה) can become impure:[3a]

11. וביום אשר יוציאו ממנו את המת יכבדו את הבית מכול
12. תגאולת שמן ויין ולחת מים. קרקעו וקירותיו ודלתותיו יגרודו
13. ומנעוליו ומזוזותיו ואספיו ומשקופיו יכבסו במים. ביום אשר
14. יצא המת ממנו יטהרו את הבית ואת כול כליו רחים ומדוכה
15. וכול כלי עץ ברזל ונחושת. וכול כלים אשר יש להמה טהרה
16. ובגדים ושקים ועורות יתכבסו

> And on the day on which they will take the dead body out of it, they shall sweep the house of any defiling smirch of oil and wine and moisture of water; they shall scrape its floor and its walls and its doors, and they shall wash with water its locks and its doorposts and its thresholds and its lintels. On the day on which the dead body will leave it, they shall purify the house and all its vessels, (including) mills and mortars, and all vessels made of wood, iron and bronze, and all vessels that may be purified. And (all) clothing and sacks and skins shall be washed (11QT[a] 49:11–16).

The use of the phrase תגאולת שמן ויין ולחת מים "defiling smirch of oil and wine and moisture of water" evinces a resemblance between the halakha of the *Temple Scroll* and rabbinic halakha, according to which liquids make objects susceptible to impurity. Both systems are based on Lev 11:34, 38 which states that food becomes impure only after it touches liquid. Therefore, if harvested crops which are no longer connected to the soil touch liquids, they become susceptible to impurity. These halakhot are discussed in *m. Makširin*.

Yadin noted that the author of the *Temple Scroll* based himself here on Numbers 19, which he edited and expanded according to other laws in the book of Numbers.[4] Concerning the impurity of vessels, Num 19:14–15 states:

> זאת התורה אדם כי ימות באהל כל הבא אל האהל וכל אשר באהל יטמא שבעת ימים. וכל כלי פתוח אשר אין צמיד פתיל עליו טמא הוא

> This is the ritual law: When a person dies in a tent, whoever enters the tent and whoever is in the tent shall be unclean seven days; and every open vessel, with no lid fastened down, shall be unclean.

3a [The citation and translation follow Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and The Shrine of the Book, 1983), 2:388].

4 Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 2:212–16. See also Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 49; Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990), 225.

The law from the *Temple Scroll* mentioned above fails to distinguish between open vessels and those which are closed with a lid. This distinction is found in 4Q274 frag. 3 col. ii:

וכול אשר יש לו חותם [יטמא] לטהור יותר

and any (vessel) which has a seal…[shall be unclean] for a more pure person.[5]

The author of the *Temple Scroll* integrated the description of the law concerning booty that fell into the hands of the Israelites as a result of the war with the Midianites (Num 31:19–23) into the law of impure vessels which are in a dead person's house. The description of the instructions to the Israelites is as follows:

ואתם חנו מחוץ למחנה שבעת ימים. כל הרג נפש וכל נוגע בחלל תתחטאו, ביום השלישי וביום השביעי אתם ושביכם. וכל בגד וכל כלי עור וכל מעשה עזים וכל כלי עץ תתחטאו. ויאמר אלעזר הכהן אל אנשי הצבא הבאים למלחמה, זאת חקת התורה אשר צוה ה' את משה: אך את הזהב ואת הכסף את הנחשת את הברזל את הבדיל ואת העפרת, כל דבר אשר יבא באש תעבירו באש וטהר, אך במי נידה יתחטא, וכל אשר לא יבא באש תעבירו במים[6]

You shall then stay outside the camp seven days; every one among you or among your captives who has slain a person or touched a corpse shall cleanse himself on the third and seventh days. You shall also cleanse every cloth, every article of skin, everything made of goats' hair, and every object of wood. Eleazar the priest said to the troops who had taken part in the fighting, "This is the ritual law that the Lord has enjoined upon Moses: Gold and silver, copper, iron, tin, and lead—any article that can withstand fire—these you shall pass through fire and they shall be clean, except that they must be cleansed with water of lustration; and anything that cannot withstand fire you must pass through water…" (Num 31:19–23)

In the *Temple Scroll* three types of liquids—oil, wine, and water—are mentioned as susceptible to defilement. Nevertheless, the phrase מכול תגאולת שמן seems to imply that oil is more susceptible to defilement than wine and water. Accordingly, we may be more precise in our reading of the *Temple Scroll*: while the author of this halakha made global mention of "wood, iron, and copper vessels" (כלי עץ ברזל ונחושת), he did not include stone vessels among the other ones. Therefore it seems that the composition of the *Temple Scroll* antedated the development of the Jewish stone vessel industry.

5 Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Liquids and Susceptibility to Defilement in New 4Q Texts," *JQR* 85 (1994): 91–101, at 96–100.

6 The author of the *Temple Scroll* probably identified "everything made of goats' hair" (Num 31:20) with the "sack" mentioned in Lev 11:32. At Qumran, Masada, and other caves in the Judean Desert, articles made of wool, cotton, and goats' hair were discovered; the latter was usually used for sacks. See Avigail Sheffer and Hero Granger-Taylor, "Textiles from Masada," in *Masada 4: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 153–255, at 173.

2. CD 12:15–17

The second law that concerns stone vessels is found in the *Damascus Document*:

וכל העצים והאבנים והעפר אשר יגואלו בטמאת האדם לגאולי שמן בהם כפי טמאתם יטמא הנ[ו]גע בם

> And all the wood, stones, and dust which are defiled by human impurity while having oil stains on them, according to their impurity shall he who t[o]uches them become impure (CD 12:15–17).

The readings of the early editions of this text were corrected in an important article that Joseph Baumgarten devoted to this halakha.[7] Based on his article, the two readings of שמן ("oil") rather than שמו ("his name"), as well as בהם ("on them") instead of כהם ("like them"), were accepted. In the same article Baumgarten singled out the term גאולי שמן ("while having oil stains on them") as the crucial phrase in this halakha. According to his interpretation, it should be emphasized that the presence of oil stains on wood, stone, and dust serves to transmit impurity.[8] Louis Ginzberg has suggested that the halakha under consideration suffered from homoioteleuton, and originally read: וכל <כלי> העצים והאבנים והעפר "And all the wood, stones, and dust **vessels**." Alternatively, a *yod* may have been dropped, and the text should read וכל <י>: "And vessels of wood, stones, and dust."[9]

I find this proposal deserving of acceptance for three reasons. The first is technical:

1. This halakha is followed by another law which reads: וכל כלי מסמר…, "and any vessel, nail…." Therefore, we may argue that the beginning of our halakha was formulated in the same manner.
2. In rabbinic halakha stone vessels and unfired earthen vessels are mentioned together as not being susceptible to impurity.[10]

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7 Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Essene Avoidance of Oil and the Laws of Purity," *RevQ* 6/22 (1967): 183–92. For an opposing view, see Sidney B. Hoenig, "Qumran Rules of Impurities," *RevQ* 6/24 (1969): 559–67. Nevertheless, the halakhot of the *Temple Scroll* discussed above as well as 4Q513 (to be discussed below), prove that Baumgarten was correct. The prohibition is based on purity laws and not on pagan defilement as Hoenig suggests elsewhere ("Oil and Pagan Defilement," *JQR* 61 [1970]: 63–75).

8 See Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translation*. Vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995), 53.

9 Louis Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (NY: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976), 81–82; 115.

10 In all the halakhot cited in note 2 above, unfired clay vessels (lit. "dust vessels") are mentioned together with stone vessels.

3. Without the suggested reconstruction, according to the *Damascus Document*, dust is susceptible to the corpse impurity. If so, then all the dust of the world is impure because of graves.[11]

Therefore, in light of Ginzberg's rendering, I explain this halakha as dealing with wood, stone, and dust vessels.[12] Thus, it seems probable that the sectarian halakha was formulated in opposition to rabbinic halakha, which held that stone vessels or unfired clay vessels remain pure.[13] The author of the *Damascus Document* started with wood, most probably because Lev 11:32 explicitly states that wooden vessels are susceptible to impurity: "And anything on which one of them falls when dead shall be unclean: be it any article of wood, or a cloth, or a skin, or a sack…."

As opposed to rabbinic halakha, the author of the *Damascus Document* believed that stone and unfired clay vessels can become impure after being exposed to oil. They are similar, in this respect, to wooden vessels, which according to Leviticus are susceptible to impurity.[14] Therefore it seems that according to the halakhic system represented in the *Damascus Document*, oil makes stone vessels susceptible to impurity. This halakha might be based on the fact that, according to Genesis, Jacob twice poured oil on stones in order to make them holy:

> וישכם יעקב בבקר ויקח את האבן אשר שם מראשתיו וישם אותה מצבה ויצק שמן על ראשה

> Early in the morning, Jacob took the stone that he had put under his head and set it up as a pillar and poured oil on the top of it (Gen 28:18)

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11 It is difficult to interpret CD 12:15–17 on the basis of 11QT[a] 49:11–16 as a reference to floors for the following reasons: (a) the house is not mentioned at all in CD; (b) if CD speaks of floors, why is oil alone mentioned in CD and neither wine nor water, as in the *Temple Scroll*? For these reasons, it seems preferable to accept Ginzberg's reading. (4Q513 frag. 13 is very fragmentary. Although Baillet read ומערות in line 1, this reading is questionable).

12 Baumgarten and Yadin do not accept Ginzberg's rendering. See Baumgarten, "Essene Avoidance of Oil," 190–91; Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:329. Baumgarten accepts S. Schechter's view that this halakha deals with raw materials. See Solomon Schechter, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910; repr., NY: Ktav, 1970), li. In Baumgarten's opinion, this halakha testifies to a dispute between the author of CD, who believed that raw materials are susceptible to impurity, and the Rabbis, who held that unfinished vessels (גולמין) are not susceptible to impurity. Against that one might argue that, according to *m. Kel.* 12:8, unfinished wooden vessels are susceptible to impurity. Note also that the status of unfinished metal vessels was a disputed point between R. Gamliel and the Rabbis (see *m. ʿEd.* 3:9, *m. Kel.* 12:6). As metal vessels are not mentioned in CD's halakha, it is difficult to argue that this is the disputed point between its author and the Rabbis. Yadin does not explain on what basis he rejects Ginzberg's restoration.

13 *m. ʾOhal.* 5:5.

14 It should be noted that both wood and stone mortars are mentioned in *m. Beṣah* 1:7. We may therefore assume that the author of the *Temple Scroll* wanted to show that wood and stone have the same status.

And again in Gen 35:14:

ויצב יעקב מצבה במקום אשר דבר איתו מצבת אבן ויסך עליה נסך ויצק עליה שמן

> And Jacob set up a pillar at the site where He had spoken to him, a pillar of stone, and he offered a libation on it and poured oil upon it.

We may assume that the Qumranites believed that oil had some effect on stone; perhaps that oil primed it to become a pillar (מצבה). Support for this assumption comes from a halakha in 1QM, which reads:[15]

ובנפול החללים יהיו הכ[והנ]ים מריעים מרחוק ולוא יבואו אל תוך החללים להתגאל בדם טמאתם כיא קדושים המה [לו]א יחלו שמן משיחת כהונתם בדם גוי הבל

> When the slain have fallen, the pri[est]s shall sound a fanfare from afar, and shall not come into the midst of the slain (so as) to become defiled by their impure blood, for they are holy. They shall [no]t desecrate the oil of their priestly anointment with the blood of the nations of vanity (1QM 9:7–9).

while 4QM^{c} (4Q493) lines 4–5 read:[16]

והכוהנים יצאו מבין החללים ועמ[דו מזה .]... <u>ולוא יחללו שמן כהונתם</u>

> The priests shall go out from among the slain… *they shall not profane the oil of their priesthood.*

The formulation of these halakhot is interesting for two reasons. First, it is clear that the priests must preserve their purity by avoiding any contact with the dead, which has nothing to do with oil; and second, one can become impure even without touching liquids. If this is the case, we may ask why the author of the *War Scroll* linked the prohibition against priestly contact with the dead to "the oil of their priesthood." It is possible that his formulation of these laws was influenced by the sectarian halakhic concept that anointing an object with oil makes it more susceptible to impurity than other liquids. The phrase גאולי שמן found in the *Damascus Document*, as well as the phrase תגאולת שמן found in the *Temple Scroll*, imply that oil is more susceptible to defilement than other liquids.[17]

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15 Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 300–301.

16 Maurice Baillet, ed., *Qumrân grotte 4:III* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 49–53, at 50.

17 On the meaning of גאולי שמן in CD, להתגאל in 1QM, and תגאולת שמן, see Chaim Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1958), 62–63; Baumgarten, "Essene Avoidance of Oil," 184–86; Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:329.

The term מגואלים בשמן is also mentioned in a fragmentary context (4Q513 frag. 13), together with liquids and defilement.[18]

It remains to see how the author of the *Damascus Document* understood the *Temple Scroll*. As Yadin noted, the phrase רחים ומדוכה found in the *Temple Scroll* is borrowed from Num 11:7–8:[19]

והמן כזרע גד הוא ועינו כעין הבדלח. שטו העם ולקטו וטחנו ברחים או דכו במדכה ובשלו בפרור ועשו אֹתו עֻגות והיה טעמו כטעם לשד השמן

Now the manna was like coriander seed, and in color it was like bdellium. The people would go about and gather it, grind it *between millstones* or pound it *in a mortar*, boil it in a pot, and make it into cakes. It tasted like rich cream [lit. "cream of oil"].

In Yadin's opinion the millstone (רחים) and the mortar (מדוכה) were mentioned in the *Temple Scroll* because they are the most common stone vessels.[20]

If my understanding is correct, evidently when the *Temple Scroll* was composed, stone vessels were used only for grinding and crushing, and therefore stone vessels as such are not mentioned in the *Temple Scroll*. It seems that the author of the *Damascus Document* was aware that the millstone and the mortar mentioned in the *Temple Scroll* were regularly in contact with oil. That can be adduced from rabbinic literature where we find the phrase רחים של זיתים ("millstones of olives," *m. Zabim* 4:2), and from *m. Ṭebul-Yom* which states:

... השום והשמן של חולין שנגע טבול יום במקצתן פסל את כולם ...
השום והשמן של תרומה שנגע טבול יום במקצתן לא פסל אלא מקום מגעו.
ואם היה השום מרובה הולכים אחר הרוב ...
אבל אם היה מפוזר במדוכה טהור מפני שהוא רוצה בפיזורו

... the garlic and the oil of unconsecrated food, part of which a *Ṭebul Yom* touched—he has rendered the whole unfit... the garlic and the oil of heave-offering, part of which a *Ṭebul Yom* touched—he has rendered unfit only the place which he touched.
But if the garlic was more, they follow the greater part ... But if it was chopped up in a mortar (מדוכה), it is pure, because he [the owner] wants to scatter it (*m. Ṭebul Yom* 2:3).

18 Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Halakhic Polemics in New Fragments from Qumran Cave 4," in *Biblical Archeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1985), 390–99.

19 Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 2:216.

20 Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:330.

We may therefore conclude that millstones were used in order to crush olives, and that garlic was crushed in a mortar together with oil.[21] The author of the *Damascus Document* assumes that the millstones (רחיים) and mortars (מדוכה) mentioned in the *Temple Scroll* were both regularly in contact with oil.

According to sectarian halakha, oil is more susceptible to defilement than other liquids. This concept can be compared with Josephus' statement concerning the Essenes: "Oil they consider defiling, and anyone who accidentally comes in contact with it scours his person; for they make a point of keeping a dry skin…" (*War* 2.123).[22] This statement may also reflect the view that oil is more susceptible to defilement than other liquids.[23]

Conclusion

Based on the halakhot from the *Temple Scroll* and the *Damascus Document* discussed above, other scholars maintain that stone vessels had no special status at Qumran, and were susceptible to defilement like any other vessel.[24] I have tried to show that, according to sectarian law, stone vessels were not susceptible to defilement as long as they were not in contact with oil. Namely, according to this view, liquids other than oil do not make the stone vessel susceptible to defilement. Thus it seems that the Qumranites, like other Jews of the Second Temple period who strictly observed the laws of pure and impure vessels, used stone vessels to store all kinds of dry and liquid foodstuffs, but not oil. The difference between sectarian and rabbinic law lies in the distinction that according to the Sages stone vessels are never susceptible to defilement, while according to the *Damascus Document* 12:15–17 they are susceptible to defilement after coming in contact with oil.

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21 [The translation is slightly revised from Jacob Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Purities*. Part 19: *Tebul Yom and Yadayim* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 29.—*Eds*.]. See Chanoch Albeck's exegesis of this Mishnah in *Seder Tohoroth* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Mossad Bialik and Dvir, 1959), 462 (Hebrew).

22 See Baumgarten, "Essene Avoidance of Oil," 183–84.

23 Baumgarten ("Essene Avoidance of Oil," 191) argues that rabbinic dicta echo the view that oil is more susceptible to defilement than other liquids. *m. Tohar.* 3:2 states in the name of R. Meir: השמן תחילה לעולם; namely, if oil has congealed, it is still regarded as a liquid, and is susceptible to first-degree defilement.

24 Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 81; Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, 1:330; 2:216; Eyal Regev, "The Use of Stone Vessels at the End of the Second Temple Period," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Meeting–1996* (ed. Yaakov Eshel; Kedumim-Ariel: The College of Judea and Samaria Research Institute, 1997), 79–95 (Hebrew). [In English, see now, idem, "Archaeology and the Mishnah's Halakhic Tradition: the Case of Stone Vessels and Ritual Baths," in *The Mishnah in Contemporary Perspective* (2 vols.; ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck and Jacob Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 2:136–52, at 142–43].

Cave 1

Chapter 4:
Recensions of the *War Scroll**

Scholars have long recognized that the literary complexities of 1QM disclose its composite nature. In particular, the inner divergencies in the text have been cited as evidence that 1QM underwent a process of revision and recension. Based on examination of 1QM and of related material from Cave 4, we present two examples illustrating the composite nature of the *War Scroll*. This subject was discussed in the pioneering work of Moshe H. Segal,[1] Yehoshua M. Grintz,[2] and Chaim Rabin,[3] as well as in the monograph of Philip R. Davies,[4] who all set the stage for analyzing the method of the Scroll's redactor.

The question of the different recensions of the *War Scroll* was temporarily set aside pending the full publication of the related Cave 4 material. Now that six manuscripts of the *War Scroll* from Cave 4 have appeared in DJD 7,[5] as well as 4Q471, one of the sources of the *War Scroll*,[6] and 4Q497, which has been defined

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1 Moshe H. Segal, "The Qumran War Scroll and the Date of its Composition," in *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in Memory of E. L. Sukenik* (ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin; Jerusalem: Shrine of the Book, 1961), 11–18 (Hebrew) (=*Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [ed. Yigael Yadin and Chaim Rabin; Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958], 138–43).

2 Yehoshua M. Grintz, "The War Scroll: its Time and Authors," in Rabin and Yadin (eds.), *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 19–30 (Hebrew).

3 Chaim Rabin, "The Literary Structure of the War Scroll," in Rabin and Yadin (eds.), *Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 31–47 (Hebrew).

4 Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (Biblica et Orientalia 32; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1977).

5 Maurice Baillet, "La Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres," in idem (ed.), *Qumrân Grotte 4.III* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 12–72.

6 Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "4Q471 Fragment 1 and Ma'amadot in the War Scroll," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; 2 vols.; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:611–20.

as an "unknown composition related to the *War Scroll*," it seems appropriate to re-evaluate the question of the sources of the *War Scroll*.

Before proceeding to specific examples, we briefly survey in chronological order the dating of 1QM, the most complete extant copy, and seven related documents from Cave 4. The oldest manuscript of the *War Scroll*, 4QM[c] (4Q493), is to be dated to the first half of the first century BCE; 4QM[f] (4Q496) and 4Q497, the "*War Scroll-like fragment*," were copied in the middle of the first century BCE; 1QM, written in the formal early Herodian script, is to be dated to the last part of the first century BCE; 4QM[b] (4Q492) and 4QM[e] (4Q495), both written in early Herodian script, are contemporary with 1QM; 4QM[a] (4Q491) was copied somewhat later than 1QM, but still during the second half of the 1st century BCE; and 4QM[d] (4Q494), written in Herodian script, is to be dated to the early first century CE.[7] Since the כיתיי אשור ("the Kittim of Ashur") mentioned at the beginning of the scroll are identified as the Seleucids, the *terminus ad quem* of this composition predates the Roman conquest of Palestine; i. e., it was written prior to 63 BCE.[8] This article presents two examples illustrating the recensional development of the *War Scroll*.

The first example consists of a parallel hymn on Jerusalem appearing in 1QM 12:12–15 and 1QM 19:5–8. The same hymn is also found in 4QM[b] (4Q492) frag. 1. Various solutions have been proposed to explain the few repetitions and divergences found in 1QM.[9] Nevertheless, all these cases are connected with affairs of war. The only hymn duplicated is the hymn discussed below. The two versions represented by the three witnesses are now examined more closely.

The prayer preceding the Hymn on Jerusalem invites God to triumph over His enemies. Both Jerusalem and Israel will participate fully in the victory. This prayer has been preserved almost completely in col. 12 and partially in col. 19; only a few words remain from this prayer in 4QM[b].

A comparison of the three extant versions of this prayer reveals that 4QM[b] is identical with 1QM col. 19, whereas additions and changes are found in col. 12:

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7 Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations.* Vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995), 80–203, at 81–82. The *War Scroll* is cited here on the basis of this edition, with some slight revision.

8 David Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll," in *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume* (ed. Aharon Oppenheimer, Uriel Rappaport, and Menahem Stern; Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben-Zvi, 1980), 434–52 (Hebrew). [See now the English translation in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*. Vol. 1, *Qumran and Apocalypticism* (transl. Azzan Yadin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 140–58].

9 For a summary of the different views, see Duhaime, "War Scroll," 83–84.

1. Following the parallel of 1QM, the term ב[זה]בהיכלותיך, "Gold in your palaces," is reconstructed in 4QM[b], while 1QM col. 12 reads כסף וזהב ואבני חפץ בהיכלותיך, "*silver*, gold, and *precious stones* in your palaces."[10] We suggest considering the possibility that the version of col. 19 preceded that of col. 12.
2. The remains of the hymn on Jerusalem found in col. 19 are exactly parallel to 4QM[b], while the version in col. 12 has some variants. In 1QM 12:13 there is an additional strophe והופיעי ברנות ירושלים, "O Jerusalem, show yourself amidst jubilation," as well as the usage of the vocative צרחנה בקול רנה," *shout* with a voice of jubilation!" as opposed to the vocative הבענה בקול רנה, "*burst* into a voice of jubilation!" witnessed by 1QM col. 19 and 4QM[b].

In Isa 42:11 the MT reads ירנו ישבי סלע מראש הרים יצוחו, "Let the inhabitants of Sela raise a glad cry, Let them *shout* from the top of the mountains," while the *Isaiah Scroll* reads יצרחו instead of יצוחו. As Orlinsky has shown, the usage of the verb צרח is secondary in the *Isaiah Scroll*, and it seems that the variant of col. 12, צרחנה, is also secondary to הבענה.[11]

The hymn on Jerusalem is identifiable as an independent unit. We have no means of ascertaining whether this is a sectarian hymn composed at Qumran or whether it was imported from outside.[12] This hymn expresses the hope that the kings of the nations will serve the city of Jerusalem and that Israel will rule forever. It can be characterized as an eschatological hymn describing how Jerusalem will rejoice following the victory of the Sons of Light over the Sons of Darkness. We must recall that according to the ideology of the *War Scroll*, the aim of the war of the End of Days was to *establish the reign of the Sons of Light in Jerusalem*. The scroll opens with a declaration of what will happen when "the exiled Sons of Light return from the Desert of the Peoples to camp in the Desert of Jerusalem" (1QM 1:3), while col. 3 describes the "rule for the blowing of the trumpets." The final trumpet is the trumpet blown by the victors upon their "return from the battle against the enemy to … Jerusalem" (1QM 3:10–11). This ideational framework is also reflected in 1QM 12:17, two lines after the hymn on Jerusalem, where a description of "the heroes of war" returning to Jerusalem appears. It seems clear then, that the purpose of the war was to ensure the return of the Sons of Light to Jerusalem.

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10 The word כסף, "silver," was inserted above the line, a fact which might point to the possibility that this word was inserted from another source.

11 Harry M. Orlinsky, "Studies in the St. Mark's Isaiah Scroll," *JNES* 11 (1952): 153–56. [*Eds.*: The translation of MT is retained from the original publication: Eshel and Eshel, "Recensions of the War Scroll," in Schiffman et al., *Fifty Years*, 353].

12 Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Jerusalem in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Centrality of Jerusalem* (ed. Marcel Poorthuis and Chana Safrai; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 73–88, at 84–85.

All three witnesses, 1QM col. 12, 1QM col. 19, and 4QM[b], include both the prayer inviting God to triumph over His enemies and the hymn on Jerusalem. Nevertheless, only in 1QM col. 19 and in 4QM[b] does the gathering of the army in the camp at night follow the hymn on Jerusalem:

1QM 19:9–13	4QM[b] frag. 1 8–12
[ואחר יאספו המח]נה בלילה ההוא	ואחר יאספו המחנה בלילה [ההוא
למנוח עד הבוקר	למנוח עד הבוקר]
[וב]בוקר יבואו עד מקום המערכה	ובבוקר יבואו עד מקום המערכה
[...ג]בורי כתיים	[אשר שם נפלו ג]בורי כתיים
והמון אשור	והמון אשור
וחיל כול הגוים הנקהלים	[...]
אם ooחללים	...מ]תו רוב חללים לאין מ[קב]ר[13]
[אשר] נפלו שם בחרב אל	אשר נפלו שם בחר[ב]אל
ונגש שם כוהן הרו[אש ...]	[...]
[...]מלחמה וכול ראשי המערכות ופקוד[הם ...]	והלוים [... וכו]ל ראשי המערכות ...]
יחד בעומדם ע[ל]ח[ללי כתי]ים	יחד בעומדם על חללי[כתיים]
וה[ללו שם [א]ת אל[ישראל]	[והללו שם] את אל ישראל

Then they shall gather (to) the camp, on that night to rest until the morning. In the morning they shall come to the place of the line where the mighty men of the Kittim had fallen, and the multitude of Assyria, and the army of all the nations assembled (to see) if (?) the large number of slain were dead with no burial, they who had fallen there by the sword of God. There, the chief priest shall draw near… and the Levites…and all the chiefs of the lines and their numbered men…together where they stand beside the slain of the Kittim. They shall praise there the God of Israel….

According to 4QM[b] and 1QM col. 19, in the morning the warriors will come to the place where the Kittim have fallen to say a prayer of thanks. At the end of 1QM col. 12, however, the details pertaining to spending the night in the camp and the morning at the battlefield to recite the prayer do not appear. In col. 12, the hymn on Jerusalem is followed by a different short prayer which is poorly preserved:

1QM 12:17–18

17 [...]ל[...]הם גבורי המלחמה ירושלים[...]
18 [...]ם על השמים אדוני[...]

17 [...] mighty ones of war, Jerusalem [...]
18 [...] above the heavens, Lord [...]

13 See Duhaime, "War Scroll," 140 and 168.

Comparison of the three witnesses also reveals some differences in orthography. In three instances the suffix ך– is used in 4QM[b] and in 1QM col. 19, while 1QM col. 12 employs the suffix כה–; 4QM[b] and 1QM col. 19 read גוים, where 1QM col. 12 reads גואים.[14]

It should be noted that col. 19 was found separated from the rest of the scroll and forms a separate sheet. The script of columns 12 and 19 seems to be identical, a fact which led scholars to assume that col. 19 is part of 1QM, with the hymn on Zion unintentionally inserted twice in 1QM. It seems more reasonable to assume that we have here two recensions of the *War Scroll*: one is found in col. 12 of 1QM and the other is represented in both 1QM col. 19 and in 4QM[b]. The resemblance between 1QM col. 19 and 4QM[b] may be explained by proposing either that one of them was copied from the other, or that both of them were copied from yet a third manuscript, not extant.

In conclusion in regard to this example, we suggest that col. 19 be labeled 1QM[a]. 1QM[a] and 4QM[b] seem to be earlier versions of the *War Scroll*. If 1QM[a] was copied by the same scribe as 1QM, it may have been an earlier copy used by the scribe of 1QM when he revised his edition of the *War Scroll*.

14	4QM[b]	1QM[a] (col. 19)	1QM col. 12
	[...]	ור[ג]לך	ורגלכה
	וחר̇בך	וחרבך	וחרבכה
	בהיכ̇לותיך	בהיכלותיך	בהיכל[ו]תיכה

However, one can find the orthography מאוד in 4QM[b], while 1QM[a] (col. 19) reads מואדה and 1QM col. 12 reads מאדה.

Translation	1QM col. 12:7–13	1QM[a] (col. 19):1–5	4QM[b] (4Q492) 1:1–5
mocking and derision for the mighty ones.	…לעג וקלס לגבורים	[…לעג וקלס לג]בורים	[לעג וקלס] לגבורים
For the lord is holy,	כיא קדוש אדוני	כיא קדוש אדירנו	כי[א קדוש אדירנו]
and the glorious king (is) with us together with the holy ones *gbw*[…]	ומלך הכבוד אתנו עם קדושים גבו[…]	ומלך הכבוד אתנו	[ומלך הכבוד אתנו]
the host of angels (is) among our numbered men,	[ו]צבא מלאכים בפקודינו	וצ[בא מלאכים בפקודנו]	[וצבא מלאכים בפקודנו]
the mighty one of wa[*r*] *(is) in our congregation*	וגבור המלח[מה] בעדתנו	_	_
and the host of his spirits (is) with our foot-soldiers and our horsemen,	וצבא רוחיו עם צעדינו ופרשינו[…]	_	_
[…like] rain clouds and like mist clouds covering the earth	[כ]עננים וכעבי טֹל לכסות ארץ	[כעננים וכעבי ט]ל לכסות ארץ	[כעננים ועבי טל] לכסוֹת אֹ[רץ]
like a rainstorm watering	וכזרם רביבים להשקות	וכזרם רביבים להשקות	[וכזרם רביבים להשקות]
(with) judgment all its products.	משפט לכול צאצאיה	משפט לכ[ול צאצאיה]	[משפט לכול צאצאיה]
Arise, mighty one!	קומה גבור	[קומה גבור]	[קומה גבור]
Take your captives, glorious man!	שבה שביכה איש כבוד	[שבה שביכה איש כבוד]	[שבה שביכה איש]כבוֹדֹ
Seize your plunder, (you) who do worthily!	ושול שללכה עושי חיל	[וש]ל שללכה עושי חיל	שול[ל] [שללכה עושי חיל]
Put your hand upon the neck of your enemies	תן ידכה בעורף אויביכה	תן ידכה בעורף אויביך	[תן ידכה בעורף אויביך]
and your foot upon the piles of the slain!	ורגלכה על במותי חלל	[ל]ך על במותי חלל]	[ורגלך על במותי חלל]
Smite the nations, your foes	מחץ גוים צריכה	[מחץ גוים צריכ]ה	[מחץ גוים] צרֹיכה
and let your sword devour the *guilty* flesh.	וחרבכה תואכל בשר אשמה	וחרבך תואכל בשר	וחרבֹך] תואכל ב]שר
Fill your land (with) glory	מלא ארצכה כבוד	מלא ארצכה כבוד	מֹ[ל]אֹ [ארצכה כבוד]
and your inheritance (with) blessing;	ונחלתכה ברכה	ונחלתכה ברכה	[ונחלתכה ברכה]
a multitude of cattle in your fields	המון מקנה בחלקותיכה	ה[מון מקנה בחלקותיכה]	[המון מקנה בחלקותיכה]
silver, gold, *and precious stones* in your palac[e]s.	<כסף> וזהב ואבני חפץ בהיכל[ו]תיכה	[וזהב]בהיכלותיך	[וזה]ב בהֹיכֹלֹותיך

Translation	1QM col. 12:13–15	1QM[a] (col. 19):5–8	4QM[b] (4Q492) 1:5–8
Zion, rejoice greatly! *Shine forth in jubilation, Jerusalem!*	ציון שמחי מאדה והופיעי ברנות ירושלים	ציון שמחי מואדה	צ֯יֹ֯ן שמחי מאֹ֯ד
Be glad all you, cities of Judah!	והגלנה כול ערי יהודה	והגלנה כול ערי יהו[דה]	[והגלנה כול ערי יהודה]
Open your gates continually	פתחי שער[י]ך תמיד	[פתחי שעריך תמיד]	[פתחי] שֹ֯עריך תֹ֯מיד
that through them may be brought the wealth of the nations!	להביא אליך חיל גואים	[להביא אליך]חיל גוים	להביא אל[יך] חיל גוים
Their kings shall serve you;	ומלכיהם ישרתוך	ומלכיהם ישרתוֹ֯ך	ומֹ֯לכיהם ישרתוך
all your oppressors shall bow down before you	והשתחוו לך כול מעניך	והשתחוו לך [כו]ל [מעני]ך	ו[השתחוו לך כול מעניך]
and lick the dust from your feet.	ועפר [רגליך ילחכו]	[ועפר רגליך ילחכו]	[ועפר] ר֯גליך ילחכו
Daughters of my people burst into (or: *shout with*) a voice of jubilation!	[בנו]ת עמי צרחנה בקול רנה	בֹ֯נֹ֯ת עֹ֯מי הבענה בקול רנה	בֹ֯נות עמי הבענה[ב]קול רנה
Deck yourselves with glorious ornaments!	עדינה עדי כבוד	עדינה עדי כבוד	עדינה [עדי כבוד]
Have dominon over the kingdoms of […]	ורדינה ב[מ]ל[כות]	ור[ד]ינה במלכות	[ורדינה במלכות]
[…] to your camps	[…]	[…ל למחנ]יכה	[…]למחניכה
Israel shall reign forever.	וי[שראל למלוך עולמים	וישראל למלכות עֹ֯לֹ֯מים	ו֯יֹ֯שֹ֯ראל למלכות עולמים

The second example emerges from 1QM col. 2. Comparison of this text with 4Q471 frag. 1, to which it bears resemblance, reveals the addition of features to the description of the aspects of the Temple service.[15] Although Martin Abegg has recently tried to connect 4Q471 with the *Temple Scroll*, 11Q[a] col. 57,[16] we

15 Eshel and Eshel, "4Q471." For a more detailed treatment of the rabbinic sources, see Hanan Eshel and Esther Eshel, "*Maʿamadot* in the War Scroll and their Significance for Understanding the Qumran View about Collecting the Payment for the *Tamid*," in *Hiqrei Eretz: Studies in the History of the Land of Israel Dedicated to Prof. Yehuda Feliks* (ed. Yvonne Friedman, Ze'ev Safrai, and Joshua Schwartz; Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1997), 223–34 (Hebrew). We would like to thank Prof. John Strugnell for entrusting the publication of this fragment to us. [See now, Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "4Q471. 4QWar Scroll-like Text b," in Stephen J. Pfann (ed.), *Cryptic Texts* and Philip Alexander et al. (eds.), *Miscellanea, Part 1: Qumran Cave 4.XXVI* (DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 439–45].

16 Martin G. Abegg, "4Q471: A Case of Mistaken Identity?" in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (ed. John C. Reeves and John Kampen; JSOTSup. 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 136–47.

would like to demonstrate that although the *Temple Scroll* and the *War Scroll* possess shared elements, 4Q471 is the source of the *War Scroll* and is not a copy of the *Temple Scroll*. Column 2 of 1QM reads as follows:

1QM col. 2

1. אבות העדה שנים וחמשים ואת ראשי הכוהנים יסרוכו אחר כוהן הראש ומשנהו ראשים שנים עשר להיות משרתים
2. בתמיד לפני אל וראשי המשמרות ששה ועשרים במשמרותם ישרתו ואחריהם ראשי הלויים לשרת תמיד שנים עשר אחד
3. לשבט וראשי משמרותם איש במעמדו ישרתו וראשי השבטים ואבות העדה אחריהם להתיצב תמיד בשערי המקדש
4. וראשי משמרותם עם פקודיהם יתיצבו למועדיהם לחודשיהם ולשבתות ולכול ימי השנה מבן חמשים שנה ומעלה
5. אלה יתיצבו על העולות ועל הזבחים לערוך מקטרת ניחוח לרצון אל לכפר בעד כול עדתו ולהדשן לפניו תמיד
6. בשולחן כבוד את כול <אלה> יסרוכו במועד שנת השמטה ובשלוש ושלושים שני המלחמה הנותרות יהיו אנשי השם
7. קרואי המועד וכול ראשי אבות העדה בחרים להם אנשי מלחמה לכול ארצות הגו<י>ם מכול שבטי ישראל יחלוצו
8. להם אנשי חיל לצאת לצבא כפי תעודות המלחמה שנה בשנה ובשני השמטים לוא יחלוצו לצאת לצבא כיא שבת
9. מנוח היאה לישראל בחמש ושלושים שני העבודה תערך המלחמה שש שנים יעורכוה כול העדה יחד
10. ומלחמת המחלקות בתש[ע] ועשרים הנותרות...

1. The fathers of the congregation, fifty-two. They shall arrange the chiefs of the priests behind the chief priest and his deputy, twelve chiefs who are to serve
2. steadily before God; twenty-six chiefs of the watches shall serve in their watches. After them, twelve chiefs of the Levites are to serve steadily, one
3. for (each) tribe; their chiefs of the watches shall serve, each one in his position. The chiefs of the tribes and the fathers of the congregation after them are to take up their station steadily in the gates of the sanctuary;
4. their chiefs of watches with their numbered (men) shall take up their station for their festivals, for their new moons and sabbaths, and for all the days of the year, from the age of fifty years and over.
5. These shall take up their station at the burnt-offerings and at the sacrifices, to prepare a soothing incense for the good pleasure of God, to atone on behalf of all his congregation and to delight before him steadily
6. at the table of glory. They shall arrange all these during the appointed time of the year of remission. During the remaining thirty-three years of the war, the men of renown
7. appointed to the meeting and all the chiefs of the fathers of the congregation shall choose for themselves men of war for all the lands of the nations. From all the tribes of Israel they shall equip
8. for themselves men of worth who shall march out to campaign according to the fixed times of war year after year. But during the years of remission they shall not equip (them) to march out to campaign, for they are a sabbath

9. of rest for Israel. During the thirty-five years of service, the war shall be prepared during six years, the whole congregation preparing it together,
10. The war of divisions (shall take place) during the remaining twenty-nine (years).

This passage contains the following elements: lines 1 and 2 describe the priestly service in the Temple; the figures involved are the High Priest and his deputy, twelve permanent priests, twenty-six *mishmarot*, and twelve permanent Levites. Lines 3–6 describe the *ma'amadot*, namely the twelve Levites, chiefs of tribes, elders, and a number of laymen who attend the Temple service when the public offering (the תמיד) is sacrificed.

4Q471 frag. 1 shares three elements with 1QM col. 2: the Temple service, the selection of soldiers, and the war fought by the divisions:

4Q471 frag. 1:[16a]

1. [...]ה מכ[ו]ל אשר[ר ...]
2. [...] כול איש מאחיו מבנ[...]
3. [אהרון ואת ראשי הכהנים יסרוכ]ו והיו עמו תמיד ו[שר]תו
4. [לפניו ... וראשים שנים עשר ל]כול שבט ושב[ט] אי[ש
5. [אחד וראשי המשמרות ששה ועש]רים ומן[ה]לוים שנים
6. [עשר אחד לכול שבט ושב]ט וישר[תו לפני]ו תמיד כ[ו]ל
7. [הימים ויבחרו להם אנשי חיל ל]מען יהיו מלמדי ח[רב]
8. [לצאת לצבא ... ומלחמ]ת מחלקו[תם ...]
9. [...מלח]מה[...]

1. [...] from all tha[t ...]
2. [...]each man from his brothers from the sons of[...]
3. [Aaron and the chiefs of the priests, they shall dispose] and will be continually with him, and they will s[erve]
4. [before him. And (there shall be) twelve leaders, one] for each trib[e],
5. [And the chiefs of the watches] twenty-si]x and twe[lve] Levites,
6. [one to each tribe. They shall] serve steadily [before Hi]m all
7. [the days. They shall choose for them warriors in] order to have them sw[ord]-trained
8. [to enter the army...And the w]ar of their divisio[ns...]
9. [...w]ar[...]

Regarding the roles specifically represented in the Temple service in 1QM, Philip Davies has already noted that "this is the only mention of the Chief Priest in [columns] II–IX; unlike XV–XIX, his role [in column 2] appears to be confined to the cult, and he plays no part in the conduct of the war."[17] He suggested

16a [The text and translation follow Eshel and Eshel, DJD 36:442–43, with slight revision].
17 Davies, *1QM*, 26, n.6.

that "it is possible that the present account of the Temple service [in 1QM col. 2] has undergone some revision, and that laymen have been introduced into the scheme," along with the High Priest and his deputy.[18] Neither the High Priest, nor his deputy, nor the Israelites who are chiefs of tribes and fathers of the congregation appear in 4Q471.

Other sources bear parallels to the description of the Temple service. One parallel is found in 4QM[d]. Lines 3–5 describe the priestly service. In lines 5–6 only a few letters have survived, which Baillet correctly reconstructs as the service of the Levites and Israelites based on the version in 1QM. Yet another brief mention of the layman's service in the Temple is found in 4QM[a] frag. 1 (lines 8–9). The text here notes that some people are exempted from taking part in the war because it is their turn to work in the Temple:

4QM[a] frag. 1:8–9

8. [...] מהמה פטורי[ם...]~~ע~~אוי בג[ו]רל לשבט שבט לפיא פקודיו לדבר יום[...]
9. היום ההואה מכול שבטיהמה[יצ]אצאו מחוצה למחנות אל בית מו[עד...]

8. [...] among them set free by l[ot] for each tribe, according to its numbered men, for the daily duty. [...]
9. (On) that day, from all their tribes, they [shall m]arch out of the camps towards the house of meet[ing...]

4Q471 and 1QM seem to share additional features. In 4Q471 frag. 1, line 7, immediately following the description of the permanent Levitical service, we have reconstructed the procedure of choosing soldiers to go to war. This description may have resembled the description of the same event in 1QM 2:7–8. Further on, the war fought by the divisions mentioned in line 8 is described in detail in 1QM 2:10 ff.

To return to the description of the Temple service, it seems we can isolate two recensional layers in the description found in 1QM col. 2. The number fifty-two that appears at the beginning of this description comprises the following four groups:

1. The chief priest and his deputy—that is, two priests
2. Twelve chiefs of priests
3. Twenty-six priestly chiefs of the watches (משמרות)
4. Twelve Levites

Therefore "the chiefs of tribes and the fathers of the congregation" mentioned in 1QM 2:3 were not calculated as part of the fifty-two people who attend the Temple service.

18 Davies, ibid., 27.

Accordingly, we can trace three stages in the development of this description:

Stage 1 is documented in 4Q471, where neither the High Priest, nor his deputy, nor the Israelites are mentioned.

Stage 2 is documented in the first layer of 1QM, where fifty-two priests and Levites are mentioned (forty priests and twelve Levites).

Stage 3 is documented in the second layer of 1QM, where the chiefs of tribes and fathers of the congregation are added.

Comparison of 4Q471 frag. 1 with 1QM reveals that 4Q471 frag. 1 is probably the source of 1QM.

Examination of the Pharisaic view of *maʿamadot* clarified the differences between the two manuscripts. 1QM introduced *maʿamadot* in order to mediate between the obligation to attend the Temple when the daily offering (the תמיד) is offered and the practical difficulty of daily attendance. The concept is similar to the rabbinic concept of *maʿamadot*, which was instituted to solve the same problem and entailed appointing representative groups of priests, Levites, and laymen to attend the Temple in their stead.[19]

1 Chronicles 24, as well as sectarian compositions, document twenty-four priestly courses. The description in 1QM col. 2 provides the only evidence for twenty six courses. Twenty six courses perfectly match a fifty-two-week year, a fact that led Shemaryahu Talmon to suggest that twenty-six courses were practiced at Qumran.[20] Following his joint publication with Israel Knohl of a calendrical fragment from Cave 4 (4Q321), Talmon came to the conclusion that only twenty-four priestly courses were practiced at Qumran.[21] The sole occurrence of twenty-six courses in 1QM col. 2, in the first layer, hints that this description was probably influenced by the fifty-two week calendar.

Martin Abegg takes a different view of 4Q471. Based on a different reconstruction of the text, Abegg suggests that there is no affinity between the *War Scroll* and 4Q471. He views this fragment as related to 11QT[a] 57:11–15.[22] This

19 See Daniel Sperber, "Mishmarot and Maʿamadot," *EJ* 12:89–91; Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (new English version, rev. and ed. by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1979) 2:292–93.

20 Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judean Desert," in Rabin and Yadin (eds.), *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 162–99.

21 Shemaryahu Talmon and Israel Knohl, "A Calendrical Scroll from a Qumran Cave: Mišmarot B[a], 4Q321," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman, and Avi Hurvitz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 267–301, at 296, n. 44. [*Eds.*: See Also, Hanan Eshel, "Two Notes on Column 2 of the *War Scroll* (1QM)," *Israel's Land: Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee* (ed. Joseph Geiger, Hannah M. Cotton, and Guy D. Stiebel; Raanana: The Open University of Israel, 2009), 87–98 (Hebrew); Engl. transl. in this volume, 85–98].

22 Abegg, "Mistaken Identity?"

column of the Temple Scroll deals with the appointment and obligations of the king, including the makeup of the king's council:

11QT[a] 57[22a]

11. ...ושנים עשר
12. נשיי עמו עמו ומן הכוהנים שנים עשר ומן הלויים
13. שנים עשר אשר יהיו יושבים עמו יחד למשפט
14. ולתורה ולוא ירום לבבו מהמה ולא יעשה כול דבר
15. לכול עצה חוץ מהמה

11. And the twelve
12. leaders of his people (shall be) with him, and the priest twelve, and of the Levites
13. twelve. They shall sit together with him for judgment,
14. and (declare the decisions of) the law, that his heart my not be lifted up above them, and that he may not do anything
15. by any counsel apart from them.

Abegg dissociates 4Q471 from the *War Scroll* based on his reconstruction of ברור]ים] meaning "pure" or "approved," mentioned earlier in the *Temple Scroll*, as opposed to our reconstruction: וראשי המשמרות ששה ועש]רים], "And the chiefs of [the watches, twenty-si]x," paralleled in 1QM. Based on the parallel of 1QM, we reconstruct in line 7: ויבחרו להם אנשי חיל למען יהיו מלמדי חרב לצאת לצבא, "They shall choose for them warriors in order to have them sword-trained to enter the army." It should be noted that the parallel version in 1QM is more detailed than 4Q471. Abegg agrees that the term מלחמת המחלקות, "the war of the divisions," appears in 4Q471. This term occurs in 1QM col. 2 but is not found in the *Temple Scroll*. On the basis of this evidence, therefore, we differ with Abegg and conclude that 4Q471 is a source of the *War Scroll* and not a copy of the *Temple Scroll*.

Abegg's identification of this fragment as a copy of the *Temple Scroll* is part of Ben Zion Wacholder's attempt to identify copies of the *Temple Scroll* in Cave 4.[23] Hartmut Stegemann has suggested that the *Temple Scroll* was not composed by the Qumran sect.[24] This contests the view held by Yadin and Wacholder, who assume that the *Temple Scroll* is a fundamental sectarian work.[25] Stegemann

22a [The text and translation follow Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and The Shrine of the Book, 1983), 2:406–7].

23 Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Fragmentary Remains of 11QTorah (Temple Scroll)," *HUCA* 62 (1991): 1–116.

24 Hartmut Stegemann, "The Origins of the Temple Scroll," in *Congress Volume: Jerusalem 1986* (ed. John A. Emerton; VTSup 40; Leiden: Brill 1988), 235–56.

25 Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:398; Ben Zion Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran. The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (HUCM 8; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983).

notes that three of the thirty scrolls found in Cave 11 are copies of the *Temple Scroll*, while not a single copy of the *Temple Scroll* was found in Cave 4, where some five hundred and thirty scrolls were found.[26]

Two additional fragments from Cave 4 appear to be related to the *Temple Scroll*: Yadin identified 4Q365a as a copy of the *Temple Scroll*,[27] but we are inclined to agree with the definition of this work as "expanded Torah." Nevertheless, "it might have been one of the sources of the *Temple Scroll*, unless both works are dependent on another unknown source."[28] The same is true for another composition, 4Q524, to be published by Émile Puech.[28a] Although the question whether or not the *Temple Scroll* is a sectarian composition remains unresolved, 4Q471 nevertheless bears striking affinities to the *War Scroll* and fewer to the *Temple Scroll*.[28b]

As Abegg has correctly pointed out, there are in fact some affinities between the *War Scroll* and 11QT[a] col. 57. These similarities can be explained as follows: the author of the *Temple Scroll* wrote that the king of Israel must never be left alone and must always be guarded by soldiers. Similarly, the author of the *War Scroll* thought that the house of the King of Kings, namely the Temple, should never be left alone—priests, Levites, and laymen should always be in attendance.

To conclude our discussion of this second example, we reconstruct a four-stage development of the law regarding attendance at the Temple.

Stage 1: The concept that people should guard the Temple was borrowed from the *Temple Scroll*, but the *War Scroll* adapted it, changing the object to be guarded from the king of Israel to the Temple.

Stage 2: 4Q471 predates 1QM, before expressions such as איש במעמדו, "each man in his position," came to be used to refer to the technical term *maʿamad*.

Stage 3: In the first stage of 1QM col. 2, fifty-two priests and Levites guard the Temple, including the High Priest and his deputy.

Stage 4: Based on the concept of *maʿamadot*, laymen (the chiefs of the congregations and fathers of the tribes) were added to the previously appointed fifty-two priests and Levites in 1QM.

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26 Stegemann, "Origins," 237.

27 Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, vol. 3, Supplementary Plates. For the *editio princeps*, see Sidnie White [Crawford], "4Q365a," in Harold Attridge et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.VIII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 319–33.

28 Elisha Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Beer Sheva and Jerusalem: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press/Israel Exploration Society, 1996), 4–5.

28a [See now, Émile Puech, "4Q524, 4QRouleau du Temple," in idem (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 85–114].

28b [*Eds.*: See Hanan Eshel, "The Fortieth Anniversary of the Discovery of the *Temple Scroll*," *Moed* 18 (2008): 42–5; Engl. transl. in this volume, ch. 13, 193–207].

We have attempted to trace by means of this second example how the concept of guarding the king in the *Temple Scroll* was transferred to the *War Scroll* and expanded to include not only priests and Levites but laymen as well. 1QM incorporates an idea similar to the Pharisaic view that since the daily sacrifice must be brought from the public treasury, Israelites must be present at the Temple when it is offered.

The two examples discussed above—the hymn on Jerusalem and the Temple service—point to the same conclusion: 1QM is a later revision of the *War Scroll*. The redactor utilized the 4Q versions of the *War Scroll* as well as other sources to create his new version. As Duhaime has aptly noted, 1QM represents a final form of the *War Scroll*'s literary growth.[29] Our examination of traces of development of the *War Scroll* enables us to both establish the scroll's composite nature, and to uncover some of the sources on which its recensions are based.

29 Duhaime, "War Scroll," 80.

Chapter 5:
Two Notes on Column 2 of the *War Scroll* (1QM)*

In this article I put forth two propositions relating to the *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (1QM). The first addresses the question of why twenty-six chiefs of the priestly watches are listed rather than twenty-four. The second deals with the duration of the eschatological battle described in the scroll. The latter point is intended to draw the attention of Dead Sea Scrolls scholars to the possibility that the eschatological process outlined in the *War Scroll* was expected to last forty-nine years (a full jubilee) rather than forty years, which is currently the dominant view. The first part of this article serves as an example of how the publication of the Cave 4 fragments opened up opportunities for us to reach a better understanding of the relatively complete scrolls that were found in Cave 1.

1. "The chiefs of the watches, twenty-six, shall serve in their watches"

The members of the Qumran community followed a 364-day calendar. The advantage of this calendar is that the number of days divides evenly into precisely 52 weeks, enabling festivals to recur annually on the same fixed days of the week. The Qumran Community conceptualized their calendar as a perfect square, built of four 13-week sides. The scrolls refer to each side of the square as a season (a *tequfa*), consisting of 90 days; i. e., three months of 30 days each. Four additional days were placed at each "corner" of the square to separate between the *tequfot*. These four seasons and four days add up to a total of 364 days.[1]

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* [*Ed. note*: This article was originally published in Hebrew, in *Israel's Land: Papers Presented to Israel Shatzman on his Jubilee* (ed. Joseph Geiger, Hannah M. Cotton, and Guy D. Stiebel; Raanana: The Open University of Israel, 2009), 87–98. The original article contained the following note of acknowledgment.] This study emerged from lengthy discussions with Brian Schultz, who wrote his doctoral dissertation under my supervision: Brian Schultz, "The War Scroll from Cave 1 (1QM) in light of its Related Fragments from Caves 4 and 11," (Ph.D. diss., Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan, 2006); see now idem, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered* (STDJ 76; Leiden: Brill, 2009). I would like to thank him and Dr. Jonathan Ben-Dov with whom I clarified the ideas proposed in this article. I would also like to thank Shlomit Harel-Kendi for her important comments.

1 On the solar calendar used by the Qumran community, see Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Calendar of the Qumran Sect," *Qadmoniot* 30/2 (1997): 105–14; Jonathan Ben-Dov and

The Second Temple era saw the formation of two institutions dedicated to organizing the Temple service and enabling the participation of priests, Levites, and Israelites living outside Jerusalem. These two institutions were called "*mishmarot*" ("watches" or "courses") and "*ma'amadot*" ("delegations"). The clearest description of these institutions is documented in the Mishnah:

> Now what is the delegation [*ma'amad*]? Since it is said, *Command the children of Israel, and say to them, 'My obligation, my food* [*for my offerings made of fire, of a sweet savour to me, shall you observe to offer me in their due season*]' (Num 28:2)—now how can a person's offering be made, while he is not standing by its side? The early prophets made the rule of twenty-four watches [*mishmarot*], and for each watch, there was a delegation [*ma'amad*] in Jerusalem, made up of priests, Levites, and Israelites. When the time for a watch came to go up to Jerusalem, its priests and Levites go up with it to Jerusalem. And Israelites who belong to that watch gather together in their towns and study the story of the works of creation (*m. Ta'anit* 4:2)[1a]

The Tosefta contains a parallel description:

> [When] the time of a given watch has come, its priests and Levites go up to Jerusalem. And the Israelites of that watch who cannot go up to Jerusalem gather together in their towns and study the Scriptures pertaining to the works of creation. They refrain from labor for that entire week. (*t. Ta'anit* 3:3)

The Jerusalem Talmud offers an explanation for the establishment of the watches and divisions:

> Said R. Jonah, "[Taking into account that] these daily offerings are the sacrifices of all of Israel: if all of Israel went up to Jerusalem [daily, it would not be right for] is it not written,'Three times a year all your males shall appear [before the Lord your God]' (Deut 16:16) [—does the verse not require only three times a year]? [And] if all of Israel remained idle [following the proposition that people should not be en-

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Wayne Horowitz, "The 364-Day Year in Mesopotamia and Qumran," *Meghillot* (2003): 3–26; Hanan Eshel, "When Were the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* Recited?"*Meghillot* 4 (2006): 3–12, at 5 (Hebrew; translated in this volume, 170–82); and the calendar illustration appended to the end of the volume of *Meghillot* 4 = Shlomit Harel-Kendi, "The 364-day Calendar," illustr. in *The Qumran Scrolls and Their World* (2 vols.; ed. Menahem Kister; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2009), 2:686–87; [repr. in the current volume, fig. 11.1.]

1a [*Eds*.: The translation of the Mishnah is from Jacob Neusner, *A History of the Mishnaic Law of Appointed Times*. Part 4: *Besah, Rosh Hashanah, Taanit, Megillah, Moed Qatan, Hagigah: Translation and Explanation* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 125. The translation of the Tosefta is from idem, *The Tosefta. Second Division: Moed* (NY: Ktav, 1981), 274. The translation of Yerushalmi Pesahim follows Bokser, in Baruch M. Bokser, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Jacob Neusner (eds.), *The Talmud of the Land of Israel: A Preliminary Translation and Explanation*. Vol. 13, *Yerushalmi Pesaḥim* (Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism; Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987), 148–49. Tractate *y. Pesahim* (4:1; 30c) incorporates the passage from *y. Ta'anit* 4:2 (67d)].

> gaged in work while their sacrifice is being offered], and is it not written, 'And you shall gather in your grain' (Deut 11:14)? Who would gather in the new grain for them? Rather, the former prophets established twenty-four watches. Corresponding to each watch, there was a delegation [stationed] in Jerusalem of priests and of Levites and of Israelites…" (*y. Ta'anit* 4:2 [67d])[2]

When the first scrolls found in Cave 1 were published, scholars noted a glaring discrepancy between the twenty-six watches represented in the list of Temple offices in 1QM col. 2 and the accepted division, known from Josephus (*Ant*. 7.365) and from rabbinic sources, based upon the list of 24 priestly watches found in 1 Chron 24:7–18.[3] Since twenty-six watches are equal to exactly half of the number of weeks in the Qumran Community's calendar,[4] scholars presumed that the members of the Community added two watches to the annual cycle. Thus, according to their calculations, each of the priestly watches would serve in the Temple twice each year: one week in the first half of the year (during the first two *tequfot*) and an additional week in the second half of the year (during the third and fourth *tequfot*).[5]

However, with the publication of the Cave 4 *Mishmarot* fragments it became clear that in fact the members of the Yahad Community followed the system of 24 priestly watches found in 1 Chron 24.[6] Among the calendrical compositions

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2 On the watches and delegations, see Daniel Sperber, "*Mishmarot* and *ma'amadot*," *EJ* 12: 89–92; Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols.; ed. Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1979), 2:292–93.

3 On the dating of the two layers that make up this section of Chronicles (1 Chron 23–27), in which David is depicted as transmitting instructions pertaining to the Temple to Solomon, and on the relatively late date of the twenty-four priestly watches, see H. G. M. Williamson, "The Origins of the Twenty-four Priestly Courses: A Study of 1 Chronicles xxiii-xxvii," in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (ed. John A. Emerton; VTSup 30; Leiden: Brill, 1979), 251–68.

4 The descriptions in both Josephus and the rabbinic sources explicitly state that the priestly watches worked 8-day shifts, from Shabbat to Shabbat. See *Ant*. 7.365; *m.Tamid* 5:1; *m.Sukkah* 5:8. Over time, the weeks came to be called after the priestly watches that were assigned to work at that time. See Ephraim E. Urbach, "*Mishmarot* and *Ma'amadot*," *Tarbiz* 42 (1972–73): 309–13; Jeffrey H. Tigay, "Notes on the Development of the Jewish Week," *EI* 14 (1978): 111–21.

5 See Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (transl. Batya Rabin and Chaim Rabin; London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 204–6; Paul Winter, "Twenty-Six Priestly Courses," *VT* 6 (1956): 215–17; Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judean Desert," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin; Scripta Hierosolymitana 4; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958), 162–99, at 168–70; Jacob Liver, *Chapters in the History of the Priests and Levites: Studies in the Lists of Chronicles and Ezra and Nehemiah* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1968), 36–37 (Hebrew).

6 Prof. Shemaryahu Talmon was among the first scholars to propose that the *War Scroll* indicates that the members of the Qumran Community added two watches to the list of the priestly watches. On the basis of Cave 4 scrolls, Talmon subsequently argued that this pro-

found at Qumran, there are lists that name the watches serving in the Temple at the beginning of each month, and at the beginning of each year, within the framework of a six-year cycle.[7] This 6-year cycle was designed to co-ordinate the 52-week year with the list of 24 priestly watches. According to the generally accepted practice during the Second Temple period, and adopted also in the writings of the Qumran Community, twenty of the priestly watches served in the Temple twice annually (one week each time), while the remaining four watches served three times.[8] Thus, at the beginning of every year of the six-year cycle, the watch serving on the Shabbat following the New Year is listed five watches after the watch that served in the initial week of the previous year. The intervening four watches served their additional weeks at the end of the previous year. Each year thus saw the list begin four watches ahead of the previous year. Since every year there would be four watches that would serve for three weeks rather than two weeks, the discrepancies would balance out over the course of the six-year period (6 years x 4 priestly watches serving an additional week), such that all 24 watches worked a total of 13 weeks during the cycle.[9]

The second column of 1QM now requires re-examination. Since all scholars agree today that adherents of a 364-day calendar did not add two priestly watches to their list, the question must be asked anew: why did the author of the *War Scroll* list 26 chiefs of watches rather than 24 or 52? To date, two answers have been put forth to this question: (1) The author of the *War Scroll* wanted to make the point that twenty-six priestly watches serve in the Temple

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posal must be rejected. See Shemaryahu Talmon and Israel Knohl, "A Calendrical Scroll from Qumran Cave IV: *Mishmarot* B[a] (4Q321)," *Tarbiz* 60 (1991): 505–21, at 517 (Hebrew); eidem, "A Calendrical Scroll from a Qumran Cave: *Mishmarot* B[a], 4Q321," in *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom* (ed. David P. Wright, David Noel Freedman and Avi Hurvitz; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 267–301, at 296, n. 44. Synagogue inscriptions also list the twenty-four priestly watches according to 1 Chron 24:7–18. See Joseph Naveh, *On Stone and Mosaic — The Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Ancient Synagogues* (Tel Aviv: Carta and Israel Exploration Society, 1978), 87–89, 142–43 (Hebrew); Hanan Eshel, "A Fragmentary Hebrew Inscription of the Priestly Courses from Nazareth?" *Tarbiz* 61 (1991): 159–61 (Hebrew).

7 On the 6-year cycle in Qumran calendrical scrolls and the synchronization of the 24 priestly watches with the number of weeks in the year, see Uwe Glessmer, "Calendars in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 2:213–78, at 240–43. [For an updated treatment of synchronization in Qumran calendrical works, see Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Lunar Calendars at Qumran?: A Comparative and Ideological Study," in *Living the Lunar Calendar* (ed. Jonathan Ben-Dov, Wayne Horowitz and John M. Steele; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2012) 173–189.—*Eds.*].

8 In the 364-day calendar the New Year always occurs on a Wednesday. Thus the remainder is not four full watches, but rather three and a half. The last watch always serves half a week at the conclusion of the year that is ending and half a week during the year that is beginning.

9 See the table in Glessmer, "Calendars," 242–43.

in the course of a half-year period.[10] (2) The author of the *War Scroll* asserted that the priestly watches were to serve a total of 26 two-week shifts annually.[11] The scholars who suggested these two solutions were influenced by Josephus, by rabbinic writings, and by the Qumran calendrical documents. They assumed that the author of 1QM also adhered to the familiar system in which the priestly watches all served in one-week shifts. Before I offer an alternative explanation as to why 1QM lists 26 chiefs of watches, I will cite the list of official Temple functionaries documented in the first six lines of the second column of the scroll:[12]

1. אבות העדה שנים וחמשים ואת ראשי הכוהנים יסרוכו אחר כוהן הראש ומשנהו ראשים שנים עשר להיות משרתים
2. בתמיד לפני אל וראשי המשמרות ששה ועשרים במשמרותם ישרתו ואחריהם ראשי הלויים לשרת תמיד שנים עשר אחד
3. לשבט וראשי משמרותם איש במעמדו ישרתו וראשי השבטים ואבות העדה אחריהם להתיצב תמיד בשערי המקדש
4. וראשי משמרותם עם פקודיהם יתיצבו למועדיהם לחודשיהם ולשבתות ולכול ימי השנה מבן חמשים שנה ומעלה
5. אלה יתיצבו על העולות ועל הזבחים לערוך מקטרת ניחוח לרצון אל לכפר בעד כול עדתו ולהדשן לפניו תמיד
6. בשולחן כבוד את כול <אלה> יסרוכו במועד שנת השמטה …

1. the fathers of the congregation, fifty-two. They shall arrange the chiefs of the priests behind the chief priest and his deputy; twelve chiefs who are to serve
2. steadily before God; twenty-six chiefs of the watches (*mishmarot*) shall serve in their watches. After them, twelve chiefs of the Levites are to serve steadily, one
3. for (each) tribe; their chiefs of the watches shall serve, each one in his position. The chiefs of the tribes and the fathers of the congregation after them are to take up their station steadily in the gates of the sanctuary;
4. their chiefs of the watches with their numbered (men) shall take up their station for their festivals, for their new moons and sabbaths, and for all the days of the year, from the age of fifty and over.
5. These shall take up their station at the burnt offerings and at the sacrifices, to prepare a soothing incense for the good pleasure of God, to atone on behalf of all his congregation and to delight before Him steadily
6. at the table of glory. They shall arrange all these during the appointed time of the year of remission …

10 See Shemaryahu Talmon, Jonathan Ben-Dov, and Uwe Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4 XVI: Calendrical Texts* (DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 12.

11 See James C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (London: Routledge, 1998), 48–50.

12 The Hebrew text follows Jean Duhaime, "War Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations,* Vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 2; ed. James H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995), 80–141, at 98; translation ibid., 99, slightly revised.

In earlier publications I proposed dividing the list of functionaries in the Temple during sabbatical years, as enumerated in this description, into two groups.[13] The first group contains fifty-two men, about whom the author of the *War Scroll* determined that they would serve in the Temple "steadily" (תמיד), i. e., for the entire length of the sabbatical year.[14] This group comprises the high priest and the deputy high priest, twelve "chiefs of priests," twenty-six "chiefs of watches," and twelve "chiefs of Levites," totaling fifty-two. The scroll does not record a specific number for the second group, which consists of men serving in the Temple for fixed terms; this group includes priests, Levites, chiefs of tribes and "fathers of the congregation."[15] My understanding is that the first section of the description (up to the first word in line 3) establishes that the priests coming to serve in the Temple would work under the supervision of the fifty-two men who were to remain in the Temple throughout the entire sabbatical year. The statement in line 2 that twenty-six chiefs of watches will "serve in their watches" is meant to

13 See Hanan Eshel and Esther Eshel, "*Ma'amadot* in the *War Scroll* and Their Significance for Understanding the Qumran View About Collecting the Payment for the Tamid," in *Hikrei Eretz: Studies in the History of the Land of Israel, Dedicated to Prof. Yehuda Feliks* (ed. Ze'ev Safrai, Yvonne Friedman, and Joshua Schwartz; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1997), 223–34 (Hebrew); eidem, "Recensions of the War Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, Emanuel Tov and James C. VanderKam (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 351–63, at 357–63 [repr. in this volume, 71–84.—*Eds.*]. In these studies we attempted to recover two redactional layers in the lists of Temple functionaries attested in the various copies of the *War Scroll* found at Qumran. The earlier layer is attested in 4Q471, where the institution of *ma'amadot* had not yet influenced the scribes who were copying and editing the *War Scroll*. The version preserved in the *War Scroll* from Cave 1 shows that the institution of *ma'amadot* had already taken root among members of the Community.

14 Even though we must distinguish between those who serve "steadily" and those who serve for a fixed term, it seems advisable to retain the accepted view that the list of Temple functionaries describes the Temple service during sabbatical years. See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (Hebrew), 265. [An abridged version of Yadin's comment is found in the English ed., 262–63.—*Eds.*] Thus, the word "steadily" (בתמיד) at the beginning of line 2 signifies the entirety of the sabbatical year. It seems that in order to distinguish between the first six years of the war, described in col. 1 of the scroll, and the "War of the Divisions" and the preparations for the battle described in the continuation of col. 2, a redactor of 1QM inserted the list of Temple functionaries for sabbatical years into the beginning of col. 2. If this is correct, it would be of great significance for establishing the anticipated length of the eschatological battle, a topic that will be taken up in the second half of this study.

15 The collocation "heads of watches" occurs three times in the list of Temple functionaries (lines 2, 3, and 4), seemingly each time with respect to a different group of people. In line 2, the expression seems to refer to the twenty-six priests who served in the Temple throughout the sabbatical year; these people were entrusted with orienting the priests of the watches and instructing them in the Temple service. In line 3 the term seems to designate Levites who came to the Temple to serve for a fixed term, together with the priests of the watches. In line 4, the "heads of watches" are the tribal heads and fathers of the congregation, who came to Jerusalem to accompany the priestly watches, as the priests performed their Temple service.

indicate the role of these functionaries in guiding and instructing the priests of the watches that would come for a fixed-term Temple service.[16] The beginning of line 3 mentions the levitical chiefs of the watches, followed by the tribal chiefs and the chiefs of the congregation, i. e., the second group, who form part of the fixed-term *maʿamadot* service.[17]

The key to understanding the statement about 26 (rather than 24) chiefs of watches, seems to be connected to the fact that 1QM 2:1–6 describes the Temple service during the sabbatical year ("All of these they shall arrange at the time of the year of remission" [line 6]). Presumably, the author who composed the list of the Temple functionaries was familiar with the watches lists found elsewhere at Qumran. He thus would have known that a six-year cycle was instituted so that all priestly watches would serve an equal number of weeks in the Temple. He apparently thought that the watches cycle was to be coordinated with the cycle of sabbatical years.[18] This scribe therefore sought to remove the sabbatical years from the regular cycle. In order to do so he determined that during sabbatical years there would be 26 sets of watches, with each watch lasting two weeks, rather than 52 sets of a single week, as in regular years.[19] This solution is possible

16 This supposition resolves the apparent contradiction between the stipulations "to serve in their watches" and "serve steadily" (both in line 2). If we have properly understood the intent of the list of Temple functionaries, the author stated that 26 heads of watches would serve in the Temple for the duration of the entire sabbatical year. Their job would be to facilitate the orientation of the priests of their watches and to supervise them during the time that their watch would serve in the Temple.

17 The priests of the watches assigned to fixed terms of service are mentioned, according to our understanding, in the beginning of the list in line 1: "they shall rank the chiefs of the priests." The Levites and Israelites assigned for a fixed term alongside the priests are mentioned, according to our view, in line 3: "their chiefs of the watches (of the Levites) shall serve, each one in his position. The chiefs of the tribes and the fathers of the congregation after them…"

18 If the six-year cycle of the priestly watches would not be coordinated with the sabbatical cycle—i. e., if the sabbatical year would be treated as just an ordinary year within the six-year cycle—then it would be rather difficult to keep track of the six-year cycle and to remember the watch on duty at the beginning of each year. See Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Jubilean Chronology and the 364-day Year," *Meghillot* 5–6 (2007): 49–59 (Hebrew).

19 Apparently, the idea of removing the sabbatical year from the regular cycle of watches, which I suggest is found in 1QM, was relatively late. This position is not found in the most detailed calendrical document found at Qumran, 4QOtot (4Q319). This text contains a cycle of six jubilees, i. e., 294 years, stating explicitly that the regular watches cycle does include the sabbatical years. See Jonathan Ben-Dov, "319. 4QOtot," DJD 21:195–244. The innovation that I identify in 1QM is that the author of the list of Temple functionaries treated the sabbatical year as a special year (in contrast to the view attested in 4QOtot). This attitude might have originated in a more eschatological conception of sabbatical years, such as that found in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13). On the relatively late dating of the Cave 1 copy of the *War Scroll*, see the literature cited in n. 13 above, and Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World*. It is not certain whether the reconstruction מימ[ין] ש[מי]טה in fragment 2 of 4Q330 ought to be accepted; see the similar objections raised by Ben-Dov, "Jubilean Chronology," n. 19.

because in a sabbatical year there is no need to be concerned that extended Temple service will prevent Jews from working, since they are forbidden to work the fields during this year anyway.[20] Thus, in sabbatical years, it would have been feasible to require the priests of the watches, as well as the Levites and the civilian men of the *ma'amadot* who accompany them, to remain in Jerusalem for two weeks, rather than for just one week as they did during regular work years.[21]

2. Was the Eschatological Process Expected to Last 40 Years or 49 Years?

All previous scholars who have attempted to analyze the various stages of the apocalyptic war, grappled with the difficulties posed by lines 6–10 of the second column of 1QM. It is generally accepted that the war described in the scroll was expected to last for forty years. This is problematic, however, because the scroll does not offer any information that would enable us to determine the year within the sabbatical cycle in which the war was supposed to break out. Thus, within the conventional view, we have no way to know how many years of warfare were meant to pass before the first sabbatical year, nor how many years the war would last during the sixth and final cycle of years. There is also no way to systematically divide the period of the eschatological process into cycles of seven years. I propose an alternative reading of 1QM, in which the process is expected to last forty-nine years, i.e., seven cycles of seven years—a complete jubilee.[22] Lines 6–14 of the second column of 1QM read:[23]

20 See Exod 23:10–11; Lev 25:1–7. The concern about interfering with work relates to the statement, "[And] if all of Israel remained idle" (ישבו ישראל בטלין) in *y. Ta'an.* 4:2 (66,4), cited above.

21 Unfortunately, 1QM does not specify which priestly watches would be privileged to serve twice during the sabbatical year. If I have correctly understood the author of the list of Temple functionaries, these two watches would serve two 2-week shifts during the sabbatical year. Since my interpretation proposes that the author is presenting a special cycle for sabbatical years, perhaps he conceived of a cycle of 13 sabbaticals (91 years), thus enabling each of the 26 watches to enjoy this privilege. I have not found evidence of such a cycle, however.

22 Line 14 of 1QM col. 7 states that the priests will take "seven ram's horns" into the battles. This statement could be viewed as supporting my proposal that the eschatological process will last seven cycles of seven years. The force of this argument is mitigated, however, by the textual basis for the command. The stipulation is based upon the conquest of Jericho in Josh 6:4 "with seven priests carrying seven ram's horns preceding the Ark. On the seventh day, march around the city seven times, with the priests blowing the horns." See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, 293.

23 The text and translation are from Duhaime, "War Scroll," 98–101. The scribe who copied 1QM erred by misplacing an *'ayin* in line 10, writing בעתש ועשרים instead of בתשע ועשרים. See Duhaime, ibid., 98 n. 29. The correct reading is found in another copy of the *War Scroll*, 4Q496 5+6 2. See Duhaime, ibid., 180. The reconstruction in line 14 follows Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, 266–67.

6. … ובשלוש ושלושים שני המלחמה הנותרות יהיו אנשי השם
7. קרואי המועד וכול ראשי אבות העדה בחרים להם אנשי מלחמה לכול ארצות הגו<י>ם מכול שבטי ישראל יחלוצו
8. להם אנשי חיל לצאת לצבא כפי תעודות המלחמה שנה בשנה ובשני השמטים לוא יחלוצו לצאת לצבא כיא שבת
9. מנוח היאה לישראל בחמש ושלושים שני העבודה תערך המלחמה שש שנים ועורכיה כול העדה יחד
10. ומלחמת המחלקות בתשע ועשרים הנותרות בשנה הראישונה ילחמו בארם נהרים ובשנית בבני לוד בשלישית
11. ילחמו בשאר בני ארם בעוץ וחול תוגר ומשא אשר בעבר פורת ברביעית ובחמישית ילחמו בבני ארפכשד
12. בששית ובשביעית ילחמו בכול בני אשור ופרס והקדמוני עד המדבר הגדול בשנה השמינית ילחמו בבני
13. עילם בתשעית ילחמו בבני ישמעאל וקטורה ובעשר השנים אשר אחריהם תחלק המלחמה על כול בני חם
14. ל[משפחותם במו]שבותם ובעשר השנים הנותרות תחלק המלחמה על כול[בני יפ]ת במושבותיהם

6. … During the remaining thirty-three years of the war, the men of renown
7. appointed to the meeting and all the chiefs of the fathers of the congregation shall choose for themselves men of war for all the lands of the nations. From all the tribes of Israel they shall equip
8. for themselves capable men who shall march out to campaign according to the fixed times of war year after year. But during the years of remission they shall not equip (them) to march out to campaign, for they are a sabbath
9. of rest for Israel. During the thirty-five years of service, the war shall be prepared during six years, the whole congregation preparing it together.
10. The war of the divisions (shall take place) during the remaining twenty-nine (years). During the first year, they shall wage war against Aram Naharaim (Mesopotamia), and during the second against the sons of Lud. During the third,
11. they shall wage war against the remainder of the sons of Aram, against Uz and Hul, Togar and Mesha, who (are) beyond the Euphrates. During the fourth and fifth, they shall wage war against the sons of Arpachshad.
12. During the sixth and seventh, they shall wage war against all the sons of Assyria and Persia, and the easterners up to the great wilderness. During the eighth year, they shall wage war against the sons of
13. Elam. During the ninth they shall wage war against the sons of Ishmael and Keturah. During the following ten years, the war shall be divided against all the sons of Ham
14. according to [their] [families in] their [set]tlement. During the remaining ten years the war shall be spread out against all [sons of Japhe]th in their settlements.

In his commentary to 1QM 7:6–10, Yadin wrote:

> In these lines, the author of the scroll explains the method for calculating the years of the war, from two reference points: the years of combat as opposed to the sabbatical years, and the years of the battle of the entire community in contrast to the War of the Divisions. As a result—and because the bottom part of the first page is missing—it seems at times that he is contradicting himself. This is his calculation:

> The entire war from beginning to end will take 40 years. Of these, five are sabbatical years, and 35 are years of warfare. Of those 35 years of warfare, part are taken up by the battle of the entire congregation, which will last six years; and part consists of the War of the Divisions which will last twenty-nine years.[24]

Yadin understood the term ערך in line 9 as "wage" rather than "prepare"; his translation reads: "In the thirty-five years of service, the war shall be waged. For six years, the whole congregation shall wage it together." Yadin took these six years to refer to a period during which the entire congregation was meant to participate in the battle against the main enemies of the Sons of Light. He thought that this campaign was the war described in the first column of the scroll.[25]

There are substantial differences between the first and the second column of 1QM. Column 1 deals with the war of the Sons of Light against the lands neighboring Israel, against the Kittim, and against the violators of the covenant. This was meant to be a short battle, which would take place before the nine tribes of Israel return to the Land.[26] This brief engagement is sometimes called the "day of battle" (see for example 1:10–12). In contrast, column 2 describes the War of the Divisions in which select representatives of Israel's twelve tribes are to wage war against "all the lands of the nations." This War of the Divisions is expected to last many years.[27]

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24 See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (Hebrew ed.), 267, and 19–20. [The English edition does not contain the note that has been translated here.—*Eds.*]

25 Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (Hebrew ed.), 269.

26 Line 2 of col. 1 names "the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin." It is unclear whether this itemization constitutes the end of the description of the Sons of Darkness, or whether these tribes are enumerated in the beginning of the description of the Sons of Light (see Hanan Eshel, "The 'Prayer of Joseph' from Qumran, a Papyrus from Masada and the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim," *Zion* 56 (1991), 125–36, at 126, n. 2 [Hebrew]; transl., in this volume, 149–63, at 150). In any case, this designation describes a situation in which only these three tribes have returned to the Land of Israel, while the remaining tribes are still in exile. In contrast, according to 1QM col. 2, the War of the Divisions will break out when *all* tribes will be in the Land of Israel.

27 On the significant differences between the first and second columns of 1QM, see the important work of Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977). These differences have led most scholars of the *War Scroll* to suppose that columns 1 and 2 were written by different authors. See the survey in Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (CQS 6; London: T & T Clark, 2004), 45–53, and the discussion in Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 333–336. My focus here is upon the perspective of the redactor, who combined the battle plan against the enemies described in col. 1 with the War of the Divisions described in col. 2. I shall not address the question of the sources used by this editor.

Yadin thought that two initial stages of the eschatological war were described in column 1 of the scroll. In his view, the entire congregation was meant to fight the primary enemies of the nation of Israel during these stages.[28] Yadin supposed that these stages would last a total of seven years (six years of the "war of all the congregation," followed by a sabbatical year). After these two stages, the War of the Divisions was expected to last an additional thirty-three years.[29]

There are two main problems with the elegant chronology offered by Yadin (which is the generally accepted solution in current scholarship):

(1) According to his view, the forty years mentioned in col. 2 of the scroll include the stages described in col. 1.

(2) According to Yadin's proposal, it is specifically the war against the nations neighboring Israel, against the Kittim of Assyria, and against the violators of the covenant—which was to be conducted by a portion of the sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin ("the exiles of the Sons of Light" in Yadin's rendering of גולת בני אור at 1QM 1:3)—that is termed "the war of all the congregation" (1QM 2:9, תערך המלחמה שש שנים יערכוה כל העדה).[30] Two lines prior to this designation, however, it is emphasized that select warriors "from all of the tribes of Israel" (1QM 2:7) are chosen for the War of the Divisions. In light of this emphasis, it is difficult to suppose that the war designated the "war of the entire congregation" in 1QM 2:9 is the battle described in column 1, in which only a portion of three tribes was to participate.

As noted above, Yadin thought that the expression "the whole congregation shall wage it together" in line 9 referred to the first six years of a forty-year war, in which all of the congregation would fight against the main Sons of Dark-

28 Yadin thought that the description in col. 1 was to be divided into two stages of battle. In the first stage, the Sons of Light would fight against the neighboring nations of Israel, against the Kittim of Assyria, and against the violators of the covenant, while in the second stage, they would fight against the Kittim of Egypt. See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 21–27. This understanding was based upon an incorrect reconstruction of 1QM 1:4. For the correct restoration see David Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll," in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*. Vol. 1, *Qumran and Apocalypticism* (transl. Azzan Yadin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2007), 140–58].

29 Yadin, ibid., 21–33. Yadin proposed that the author of the *War Scroll* determined that the war would last forty years because the Israelites wandered in the Sinai wilderness for forty years before entering the land of Canaan.

30 The Kittim in the *War Scroll* are to be identified as Seleucids, as put forth by Eliezer Lipa Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955), 31–32 (Hebrew), and not as Romans, as argued by Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 244–46. See Hanan Eshel, "The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim," in *Historical Perspectives from the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29–44; [see now, idem, "The Changing Notion of the Enemy," in idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008, 163–79)].

ness.[31] In contrast to Yadin, most translators of the *War Scroll* interpreted the words ועורכיה כול העדה יחד[32] to refer to six years of preparation for the war, involving all of the tribes of Israel, *prior* to the outbreak of the War of the Divisions.[33] In light of this understanding of the term ועורכיה, it may be supposed that the scribes who produced 1QM intended to describe a process that would last forty-nine years.[34] This process was to be divided into three or four stages: in the beginning of the war, the Sons of Light would fight against Israel's neighbors (Edom, Moab, Amon, and Philistia), the Kittim, and the violators of the covenant. This war was expected to be a relatively short engagement. After the victory over these enemies, the scroll is likely to have described a process of ingathering of exiles (in the missing portion of the scroll in col. 1), during which the nine tribes would return to the land of Israel.[35] From the description preserved in the second column of the scroll, it emerges that all of the tribes would be settled in the Land of Israel prior to the outbreak of the "War of the Divisions." It seems therefore that the initial phase of the war directed against enemies dwelling within the land, and the return of the nine tribes to the land, would last six years altogether.[36]

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31 See Yadin, ibid. 36, 265. He was followed by Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran*, 26, 114; and Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements," in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, 152–53.

32 The use of the root rendered here as "prepare," (ערך), together with "war" (מלחמה), is attested sixteen times in the Hebrew Bible. This expression was used in Biblical Hebrew to denote both preparation for war (e.g., 1 Sam 17) and actual warfare (e.g., Gen 14:8; Judg 20:20; 2 Chron 13:3; but always with a particle, עם or את). For evidence supporting the understanding the expression ועורכיה כול העדה as denoting preparation for war, see especially Jer 46:3; cf. Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 173–74.

33 See Jean Carmignac, *La Règle de la Guerre des Fils de Lumiére contre les Fils de Ténèbers* (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958), 35; Bastiaan Jongeling, *Le Rouleau de la Guerre des manuscripts se Qumran* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1962), 92–93; Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols; Leiden: Brill, New York and Köln 1997), 1:115; Duhaime, "War Scroll," 99; Giovanni Ibba, *Rotolo della Guerra* (Turin: Zamorani, 1998), 86.

34 Even though most scholars have interpreted the words עורכיה כל העדה יחד as denoting preparation for war, they still retained Yadin's view that the war was expected to last forty years. This, despite the fact that Yadin's chronology was based on his view that these six years refer to the battle described in col. 1.

35 According to the reconstruction of Elisha Qimron, there are eleven lines missing from the bottom of col. 1 of 1QM. This is a large amount of text, which might have contained a substantial description of the return of the nine tribes to the Land of Israel. See the new edition of Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings*. Vol. 1, *Between Bible and Mishnah* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010), 109, 127. [The original publication contained a note thanking Prof. Qimron for making his edition available to the author prior to its publication. The number of missing lines was recorded as seventeen; eleven lines remains a substantial amount of text.—*Eds*.]

36 As noted above (notes 25, 31), Yadin had already reached the conclusion that the eschatological process described in col. 1 of 1QM was expected to last 6 years. See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 36, 265. However, he thought that these years were to be identified with the

The scroll then proceeded with a description of the first sabbatical year; hence col. 2 opens with a list of the Temple functionaries during the sabbatical year. Following the first sabbatical year, the author anticipates the beginning of the next phase in the eschatological plan, i. e., the preparations for the War of the Divisions. During these six years, the entire congregation is to prepare for the world war that is scheduled to break out after the second sabbatical year. In light of this understanding of the word ועורכיה in line 9, it may be inferred that column 2 of the scroll did not contain any description of military engagement that would involve the participation of the entire congregation. After the second sabbatical year, a period of thirty-five years of the War of the Divisions was to commence (as mentioned in line 9). If this reconstruction is correct, then the eschatological war was expected to last a total of forty-nine years, rather than forty.

If we adopt this chronological blueprint, it follows that the description in col. 2 of 1QM is corrupt. In an attempt to depict the nature of the corruption, I would like to propose an explanation for the statement in lines 6–7, "During the remaining thirty-three years of the war, the men of renown appointed to the meeting and all the chiefs of the fathers of the Congregation shall choose for themselves men of war." We may surmise that this statement originated at the hand of one of the copyists, who subtracted the first sabbatical year and the final sabbatical year from the thirty-five years of War of the Divisions. He therefore determined that the War of the Divisions would last thirty-three years. A subsequent scribe thought that the entire war would last forty years and accordingly thought it necessary to add seven years to the thirty-three years of the War of the Divisions. Apparently, one of the redactors of the scroll mistakenly identified the six years of preparation for the War of the Divisions in line 9 as sabbatical years.[37] He therefore subtracted those six years from the thirty-five years of War of the Divisions (also in line 9), and determined, erroneously, that this war would last twenty-nine years.[38] After reaching this conclusion, he specified the names of the enemies against whom the representatives of the tribes would wage war in each of these twenty-nine years of war (lines 10–14).[39]

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six years mentioned in 2:9 "the war shall be prepared during six years, the whole congregation preparing it together."

37 The thirty-five years of the War of the Divisions would contain five sabbatical years (rather than six). This error led to the erroneous conclusion that the War of the Divisions would last twenty-nine years rather than thirty.

38 For a detailed discussion of possible options for constructing a chronology that will account for the details of 1QM col. 2, see Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 171–83.

39 There are similarities between the list of enemies against whom the tribes of Israel wage war during the War of the Divisions and the list of the division of the world among Noah's children in the *Genesis Apocryphon* and in the *Book of Jubilees*. On this map, see Esther Eshel, "The *Imago Mundi* of the *Genesis Apocryphon*," in *Heavenly Tablets: Interpretation, Identity and Tradition in Ancient Judaism, Studies in Honor of Betsy Halpern-Amaru* (ed. Lynn LiDonnici and Andrea Lieber; JSJSup 119; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 111–31.

If we accept the supposition that a late redactor of the *War Scroll* erred in conceiving the phases of the eschatological battle, we may propose the original outline of the war as follows. A short battle would take place within the land of Israel, after which the nine tribes would return to the land. These events would take six years. They would be followed by a first sabbatical year, and then six years of preparation for a world war, followed by a second sabbatical year. Next, a period of thirty-five years would begin. This would be the War of the Divisions, during which span there would be five sabbatical years. This latter war would thus include thirty years of fighting, not twenty-nine as presently indicated in line 10. This reference to twenty-nine years came about because a late redactor of the scroll erroneously identified the years of preparation for the battle with the later sabbatical years.

This reconstructed outline assumes that some of the redactors of the scroll erred in their understanding of the calculations that appeared in the war's sequence. Nevertheless, it resolves most of the questions arising from the complex chronological schema underlying the description of the eschatological war in column 2 of 1QM.

Conclusion

Two proposals were put forth in this article. The first is that the author of the *War Scroll* thought that the priestly watches in the Temple would serve for two-week shifts during sabbatical years. This enabled him to exclude the sabbatical years from the cycle of ordinary years, so that the seven-year sabbatical cycle could be synchronized with the six-year cycle of the priestly watches. The six-year cycle of priestly watches, which is well documented in the calendrical documents found at Qumran, was established in order to accommodate equal distribution of service by the twenty-four priestly watches working within a 52-week year. The second proposal is that there is some textual corruption in the second column of 1QM, which came about due to a misunderstanding on the part of one of the copyists. This scribe thought that the eschatological war was supposed to last forty years. But there are a number of indications that he did not grasp the original chronological framework of the scroll, according to which the war would last forty-nine years, i. e., a complete jubilee. I suggest reconstructing the original chronology to span a full jubilee. During the first six years, the Sons of Light would battle against enemies within the Land of Israel, after which there would be an ingathering of the nine tribes from exile. Subsequently, the entire congregation would engage in six years of preparation for the world war, the War of the Divisions, which would then last for thirty-five years.

Chapter 6:
The Two Historical Layers of *Pesher Habakkuk**

In Memory of Professor Hartmut Stegemann

Pesher 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 Hab 1–2,[2] but not on Hab 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

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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 the important study: Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979).

2 1QpHab is one of the three scrolls that Mohammed edh-Dhib claimed were contained within the cylindrical jar found in Cave 1 at Qumran in 1947. For its *editio princeps*, see William H. Brownlee, "The Habakkuk Commentary," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* (ed. Millar Burrows with the assistance of John C. Trever and William H. Brownlee; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950). It was republished by Horgan, *Pesharim*, 10–55 (transcription in ibid., "The Texts," 1–9). [See now, eadem, "Habakkuk Pesher," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts, with English Translation*. Vol. 6B, *Pesharim, Other Commentaries and Related Documents* (PTSDSSP 6B; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), 157–85].

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 Hab 3; see Horgan, "Habakuk Pesher," 157. Most of the scholarly works on 1QpHab are listed in Horgan's study (ibid., 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, in David Flusser, "The Religious Ideas of the Judean Desert Sect," *Zion* 19 (1954): 89–103, at 92, n.12 (Hebrew); idem, "The Dead Sea Sect and its Worldview," in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period.* Vol. 1, *Qumran and Apocalypticism* (transl. Azzan Yadin; Grand Rapids; Eerdmans, 2007), 1–24, at p. 5, n.13.

4 For evidence showing that the Teacher of Righteousness joined and began leading the *Yahad* circa 150 BCE, see John J. Collins, "The Origin of the Qumran Community: A Re-

century.[5] 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

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view of the Evidence," in *To Touch the Text* (ed. Maurya P. Horgan and Paul J. Kobelski; New York: Crossroad, 1989), 159–78; Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 29–61.

5 Hartmut Stegemann concluded that the Teacher of Righteousness died circa 110 BCE (*The Library of Qumran* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 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 1:5–8); 20 years in which members of the sect were without purpose and direction, until the Teacher of Righteousness began leading them (CD 1:9–11); 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 19:33–20:1, 20:13–15). 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 Hanan Eshel, "The Meaning and Significance of CD 20:13–15," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 330–36. [See also, "The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran," in this volume, 41–60, at 58]. The *Damascus Document* does not note the length of the third of the 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 is evidence 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, "Origin of the Qumran Community," 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, *Library*, 131; Hanan Eshel, "The Kittim in the War Scroll and in the Pesharim," in *Historical Perspectives from the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick, and Daniel R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29–44. On allusions within the Qumran scrolls to events that occurred in Judaea during the period of the Roman conquest, see Eshel, *Hasmonean State*, 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 J. van der Ploeg, *The Excavations at Qumran: A Survey of the Judaean Brotherhood and its Ideas* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), 59–62; Yigael Yadin, "Pesher Nahum (4QpNahum) Reconsidered," *IEJ* 21 (1971): 1–12, at 12; David Flusser, "Pharisäer, Sadduzäer und Essener im Pescheer Nahum," in *Qumran: Wege der Forschung* (ed. Karl-Erich Grözinger, Darmstadt: Wissenchaftliche Bucheselschaft, 1981), 121–66 [= "Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes in Pesher Nahum," in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, 1:214–57]; Michael O. Wise,

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.

1. 1QpHab is a Copy of an Earlier Scroll

Hartmut Stegemann made note of the somewhat slipshod scribal copying of cols. 1–21 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, having been placed to mark the vertical edges of the columns of the text. The scribe, however, initially marked them as *'aleph*s, 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 *'aleph*s on col. 2. 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

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"Dating the Teacher of Righteousness and the Floruit of His Movement," *JBL* 122 (2003): 53–87. 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 *Pesher Habakkuk* is "at least a third-hand copy" but does not bring the supporting evidence for this claim (Stegemann, *Library*, 131). For other observations suggesting that 1QpHab was shoddily copied, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 3. The last nine lines of 1QpHab were written by another scribe (referred to as "the second scribe"), who began writing from 1QpHab 12:13, and concluded the manuscript at 1QpHab 13:4. 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, "Habakkuk Pesher," 157.

10 On this lone *'aleph*, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 25; "Habakkuk Pesher," 162, n.30. The second *'aleph* was mistakenly appended to the end of the word יאמינו, yielding יאמינוא (at 1QpHab 2:6), 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 כיא. The word יאמינוא stands in contrast to the form יאמינו that appears in the same column (1QpHab 2:14). For an unconvincing attempt to explain this unusual form, see Bilhah Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea (1QpHab)* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1986), 109 (Hebrew); and Horgan, "Habakkuk Pesher," 162, n.31. Stegemann's understanding is thus grounds for rejecting Nitzan's suggestion, which holds that the letters נוא were added to the word יאמינוא during the proofreading.

11 These marks appear at the end of the lines in cols. 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, and 12. It can be assumed that when the first scribe copied cols. 1, 5, 7, and 11, he was sufficiently alert to take notice that the marks were technical in nature and need not be copied. In col. 13, which was copied by the second scribe, the marks do not appear. Photographs of all the columns of 1QpHab

copied 1QpHab did so somewhat perfunctorily. They also maintained the same division into lines[12] that appeared on the scroll they copied.[13]

2. 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 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 into four units of pesharim that deal with Hab 1, each relating to a particular subject. They are the following:[14]

1. 1QpHab 1:1–2:10— pesharim pertaining to the lifetime of the Teacher of Righteousness.
2. 1QpHab 2:10–4:13— pesharim on the Kittim.
3. 1QpHab 4:16–5:12— pesharim related to the Teacher of Righteousness and to the judgment of the Gentiles.
4. 1QpHab 5:12–6:12— pesharim on the Kittim.

The seven other columns of 1QpHab include pesharim on Hab 2 (1QpHab 6:12–13:4). They deal with the Teacher of Righteousness and the punishment of the Gentiles on the Day of Judgment.

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have been published in a number of books; see, e.g., the *editio princeps*, Brownlee, "The Habakkuk Commentary," Pls. lv–lxi; Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk*, Pls. 4–16. Early photographs of 1QpHab in black-and-white and in color, respectively, appear in Burrows et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery* 1:Pls. LV–LXI and in John C. Trever, *Scrolls from Qumran Cave 1: The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The Pesher to Habakkuk* (Jerusalem: The Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, 1972), 149–63.

12 This suggests that when the scribes continued writing beyond the lines marking the end of the columns (e.g., at 1QpHab 2:6; 3:10; 7:2; 8:4; 12:1, 13–15; and 13:3) 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 as an explanation as to why the Qumran caves yielded only one copy each of all of them. See, e.g., Józef T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM, 1959), 41; and Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran, and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City: Doubleday, 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 (*Pesharim*, 3; "Pesharim," in Charlesworth, PTSDSSP 6B:1), a subject to be revisited at the end of this paper.

14 For a discussion of why the continuous pesharim, particularly 4QpNah, should be divided into units in order to be properly understood, see Shani L. Berrin [Tzoref], *The Pesher Nahum Scroll from Qumran* (STDJ 53; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 19–20; 75–285.

We shall briefly discuss these four units of commentary on Hab 1, while focusing on the historical data that can be learned from them.[15] Column 1 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 1QpHab 1:13, the words "he is the Teacher of Righteousness" appear.[16] Brought at the top of col. 2 is a pesher 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 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 to 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.

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15 One can find very instructive discussions on the relationship between the pesharim in 1QpHab and the biblical lemmata they interpret in Nitzan, *Pesher Habakkuk*.

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" (*Pesharim*, 12; "Habakkuk Pesher," 160, n.17), which was also adopted by Flusser ("A Pre-Gnostic Concept in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, 1:40–49, at 41) and Nitzan (*Pesher Habakkuk*, 150), 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 Moshe J. Bernstein, "Pesher Habakkuk," *EDSS* 2:650; Timothy H. Lim, *Pesharim* (London: Sheffield Academic, 2002), 35. This reconstruction is slightly more creative than Horgan's reconstruction, and it better suits both the interpreted verse "For the wicked surround the righteous" (Hab 1:4) and the evidence from the other Qumran sectarian scrolls, which shows that the seminal point in the life of the Teacher of Righteousness was his conflict with the Man of the Lie; see Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "The Essenes in Palestine," *BA* 40 (1977): 100–124, at 120–21, and Eshel, *Hasmonean State*, 34–38.

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 like blind men, like those who grope for a way" (CD 1:8–11; transl. from Magen Broshi [ed.], *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992], 11; see also Joseph M. Baumgarten and Daniel R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations.* Vol. 2, *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* [PTSDSSP 2; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1995], 4–57, at 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, *Hasmonean State*, 175–79.

Nine pesharim on six verses (Hab 1:6–11) appear in 1QpHab 2:10–4:13.[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 Hab are the Kittim, who 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 (1QpHab 4:10)—not the Kittim kings who are mentioned elsewhere in the Qumran scrolls, where 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 Israel. On the contrary, they report that the Kittim trample the Land and devour all the peoples (1QpHab 3:6–14).

1QpHab 5:1–8 contains 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] 1QpHab 5:8–12 brings the well-known pesher that blames the House of Absa-

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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 Hab 1:5–11. The second is in Hab 1:12–2:1; God answers in Hab 2:2–4. The remainder of Hab 2 consists of five curses including the word הוי ("Ah"), the last four opening with that word. On the structure of Hab 1–2, see Francis I. Anderson, *Habakkuk* (AB 25; NY: Doubleday, 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 *Pesher Habakkuk*, see Eshel, "The Kittim," 41–43 and the important discussion in Flusser, "The Kingdom of Rome in the Eyes of the Hasmoneans and as Seen by the Essenes" *Zion* 48 (1983): 149–76 (Hebrew); idem, "The Roman Empire in Hasmonean and Essene Eyes" in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, 1:175–206.

21 Stegemann, *Library*, 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, "The Kittim." An important study by Flusser shows that the Kittim of the *War Scroll* should be identified as the Seleucids. See David Flusser, "Apocalyptic Elements in the War Scroll," in *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume* (ed. Aharon Oppenheimer, Uriel Rappaport and Menahem Stern; Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben Zvi, 1980), 434–52 (Hebrew); = idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*, 1:140–58.

22 The term בחירו should be read in the plural, "his chosen ones"; if it were 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 (*Pesher Habakkuk*, 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, *Library*, 127–29.

lom 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, 1QpHab 5:12–6:12, 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 (1QpHab 5:12–6:2); that they impose taxes on the entire world to facilitate the destruction of many nations (1QpHab 6:2–8); and that they kill by sword the elderly, women, and children (1QpHab 6:8–12). 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 (1QpHab 6:2–5).[25] The Teacher of Righteousness is not mentioned in these pesharim, nor is the idea that the Gentiles will soon be handed over to Israel.

The second part of 1QpHab, from 6:12 to the end of the scroll (13:4), contains 21 pesharim on Hab 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 pesher 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 (1QpHab 9:3–7). The interpretation of this verse reflected in the pesher is particularly problematic. The original verse reads, "Because you plundered many nations, all the rest of the peoples shall plunder you." In other words, many nations will take spoils from the one that had previously taken from many nations. The pesher on the verse reads, "…but at the

24 On the importance of this pesher, see Murphy-O'Connor, "The Essenes," 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, "Origin of the Qumran Community," 172–77. For an attempt at identifying the historical Man of the Lie, see Eyal Regev, "Yose Ben Yoezer and the Qumran Sectarians on Purity Laws: Agreement and Controversy," in *The Damascus Document, A Centennial of Discovery* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–107.

25 On the standards mentioned in 1QpHab and their identification as Roman military standards, see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 35; and Roger Goossens, "Les Kittim du Commentaire d'Habacuc," *La Nouvelle Clio* 4 (1952): 155–61. Some scholars have used 1QpHab and 4QpNah, where the Kittim are identified as Romans, as a basis for identifying the Kittim as Romans in scrolls where they are actually meant to be identified as the Seleucids; see, e.g., George J. Brooke, "The Kittim in the Qumran Pesharim," in *Images of Empire* (ed. Loveday Alexander; JSOTSup 122; Sheffield: JSOT, 1991), 139–59; and Philip S. Alexander, "The Evil Empire: The Qumran Eschatological War Cycle and the Origins of Jewish Opposition to Rome," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Weston W. Fields; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 17–31. For more on this matter, see Stegemann, *Library*, 131; Eshel, "The Kittim"; idem, *Hasmonean State*, 163–79.

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 pesher 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 pesher in 1QpHab 7:3–5 relates that God taught the Teacher of Righteousness how to interpret the words of all his prophets.[28] Another, 1QpHab 10:5–13, speaks of the Spouter of the Lie, who leads many astray by bearing witness to false religious teaching.[29] A pesher in 1QpHab 8:3–13 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 pesher in 1QpHab

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 (*Pesher Habakkuk*, 180). However, the gap can be seen as evidence that, while the original pesher 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 pesher, see William H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), 152.

27 For evidence that the Wicked Priest should be identified with Jonathan son of Mattathias, see Geza Vermes, *Discovery in the Judean Desert* (NY: Desclee, 1956), 89–97; Milik, *Ten Years*, 74–78; Murphy-O'Connor, "The Essenes," 111–18; Stegemann, *Library*, 104–6; and Eshel, *Hasmonean State*, 29–61.

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

29 It can be assumed that the intention is to the Pharisees, who were led by the Man of the Lie; see Collins, "Origin of the Qumran Community," 172–77; and James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 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 pesher and on its use as supporting the evidence for the identification of the Wicked Priest as Jonathan son of Mattathias, see Hanan Eshel "4QMMT and the History of the Hasmonean Period," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (ed. John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 53–65.

11:2–8 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. 1QpHab 8:1–3 mentions 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. 1QpHab 10:2–5 relates 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]

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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 Shemaryahu Talmon,"Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," *Biblica* 32 (1951): 549–63.

32 These four pesharim appear in 1QpHab 8:13–9:2; 9:8–12; 11:8–16; and 11:7–12:6. The fifth, which also relates that the Wicked Priest will be given into the hands of the Gentiles, is incorporated into the well-known pesher 4QpPs[a] iv 7–10. In that pesher, 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, *Pesharim*, 198). On the importance of these five pesharim for identifying the Wicked Priest as Jonathan son of Mattathias, see Eshel, *Hasmonean State*, 29–61.

33 On the use of Judah as one of the names for the *Yahad* in the sectarian scrolls, see Joseph D. Amoussine, "Ephraim et Manassé dans le Péshèr de Nahum (4QpNahum)." *RevQ* 4 (1963): 389–96; Yadin, "Pesher Nahum"; Flusser, "Pharisäer" [="Pharisees,"]; and Daniel R. Schwartz, "To Join Oneself to the House of Judah (Damascus Document IV 11)," *RevQ* 10 (1981): 435–46.

34 The first pesher is recorded in 1QpHab 12:10–14, the second in 1QpHab 12:14–13:4. It should not be supposed that the first pesher, on Hab 2:18, was particularly brief, including only: "The interpretation of the passage concerns all the idols of the nations" (1QpHab 12:13). One might make this supposition because the text that follows, "…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" (1QpHab 12:13–14), was 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. 13 are identical to those of the other twelve columns, disproving any notion that col. 13 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.

3. The Nature of the Modification Process Documented in 1QpHab

It can therefore be supposed that the first pesher, 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 at 1QpHab 2:10–4:13, and includes nine pesharim on Hab 1:6–11. The second is at 1QpHab 5:12–6:12, with four pesharim on Hab 1:14–17. All of these pesharim deal with the Kittim, i. e., the Romans. No new pesharim were added to those commenting on Habakkuk 2, although one was altered, as mentioned above regarding the Romans' plundering of the last priests of Jerusalem. This alteration created a somewhat forced pesher, which identified "the rest of the peoples" as the Romans. It can be assumed, as stated, that the original pesher 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 of their relationship with the Teacher of Righteousness.[37] It thus seems that two separate historical periods are reflected

35 Stegemann (*Library*, 131–32) claimed that 1QpHab was composed in 54 BCE. 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 Emanuel Tov, "The Writing of Early Scrolls: Implications for the Literary Analysis of Hebrew Scripture," in *L'Ecrit et l'Esprit: Etudes d'histoire du texte et de théologie biblique en homage à Adrian Schenker* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 214; ed. Dieter Böhler, Innocent Himbaza, and Philippe Hugo; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005), 355–71.

37 Reflected in 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 4QpPs[a] i 26–27 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, *Pesharim*, 195; ibid, "The Texts," 52). While 4QpPs[a] 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

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 Habakkuk 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 Habakkuk 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, 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 *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab), *Pesher Nahum* (4QpNah), and 4QpPs[a]. Shani [Berrin] Tzoref 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 pesher scrolls were subject to a literary evolution that included an updating of their historical commentaries.[39] According to Tzoref, there is only one

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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, *Pesharim*, 196; ibid., "The Texts," 53). If we accept Stegemann's dating of 4QpPs[a] to the 70s BCE (*Library*, 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.

38 See Berrin [Tzoref], *Pesher Nahum*, 214–15.

39 It is worth examining whether a similar modification process occurred in 4QpPs[a]; see n. 37 above.

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 layer represents realities of the second century BCE; the later one, apparently added to 1QpHab in the mid-first century BCE, reflects life after the Roman occupation of Judaea.

40 See Berrin [Tzoref], *Pesher Nahum*, 215–16 and Tov, "The Writing of Early Scrolls."

41 See, e.g., the discussion in Eshel, "The Meaning and Significance of CD 20: 13–15."

42 See, e.g., John J. Collins, "Current Issues in the Study of Daniel," in *The Book of Daniel: Composition and Reception* (ed. John J. Collins and Peter W. Flint; 2 vols.; VTSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1:1–15; Reinhard G. Kratz, "The Visions of Daniel," in Collins and Flint (eds.), *The Book of Daniel*, 91–113; Rainer Albertz, "The Social Setting of the Aramaic and Hebrew Book of Daniel," in Collins and Flint (eds.), *The Book of Daniel*, 171–204; 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.

Cave 3

Chapter 7:
What Treasures are Listed in the *Copper Scroll**

1. The Copper Scroll and Tractate Kelim

The *Copper Scroll* is one of the strangest documents found in the Qumran caves. This scroll was incised with a chisel on three copper sheets, attached to one another with nails, to produce a scroll approximately 2.40 m long and 30 cm high.[1]

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* [*Ed note*: This article was co-authored with Ze'ev Safrai and originally published in *Cathedra* 103 (2002): 7–20 (Hebrew), with the Hebrew title אילו אוצרות נרשמו במגילת הנחושת?, and the English title, "The Copper Scroll: A Sectarian Composition Documenting Where the Treasures of the First Temple were Hidden." The editors are grateful to Prof. Gary Rendsburg for his assistance in preparing this translation for publication, and to Prof. Safrai for his comments on the translation. Please note that the original publication used the term "bronze" in the physical description of the material of the scroll; in this translation, we use the term copper throughout, since the original material was 99 % copper with about just 1 % tin. For more on the material of the scroll, see Józef T. Milik, "Le rouleau de cuivre provenant de la grotte 3Q (3Q15)," in Maurice Baillet, et al. (eds.), *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 201–302, at 204–7].

1 Since the copper rolls were buried in dirt and exposed to dust for many centuries prior to their discovery in 1952, they lost their pliability and any attempt to unroll the scroll would have caused it to crumble. In 1956 the scroll was sent to Manchester, England, where it was cut into 23 strips. The curved shape of the copper strips made it impossible to properly photograph them since some part of each strip was always out of focus. The first two editions of the scroll saw publication in 1960. John Allegro, who had been in Manchester when the scroll was opened, published the first. See John M. Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll* (NY: Doubleday, 1960). The second edition was published the same year by Józef T. Milik, the scholar who had been assigned the publication of the *Copper Scroll* for the official Dead Sea Scrolls publication series. See Józef T. Milik, "The Copper Document from Cave III of Qumran," *ADAJ* 4–5 (1960): 137–55. Two years later he published the official edition of the scroll; see idem, "Le rouleau de cuivre provenant de la grotte 3Q (3Q15)," DJD 3:201–302. Shortly thereafter Ben-Zion Luria published a Hebrew edition: Ben-Zion Luria, *The Copper Scroll from the Judean Desert* (Publications of the Israel Bible Research Society 14; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1963). In 1996, Al Wolters published a new edition for a conference honoring the 40th anniversary of the opening of the scroll: Albert M. Wolters, *The Copper Scroll: Overview, Text and Translation* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996). In 1993 the French Electric Company (EDF) volunteered to assume responsibility for preserving the metal strips on display in the museum in Amman, which had not received any conservation treatment since the original opening of the scroll. As part of the conservation process the EDF developed a computer program to integrate multiple photographs of the *Copper Scroll* and produce a clear composite image, which enabled the EDF staff to reconstruct the text of the scroll. Émile Puech examined the scroll using various microscopes while it was in Paris, in addition to relying on high-resolution photographs. As a result of this work, Puech suggested a significant number

The twelve columns of the scroll contain a list of sixty treasures and the locations in which they have been hidden. Ever since the scroll was opened in 1956 scholars have disputed these most basic questions: Is the scroll a factual record of genuine artifacts? If not, why was it written? If it does reflect reality, then when were the treasures hidden? Why? And by whom?

The *Copper Scroll* was found in the course of an authorized formal archaeological excavation. During an archaeological survey of the limestone caves west of Khirbet Qumran, conducted by Roland de Vaux and William Reed, many sherds of Galilean type storage jars were found in a collapsed cave around 2 km north of Khirbet Qumran. Henri de Contenson and J. T. Milik supervised the excavation of the collapsed cave. The *Copper Scroll* was found on 20 March 1952 in a loculus near the opening of the cave. Two of the copper sheets of the scroll were rolled together, and the third sheet was rolled separately. Lying just a bit deeper in the same loculus were some fragments written on leather and papyrus. Among these it was possible to identify a fragment of the book of Ezekiel, a fragment of Psalms, two fragments of Lamentations, a fragment of a pesher to the book of Isaiah, and three fragments of the book of *Jubilees*. About fifty additional scroll fragments were discovered in this loculus which scholars have as yet been unable to identify.[2] Prior to this discovery, Bedouin had discovered scrolls in two caves located to the south of this collapsed cave, so the cave in which the *Copper Scroll* was discovered was designated as Cave 3.

The scroll is dated by paleography to the mid-first century CE.[3] Immediately upon the opening of the scroll, a difference of opinions arose among Qumran scholars as to whether the treasures described in the scroll were genuine treasures or fictional inventions. Those who argued that the composition was fictional pointed to the vast quantities of gold and silver recorded in the scroll.[4] The scroll records the hiding places of approximately 4500 talents of silver

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of improvements upon previous readings. See Émile Puech, "Quelques résultats d'un nouvel examen du Rouleau de Cuivre (3Q15)," *RevQ* 18 (1997): 163–90. In this article, we follow the text of the most recent edition: Judah K. Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll (3Q15): A Reevaluation* (STDJ 25; Leiden: Brill, 2000), though we have standardized the placement of medial and final letters, hence, e.g., פנת > פות in col. 11, line 2, and האכסדרנ > האכסדרן in col. 11, line 3. [English translations have been added to this article, based on Lefkovits, with some occasional minor revision.—*Eds.*].

2 See Maurice Baillet, "Textes des Grottes 2Q, 3Q, 6Q 7Q a 10Q," in DJD 3:94–104. On the fragments of *Jubilee*s from Cave 3, see Alexander Rofé, "Further Manuscript Fragments of the Jubilees in the Third Cave of Qumran," *Tarbiz* 34 (1965): 333–36 (Hebrew); Maurice Baillet, "Remarques sur le manuscrit du livre des Jubilés de la grotte 3 de Qumran," *RevQ* 5 (1965): 423–33.

3 See Frank Moore Cross, "Excursus on Palaeography," in *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân* (DJD 3), 217–21, published as an excursus to Milik, "Le roulaeu de cuivre" (see above n. 1).

4 Most prominent among the scholars who maintained that the treasures listed in the scroll were fictional were Józef T. Milik, Roland de Vaux, Lankester G. Harding, and Frank Moore Cross. See the discussion and bibliography in Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 455.

and gold, and such items as 165 gold bullion. A talent weighs approximately 21.3 kg; and thus the scroll purports to record the hiding places of almost 100 tons of silver and gold![5] On the other hand, those scholars who view the treasures as genuine pointed to the fact that the scroll was written on copper, a rather expensive material, in order to ensure that it would be preserved for a long time. They also maintained that the very detailed descriptions of the hiding places suggest authenticity. Scholars who maintain that the treasures are real can be divided into two groups: those who contend the treasures belonged to the Qumran Community, and those who believe the treasures originated in the Jerusalem Temple.[6]

A text bearing some resemblance to the *Copper Scroll* is *Tractate Kelim*. This "tractate" is a short midrashic work in fourteen sections ("mishnayot") that describes the concealment of the vessels of the First Temple together with treasures of silver, gold, and precious stones belonging to that Temple [not to be confused with Tractate Kelim of the Mishnah and Tosefta]. This midrash was printed in an anthology of midrashim gathered by R. Abraham, the son of Rabbi Elijah of Vilna, known as the Vilna Gaon, in his book *Rav Peʿalim* at the end of *Midrash Aggadat Bereshit* (Genesis), and in a number of other collections.[7] The midrash describes the vessels of the First Temple and all of the Temple treasures, which, it states, were hidden by the Levites. It states that most of the vessels were hidden in Baghdad and in the city-wall of Babylon, and a small portion of the treasures were hidden in the land of Israel. According to the author of this work,

5 See the details in Appendix A in Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 471–88. Lefkovits suggested that the scroll could be read as indicating lesser amounts of gold and silver if we take the abbreviation ככ to stand for כסף כרש "silver karsh" (1 karsh = 10 sheqels) rather than ככרות כסף "talents of silver," as it is generally understood. Even by his accounting, the treasures listed in the *Copper Scroll* would still come to nearly 60,000 kg of silver and gold. Recently, Robert Feather attempted to compare the treasures of the *Copper Scroll* to various artifacts that have been found in Egypt, especially those from Tutankhamun's tomb. See Robert Feather, *The Copper Scroll Decoded* (London: Thorsons, 1999).

6 Among the notable scholars who accepted the authenticity of the treasures, and understood them to be the property of the Qumran Community, were Karl Georg Kuhn, John M. Allegro, André Dupont-Sommer, and Bargil Pixner. In support of the view that the Qumran sect was a wealthy group, see David Flusser, "Qumran and the Famine during the Reign of Herod," *The Israel Museum Journal* 6 (1987): 7–16. Later, Kuhn and Allegro changed their minds to consider that the treasures originated in the Jerusalem Temple. Other proponents of this view included Cecil Roth, G. R. Driver, Haim M. I. Gevaryahu, Norman Golb, P. Kyle McCarter, and Hartmut Stegemann. See the bibliography in Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 455–59.

7 The citations below are from *Aggadat Bereshit* (Warsaw, 1876), 50–51.There are important textual variations among the different versions. See Adolf Jellinek, *Bet Ha-Midrash* (6 vols.; Vienna, 1853), 2:88–91; Abraham son of Eliyahu, *Rav Peʿalim* (Warsaw, 1894), 16–18; Judah David Eisenstein, *Ozar Midrashim: An Anthology of Midrashim* (no date or place of publication), 260–62. *Tractate Kelim* is included in Ben-Zion Luria's edition of the *Copper Scroll*, 47–49.

the vessels will be uncovered one day in the far future, and the treasures will be used in the future Temple. The midrash in its extant form was composed after the Arab Conquest, when Baghdad became the capital of Iraq, and probably later than the 8th century CE, when the center of Jewry moved to Baghdad. As we will show below, the midrash reflects Iraqi local-patriotic views. The author believed that the remains of the actual Temple were located in Babylonia.[8] This view reflects a tendency found in the writings of the Babyloniam amoraim to represent their location as the region in which the Divine Presence (*Shekhina*) dwelled in their day.[9]

There are a number of points of similarity between *Tractate Kelim* and the *Copper Scroll*, which are indicators of a common literary genre:

(1) *Tractate Kelim* states the list was written by "Shimur the Levite and his colleagues on a copper plate."
(2) According to *Tractate Kelim*, the vessels of the Temple made by King Solomon were hidden away, as were gold and silver hoards. The *Copper Scroll* contains a detailed description of hidden gold and silver treasure hoards.
(3) Section 10 of *Tractate Kelim* states that some treasures were hidden in Kakhal Spring; in the *Copper Scroll*, "Koḥlit" appears in a description of the hiding-places for five of the treasures.
(4) *Tractate Kelim* notes that in addition to the treasures listed in the composition itself there exist additional treasures, and another scroll, which "nobody knows where it was concealed." In the concluding section of the *Copper Scroll* we read that "an additional copy of the list," with greater detail than the *Copper Scroll* itself, was hidden in a water cistern in Yanoaḥ.

8 This belief was based on Ezek 43:7: "He said to me: O Mortal, this is the place of my throne and the place for the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the people of Israel forever." In order to affirm this view, there were Jews in Babylonia who claimed that some of the stones of the Temple had been incorporated into Babylonian synagogues. See Isaiah M. Gafni, "Synagogues in Babylonia in the Talmudic Period," in *Ancient Synagogues; Historical Analysis and Archaeological Discovery* (vol. 1; ed. Dan Urman and Paul V. M. Flesher; StPB 47; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 221–31; Uri Ehrlich, "The Location of the Shekhina in the Early Versions of the Shemone Esre," *Sidra* 13 (1997): 5–23 (Hebrew).

9 See Gafni, "Synagogues"; idem, *Land, Center and Diaspora* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1977), 41–57; Ze'ev Safrai, "The Babylonian Talmud as a Conceptual Foundation for Aliyah to the Land of Israel," in *The Ingathering of Exiles—Aliyah to the Land of Israel: Myth and Reality* (ed. Devora Hacohen; Jerusalem The Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1998), 27–50, at 37–38 (Hebrew).

2. The Unrealistic Character of the Copper Scroll

If the *Copper Scroll* were a list of genuine treasures – or even of imaginary treasures, and believed by its author[s] to contain some authentic details – it would have been a secret document, preserved with extreme discretion, for the use of a very few trustworthy individuals. In antiquity one who concealed possessions in hiding-places did not then publicize the list of places in which he had hidden his wealth. Moreover, if such a list would have been written at all, it would have been produced like all other documents of that period—on leather or papyrus. The incision of the composition on copper sheets has the character of ritual, intended to make the point that the list was written in order to withstand the vicissitudes of time, and that it would survive for many years.[10] It thus seems that the scroll ought to be evaluated as a ritual object, of religious and ideological significance, and it ought not be seen as a technical document of financial importance.[11]

Further proof of the fictional, literary, nature of the *Copper Scroll* is the note found at the end of the scroll, asserting that there is another, more detailed, copy of the scroll, hidden in Yanoaḥ, north of Koḥlit. This item (Item 60) is described in col. 12 as follows:[12]

10. בשית שבינח בצפון כחלת פתחא צפון
11. וקברין על פיה משנא הכתב הזא
12. ופרושה ומשחותיהם ופרוט כל
13. אחד ואח[ד]

12:10 In the deep-pit which is in Yanoaḥ, in the north of Koḥlit, its entrance is hidden,
12:11 and graves (are) upon its opening, (there is) a copy of this document
12:12 with its explanation, with their measurements and specification for
12:13 each and ev[ery] (item).

10 This may be compared to Jer 32:14: "Take these documents (ספרים) … put them into an earthenware jar, so that they may last a long time."

11 In light of this assessment, it might have seemed worthwhile to consider the possibility that the *Copper Scroll* was written by the members of the Qumran Community as part of their preparations for assuming responsibility in the Temple in the near future, as they hoped would be the case. According to this hypothesis, their preparations would have been so rigorous that the Qumran sectarians would have produced a detailed list of the places where they would hide the Temple treasures when they would attain control of the Temple. This proposal is not tenable, however, in light of our discussion below, in which we seek to demonstrate that some of the locations in which the treasures are said to have been hidden are described in insufficient detail and that some of the hiding-places could not possibly have accommodated the treasures attributed to them. Moreover, whoever would take control of the Temple would have had no need to hide its treasures, as the treasures could simply be placed in the appropriate Temple storerooms.

12 See Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 425–42.

That is to say: in Yanoaḥ, north of Koḥlit, there is a pit whose opening is hidden, with graves next to it. In it is an additional description of this treasure list, which designates the dimensions and contents of every single hoard.[13]

This description is more suitable for a literary composition (not to say a detective novel), than to a secret list of authentic treasure, the precise location of which would need to be kept in complete secrecy. It is possible that yet a third copy of the *Copper Scroll* is mentioned, in column 6 (Item 25):[14]

1. [במ]ערת העמוד של שני
2. [ה]פתחין צופא מזרח
3. [ב]פתח הצפוני חפור
4. [א]מות שלוש שם קלל
5. בו ספר אחד תחתו
6. כב 42

6:1 [In the c]ave of the pillar of [the] two
6:2 entrances facing east,
6:3 [at the] northern entrance there is buried
6:4 three [c]ubits (deep) a *qalal* (vessel),
6:5 in it (is) one book, underneath it
6:6 42 k(arsh of) s(ilver).

From this description, it emerges that there is a "Cave of the Pillar" with two openings facing eastward. In its northern opening, at a depth of 3 cubits (about 1.5 m), there lies a *qalal* – a vessel of clay or stone in the form of a large chalice,[15] a copy of a text, and forty-two talents of silver. According to this description, a scroll that is described as "one book underneath it" was placed into the *qalal*. It is not stated explicitly that this document contains a list of the treasures; however on the basis of the description in col. 12 it may be concluded that the reference is to a third copy of the *Copper Scroll*.

The primary criterion for evaluating the *Copper Scroll* is the degree to which the descriptions of the locations of the treasures are realistic. On the surface they seem plausible and precise. Upon close examination of the list of treasures, however, it becomes clear that in some of the instances, the descriptions are impossible; other descriptions are laconic and do not contain enough information to enable the site to be located. Thus, for example, col. 1 of the *Copper Scroll* contains a description of Item 2:[16]

13 See Paul Mandel, "On the 'Duplicate Copy' of the Copper Scroll (3Q15)," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 69–76.

14 See Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 204–208.

15 On the form of the *qalal*, see Yehoshua Brand, *Ceramics in Talmudic Literature* (Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 1953), 496–98 (Hebrew).

16 Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 50–63.

.5 בנפש בנדבך השלישי עשתות
.6 זהב 100

1:5 In the tomb, in the third grave-stone,
1:6 100 masses of unused gold.

The expression עשתות זהב "masses of unused gold" (per Lefkovits) seems to connote gold bars.[17] That is, this description states that a hundred gold bars were hidden in the walls of the *nefeš,* a memorial structure that is built above a tomb. It might have been possible to conceal a small number of coins between the walls of the structure, but not dozens of gold bars. Another description in col. 11 (Item 51), states:[18]

.2 מתחת פנת האסטאן הדרומית
.3 בקבר צדוק תחת עמוד האכסדרן
.4 כלי דמע סות דמע סנה ותכן אצלם

11:2 Below the southern corner of the ossuary
11:3 in the Grave of Zadok, under the pillar of the exedra
11:4 are dedicated garments, dedicated pot vessels, and their lists are next to them.

According to this description, כלי דמע, i. e., vessels that were donated as *teruma* offerings (permissible for use only by priests), garments of *teruma*, and apparently even a cooking pot that had been donated as *teruma*, were placed underneath the southern corner of the portico in the tomb of Zadok, below the pillar that is in the exedra.[19] Subsequently, the difficult expression תכן אצלם appears, the meaning of which is not yet fully understood.[20] Regarding the core of the description it must be noted that it is hardly believable that clothing and a cooking pot could be hidden under a supporting pillar of Zadok's tomb.

A number of descriptions in the scroll do not seem sufficiently well-defined, so that they would not have made it possible to find the treasure. Thus, for example, Item 9 was hidden בבור שנגד השער המזרחי "in the cistern which is opposite the eastern gate" (col. 2, line 7).[21] While this definition is enough to spark a

17 See, e.g., Ezek 27:19; Song of Songs 5:14; *y. Horayot* 3:5 (15a), and the discussion in Luria, *The Copper Scroll*, 59, and Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 60–63.

18 Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 363–68.

19 On the expression כלי דמע, see Manfred R. Lehmann, "Identification of the Copper Scroll Based on its Technical Terms," *RevQ* 5 (1964): 97–105, and Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 505–45.

20 The expression תכן אצלם appears five times in the *Copper Scroll*. For various suggested interpretations for this expression see Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 546–53, and the bibliography cited there.

21 Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 126–29.

reader's interest it would not enable anyone to actually locate the treasure—it does not state which gate, nor of which city. Item 17 is hidden בין שני הבתין שבעמק עכון באמצען "between the two buildings which are in the Valley of Achon, at their center" (col. 4, lines 6–7). It is difficult to suppose that there were only two edifices in the Valley of Achor.[22] There is thus no escaping the conclusion that the scroll is a literary composition, and not a list that was compiled by people who hid the treasures.

3. The Copper Scroll and Traditions about the Hiding of the First Temple Vessels

The *Copper Scroll* does not mention when its treasures were hidden. If we wish to proceed with the understanding that the scroll describes Temple treasures, then we must investigate whether the scroll describes the hiding of the treasures of the First Temple or of the Second Temple. It would be most plausible to suppose that the treasures were smuggled out from the Temple on the eve of its destruction. If they are Second Temple treasures, then it follows that the scroll would have been written after the year 70 CE. In Cave 3, however, as in the other caves in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran in which scrolls were discovered, no artifacts were found that would show that people returned to these caves after 68 CE.[23] It is thus necessary to consider the possibility that the list of the treasures recorded in the *Copper Scroll* enumerates the treasures of the Tabernacle and of the First Temple.[24] This proposition is supported by the fact that *Tractate Kelim* describes

22 Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 162–68. On the identification of the Valley of Achor (= the Valley of Achon) with the Valley of Hyrcania, see Hanan Eshel, "A Note on Joshua 15:61–62 and the Identification of the 'City of Salt'," *IEJ* 45 (1995): 37–38, n. 5.

23 In Khirbet Qumran itself, on the tower, a number of Bar Kokhba revolt coins were found inside a clay lamp. It is thus generally accepted that some Roman soldiers stayed at the ruins of Qumran during the Bar Kokhba revolt. It must be emphasized, however, that not one cave has produced artifacts that would indicate that anybody visited these caves after 68 CE, when the Roman soldiers destroyed Qumran. See Jodi Magness, "The Chronology of Qumran, Ein Feshkha and Ein El Ghuweir," in *Mogilany 1995: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Aleksy Klawek* (ed. Zdzislaw Jan Kapera; Kraków: Enigma Press, 1998), 55–76; Jerzy Ciecielag, "Coins from the So-called Essene Settlement on the Dead Sea Shore," in Kapera (ed.), *Mogilany 1995*, 105–14.

24 Even if we accept the proposition that the treasures in the *Copper Scroll* are the treasures of the First Temple, there is no doubt that the scroll was written during the Second Temple era. The names of the places, the terminology, and the language of the scroll all date the composition of the work to the Second Temple period. See Bargil Pixner, "Unravelling the Copper Scroll Code: A Study on the Topography of 3Q15," *RevQ* 11 (1983): 323–61; Al Wolters, "The *Copper Scroll* and the Vocabulary of Mishnaic Hebrew," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 483–95; idem, Al Wolters, "The Copper Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 302–23.

the hiding of treasures that were gathered from the First Temple. The difference is that *Tractate Kelim* also describes the hiding of the vessels themselves: the ark, the menorah, the breastplate etc., whereas these are not specified in the *Copper Scroll*. Nevertheless, it appears that the *Copper Scroll* does refer to the Temple vessels. In describing two of the treasures it states that כלין "vessels" were hidden, with no further detail (Items 8 and 9). In ten of the descriptions of treasures, there is mention of דמע, i. e., dedicated objects, e.g., דמע כל<י> כסף וכלי זהב של "dedicated silver vessels and gold vessels" (Item 58, similar wording in Item 12 [see below]; see also Items 4, 13, 22, 33, 50, 51, 54 and 55). Two hoards designate treasures that are *ḥerem* (Items 43 and 52), and according to the Mishnah, unspecified *ḥerem* objects are for the repair of the Temple (לבדק הבית) (*m. ʿArakhin* 8:6). One of the hoards (Item 1), lists שידת כסף וכליה "a silver carrying-chair [typically rendered "chest"] with its components" (see *m. Shabbat* 16:5); and in hoard 57 another שדא "carrying-chair" (or "chest") is mentioned. In Hoard 12 there is a record of the hiding-place of כלי כסף וזהב של דמע מזרקות כוסות מנקיאות קסאות "dedicated silver and gold vessels, sprinkling-basins, cups, supports, and tubes," that is, vessels that were placed on the table of the show-bread (see Exod 25:29; 37:16; Num 4:7; Jer 52:19). The description of Hoard 17 refers to שני דודין "two pots," vessels that were used in the First Temple (see 2 Chr 35:13). The expression כלין כופרין "bowl vessels"[24a] that appears in Hoard 47 recalls the description of the vessels that were given by Cyrus to the Temple in Jerusalem (see Ezra 1:10). The term *qalal* for the chalice-like vessel that is mentioned in Hoard 25, calls to mind the Mishnah's statement that a *qalal* was placed at the entrance of the Temple courtyard (*m. Parah* 3:3). In order to reinforce our claim that the *Copper Scroll* describes First Temple treasures, we will survey the traditions from the Second Temple period, and from the Mishnah and Talmud, that pertain to the concealment of the vessels of the First Temple.

According to a number of traditions found in rabbinic literature, the main vessels of the Temple (the Ark, the Menorah, and the Table, which were constructed in the Wilderness and used throughout the First Temple period) were concealed on the eve of the destruction of the First Temple. According to some traditions, it was Jeremiah who concealed them, and according to others, it was God.[25] This legend is part of the complex worldview that was widespread during the Second Temple period according to which the Second Temple was perceived as imperfect, and the miraculous construction of a new, perfect, Temple was anticipated in the future. According to this view, the Second Temple

24a Perhaps a better translation is "simple vessels"; see *m. Terumot* 2:5, where הכופרים refers to "rural settlements" in contrast to the polis. [Note added by Ze'ev Safrai to the current version of this article.]

25 See the traditions discussed below.

was not an ideal Temple, but regarded rather as somewhat makeshift. The perfect Temple was expected to descend fully built from the heavens, and blameless priests who had not sinned would serve there in holiness.[26] This perspective is tied to the belief attested in a number of sources concerning a parallel Temple in heaven, and a parallel heavenly Jerusalem, both presently existing in the heavens as a Temple of fire and a city of fire.[27] This belief was intended not only to cast criticism against the flawed city of Jerusalem, and the Temple that was not being managed in an ideal fashion, but also to enhance the image of the holiness of the future eschatological city and Temple.

The members of the Qumran Community took this idea in a further direction. They believed that the existing city and Temple were also invalid because they were not built according to halakhic requirements.[28] For this reason, and because the Temple was being run according to an erroneous calendar, and because of the corruption of the priests, the members of the Qumran Community did not take part in the Temple worship. It seems, then, that the emphasis on the fact that the vessels of the First Temple were hidden, and were not in use in the Temple of their own day, was part of an approach that emphasized the imper-

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26 See David Flusser, "Jerusalem in Second Temple Literature," in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period* (trans. Azzan Yadin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 2:44–75.

27 Victor (Avigdor) Aptowitzer, "The Celestial Temple as Viewed in the Aggadah," *Binah* 2 (1989): 1–29 (transl. of Hebrew article by the same title published in *Tarbiz* 2 [1931]: 137–53, 257–87); Ephraim E. Urbach, "Heavenly and Earthly Jerusalem," in *Jerusalem through the Ages: The 25th Archaeological Convention, October 1967* (ed. Joseph Aviram; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1968), 156–71 (Hebrew); Shmuel Safrai, "Jerusalem as a Jewish Center at the End of the Second Temple Period," in *And for Jerusalem: Words of Literature and Philosophy in Honor of Liberated Jerusalem* (ed. Gedaliah Elkoshi et al.; Jerusalem: Hebrew Writers Association in Israel, 1968), 325–36 (Hebrew).

28 This perspective was expressed especially in two compositions found at Qumran: the *Temple Scroll* and the description of the "New Jerusalem." On the ideal structure of the Temple in the *Temple Scroll*, see Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and The Shrine of the Book, 1983), 1:177–207. It must be noted that according to the author of the *Temple Scroll*, the Temple described in this composition was not the ideal Temple, since it was to be constructed by human hands, rather than descending miraculously from heaven. This is why God promises Moses, "I will settle my glory upon it, until the day of blessing on which I will create my temple and establish it for myself for all times" (11QT[a] 29:8–10; Yadin, ibid., 2: 128–29), i. e., for now, God will dwell in the Temple described in the scroll, but in the future, the Temple will be built by God. Six copies of the "New Jerusalem" were found in five different caves at Qumran. On this scroll, see the bibliography in Magen Broshi, "Visionary Architecture and Town Planning in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 9–22. [See now, Florentino García Martínez et al., "11QNew Jerusalem ar," in idem, Qumran Cave 11.II: [11Q2–18, 11Q20–31] (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 305–55].

fection of the contemporary Temple.[29] In the future Temple, the Temple vessels of old would be revealed and restored, in the rubric of "renew our days as of old."

The legend of the concealment of the Temple vessels occurs in many sources.[30] It is reasonable to suppose that this tradition was accepted by different groups during the Second Temple period, but apparently, there was disagreement about where the vessels were stored, and this controversy seems to have had a polemical aspect. In a letter that was attached to the beginning of 2 Maccabees, it is stated that Jeremiah concealed the Temple vessels, at Mt. Nebo in Transjordan, in the place of "the mountain where Moses had gone up to see the inheritance of God."[31] Another tradition states that the Temple vessels were swallowed up in the earth, without specific geographic designation.[32] One rabbinic source states that the ark was concealed "in its place," i. e., in the Holy of Holies.[33] According to another, Rabban Gamliel and R. Hananiah, the Deputy High Priest, received an oral tradition from their fathers that the ark was concealed in the women's courtyard of the Temple.[34] There were some who told of a miraculous revelation of the ark's location in the Chamber of the Wood, an office adjacent to the Women's Courtyard.[35] There were those who said that the Temple vessels were carried off to Babylonia. The Tosefta records that R. Eliezer and R. Simeon stated that the Ark, specifically, was taken to Babylonia. This view, originally held by Tannaim in the Land of Israel, was later promoted by Babylonian sages. The position was quoted by Babylonian amoraim and became a source of local pride, since it presents Babylonia as standing in for the Temple.[36] As noted above, *Tractate Kelim* states that the vessels were concealed by the Levite Shimur and his comrades near Baghdad in Babylonia. The Samaritans claimed

29 Criticism of the Second Temple is found in 4QFlorilegium (4Q174). On this criticism, see Daniel R. Schwartz, "The Three Temples of 4QFlorilegium," *RevQ* 10 (1979–1981): 83–91; Devorah Dimant, "*4QForilegium* and the Idea of the Community as Temple," *Hellenica et Judaica (Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky)* (ed. André Caquot, Raphaël Hasas-Lebel, and Jean Riaud; Leuven: Peeters, 1986), 165–89.

30 The list of sources is very long, which indicates just how important the hidden Temple vessels were for the Sages. See, inter alia, *m. Yoma* 5:2, *t. Sota* 13:1, and the long discussion of Saul Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Fshutah*: *Sota* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1963), 733. See also Louis Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1947), 3:50, 158 (and 6:65, n. 332); 4:154–57, and the additional traditions cited below.

31 2 Macc 2:4–6.

32 *2 Baruch* 1:6, 7–10.

33 *t. Sheqalim* 2:18 and parallels. See Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Fshutah: Sheqalim*, 697. In MS Vienna, the tradition is transmitted in the name of R. Judah b. Laqish.

34 *m. Sheqalim* 6:1.

35 *m. Sheqalim* 6:2.

36 See *b. Yoma* 53b. However, in *Tanhuma* (Buber), *Behaʿalotkha* 14 and *Tanhuma Behaʿalotkha* 9, all of the Temple vessels were exiled to Babylon. [See John T. Townsend, *Midrash Tanhuma: Translated into English with Introduction, Indices, and Brief Notes* (S. Buber Recension); Vol. 3, *Numbers and Deuteronomy* (NJ: Ktav, 2003), 82].

that the vessels of the Tabernacle were concealed by Uzi (the brother of Eli the high priest) who was the last high priest to serve in the Tabernacle at Mt. Gerizim before it was moved to Shiloh. According to Samaritan tradition, the vessels sank into the ground in a cave at the top of Mt. Gerizim.[37] The Jewish response to this claim was to say that there were remnants of vessels of idolatry concealed at the top of Mt. Gerizim, and not the vessels that were made in the wilderness.[38]

The *Copper Scroll* indicates that most of the sacred vessels were hidden in the Judean desert.[38a] Regardless of where the vessels of the First Temple may have been, they certainly were not used in the Second Temple. The Mishnah states that the Holy of Holies was empty, other than the foundation-stone.[39] Josephus also emphasizes that this room was absolutely empty.[40] It is thus clear that in the Second Temple, there was no *kapporet*; in the Mishnah, references to the *kapporet* denote בית הכפורת, and not the ark itself. According to the account in the book of Nehemiah it appears that the *'urim we-tumim* were already no longer in use, since the priests who could not prove their genealogical purity, were barred from the Temple service, and it was forbidden for them to eat of the sacrificial meat "until the priest of the *'urim we-tumim* should arise" (Neh 7:65). The *'urim we-tumim* were thus perceived as one of the signs of the future, and were not present in the period of the Return to Zion. According to a tradition found in rabbinic sources, the *'urim we-tumim* were concealed in the days of the early prophets of the First Temple period.[41] Elsewhere it is stated that "since the First Temple was destroyed, the kingship of the House of David was ended, and the *'urim we-tumim* were no more."[42]

Either way, it is clear that the *'urim we-tumim* were not in use during the Second Temple. Although the two traditions about the loss of the *'urim we-tumim* disagree about the time when this occurred (whether during the days of the

37 See *Ant*. 18.85–88; John Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (NTL; London: SCM Press, 1964), 17–18.

38 *LAB* 25:10; Joseph Heinemann, *Aggadah and Its Development* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1974), 93–96 (Hebrew); Ze'ev Safrai, "Samaria in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius," in *Samaria and Benjamin* (ed. Zev Erlich; Ariel: Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel, 1993), 32–33 (Hebrew). An additional anti-Samaritan reaction is the reference to Mt. Gerizim in the *Copper Scroll* (Item 75); the author of the scroll thought that Mt. Gerizim was located near Jericho, rather than above Shechem (see n. 59 below).

38a [The original publication has a parenthetical note at this juncture: ("in the region to which the Essenes had removed themselves.") The association between the Essenes and the *Copper Scroll* is raised again below, at the conclusion of this article].

39 *m. Yoma* 5:2.

40 *War* 5.219.

41 See *m. Sota* 9:12; *y. Sota* 24b; *b. Sota* 48b; *y. Ta'anit* 2:1 (65a), and parallels; Lieberman, *Tosefta ki-Fshutah: Sota*, 735.

42 *t. Sota* 13:2; *b. Sota* 48b.

early prophets or after the Destruction), both attest to the fact that they were not in use during the Second Temple period.[43] Some traditions seem to have supposed that the breastplate and ephod remained, but that it was impossible to use them in order to get divine answers. Josephus thus states in his *Jewish Antiquities*, "Now this breastplate, and this sardonyx, left off shining two hundred years before I composed this book, God having been displeased at the transgressions of his laws."[44]

If we take his point at face value, then we can date the loss of the *'urim we-tumim* to 110 BCE, towards the end of the days of John Hyrcanus. It is noteworthy that this was the period in which Scripture seems to have become consolidated in Judea, which could point to an anti-Sadduceean origin for the tradition. Counter to this, the author of the *Letter of Aristeas* indicates that the High Priest performed his duties in full high priestly regalia, including the breastplate and ephod.[45] Philo seems to indicate the same.[46] The Mishnah as well describes the priest as garbed in all of his requisite garments.[47] It seems that these sources do not offer evidence of an actual dispute, since examination of the descriptions of the Temple by Second Temple authors (such as Philo, the author of the *Letter of Aristeas*, and Josephus) shows that the descriptions are comprised of two layers. The first layer is a realistic layer, which reflects what the authors witnessed firsthand. In the second layer, the authors took the liberty of returning to the biblical text in order to describe the ideal Temple on the basis of Scripture. This phenomenon would have reflected the view held by people in the Second Temple period that the Temple in their days was only a pale echo of the genuine Temple.

It must be acknowledged that the fact that the *Copper Scroll* does not list the major vessels of the Temple (the ark, the golden incense altar, *'urim we-tummim*, etc.) indicates that the scroll reflects the reality of the Second Temple period, during which these vessels were not used, or were not seen as holy. This does not, however, prove that the author intended to describe the vessels of the Second Temple period, for even though the original vessels of the Tabernacle were not used in the Second Temple, the Second Temple was not empty. It contained a golden altar, a table, lamps, and other vessels. Titus' arch depicts the looting of the Menorah and the golden table, as plunder for Rome. At least two Lamps were

43 In descriptions of the purification of the Temple in the days of Judah Maccabee, there is no mention of the breastplate and the ephod, or of any other priestly garments.

44 *Ant.* 3.218.

45 Although it is clear that the *Letter of Aristeas* is not a realistic depiction of the Temple in the third century BCE, we can use it to learn about the "literary reality" of the second century BCE, without trying to determine the extent to which any of the actual details were known to its author.

46 *On the Commandments* 1:85–94; *Life of Moses* 2:109–35.

47 See, e.g., *m. Yoma* 7:1, 4.

in use in the Second Temple, as emerges from the writings of Josephus.[48] The Mishnah describes the immersion of the Menorah after the pilgrimage festivals, and an alternate Menorah would have been used instead during those purification processes.[49]

It thus appears that the lack of explicit reference to the Temple vessels in the *Copper Scroll* cannot offer conclusive evidence as to whether the treasures described in the scroll are those of the First or Second Temple.

4. Geographical Background of the List of Treasures in the Copper Scroll

If we adopt the idea that we have presented above, that the list of treasures recorded in the *Copper Scroll* is a literary invention and not realistic, then the *Copper Scroll* can be understood as belonging to a conventional literary genre of descriptions of the concealment of the treasures of the First Temple. These descriptions had an important role in disseminating the belief that the Second Temple was not the ideal Temple. It was thus necessary, even while the Temple was standing, to look forward to the perfect Temple of the future, which would either be built or would descend complete from heaven. If the treasures listed in the *Copper Scroll* are the hidden hoards of the First Temple, then certainly the list is a literary list with no basis in reality. Before assessing the ideological-sociological significance of this list inscribed on the copper sheets, we must clarify the geographical background underlying the scroll.

The list of the hiding-places named in the *Copper Scroll* points to a concentration of treasure in the Judean desert. The scroll mentions four hoards that were hidden near Secacah (Items 20–22, and 24).[50] Secacah was the ancient name of Khirbet Qumran.[51] The first hoard described in the scroll was hidden in the Valley of Achor, and Item 17 was hidden in the Valley of Achon.[52] The Valley of Achor/Achon is to be identified with the valley of Hyrcania west of Qumran.[53] Item 35 was hidden ביגר של פי צוק הקדרון "in the heap which is at the edge of the peak of the Qidron."[54] The Qidron is a wadi that empties into the Dead Sea

48 *Ant.* 10.145; *War* 6.387–91.

49 *m. Hagiga* 3:8, "All the vessels that were in the Temple had second and third sets, so that if the first became unclean they might bring the second instead of them."

50 Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 181–92, 199–204.

51 See Eshel, "A Note on Joshua 15:61–62," 38.

52 Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 29–49, 162–68. On the interchange of Achor/Achon, see Josh 7:24–25.

53 Eshel, "A Note on Joshua 15:61–62," 37–38.

54 Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 259–62.

south of Qumran. Item 31 was hidden in Doq.[55] Doq was the name of a fortress built in the Hasmonean period above Jericho in Ras Karantal.[56] Item 32 was hidden על פי יציאת המים של הכוזבא (reading with Luria and Wolters) "above the mouth of the water spring of Kozba." Kozba is to be identified with the lower portion of Wadi Qelt; the monastery that was built in this wadi in the Byzantine era was called Dir-Kozba.[57] Item 57 was hidden בהר גריזין תחת המעלהא של השית העליונה "on Mount Gerizim, below the steps of the upper deep pit."[58] The Mt. Gerizim that is mentioned here is to be identified with one of the mounds near Jericho, as they were identified in rabbinic literature, in the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius, and in the Madaba map.[59] It may be supposed that the author of the *Copper Scroll* thought that these two mounds were Nuseb el-Auyašira and Tell el-ʿAqaba, the two fortresses that were built on the two sides of Wadi Qelt.[60] The *Copper Scroll* lists five treasures as having been hidden near Koḥlit: Item 4 בתל של כחלת "in the mound of Koḥlit"; Item 11 בברכא שבמזרח כחלת "in the pond which is in the east of Koḥlit"; Item 15 בבור הג[דול שבכ]חלת "in the la[rge] cistern [which is in Ko]ḥlit"; Item 19 בשית המזרחית שבצפון כחלת "in the eastern deep-pit which is at the north of Koḥlit"; and Item 60 בשית שבינח בצפון כחלת "in the deep-pit which is in Yanoaḥ, in the north of Koḥlit."[61]

Tannaitic sources mentions a type of hyssop from Koḥlit called Koḥlit hyssop that is similar to desert hyssop.[62] This could support an identification of Koḥlit as a place near the desert.[63] The Babylonian Talmud contains an account

55 Lefkovits, ibid., 232–35.

56 Ze'ev Meshel, "The Fortresses Commanding Jericho and their Identification," in *Jericho* (ed. Ehud Netzer, Ze'ev Meshel, and Myriam Rosen-Ayalon; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1978), 35–57, at 41–46 (Hebrew).

57 Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 236–44.

58 Lefkovits, ibid., 409–12.

59 On the location of Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal near Jericho, see *y. Sota* 7:3 (21c); *b. Sota* 33b; Eusebius, *Onomasticon*, para. 307. See Ezra Z. Melamed, *The* Onomasticon *of Eusebius* (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1978), 13 (Hebrew). [See now, Steven R. Notley and Ze'ev Safrai, *Eusebius, Onomasticon: A Triglott Edition with Notes and Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 63–64 (reference courtesy Ze'ev Safrai)]. Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal appear twice on the Madaba map: near Jericho, they appear as Ebal and Gerizim and near Shechem as Tur Ebal and Tur Gerizim. See Michael Avi-Yonah, "The Madaba Map: Translation and Commentary," *EI* 2 (1953): 143–44 (Hebrew).

60 On the location of the Mt. Gerizim of the *Copper Scroll* near Jericho, see Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll*, 75–76; Luria, *The Copper Scroll*, 123–24; Hanan Eshel, "The Samaritans in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: The Origins of Samaritanism," (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1984), 193–95 (Hebrew).

61 Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll*, 73–89, 135–37, 154–56, 179–80, 425–42.

62 Mekh. R. Ishmael *Bo*, *Masekhta de-Pisḥa* 11 (ed. Horowitz-Rabin, 37); Sifra *Mezora* 1:16.

63 Though see *m. Para* 11:7, in which the specific type אזוב כחלת is not juxtaposed with אזוב המדברי; rather the two are separated by a third sub-type אזוב רומי.

of a military campaign of Alexander Jannaeus in which he went to "Koḥlit in the desert" and achieved great victories, and a party that he made for the Sages of Israel upon his return.[64] During this party, a dispute broke out between the king and the Sages. In Josephus' account the dispute takes place between John Hyrcanus and the Pharisees.[65] Without delving into the complicated transmission history of this story in antiquity, and the rabbinic transfer of the identity of the royal protagonist from John Hyrcanus to Alexander Jannaeus, we may observe that the Talmudic story points to the location of Koḥlit in the desert.[66] If the tradition of drying out the Koḥlit region is related to John Hyrcanus, then the location should be sought in the desert of Samaria or the southern hills of Hebron, which John Hyrcanus conquered.[67] Additional evidence that a significant portion of the hiding places in the *Copper Scroll* were in the Judean desert lies in the fact that a considerable number of the treasures are described

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64 *b. Qiddushin* 66a.

65 Josephus' account of the feast in *Ant*. 14.288–98 places the event in the days of John Hyrcanus. It is interesting that in the Babylonian Talmud tradition Koḥlit is associated with a dispute between the Hasmoneans and the Pharisees. On the account of this feast, see Daniel R. Schwartz, "On Pharisaic Opposition to the Hasmonean Monarchy," in idem, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (WUNT 60; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1992), 44–56, and the literature cited there; Menahem Stern, *Hasmonean Judea in the Hellenistic World: Chapters in Political History* (Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar Center for Jewish History, 1995), 195–99 (Hebrew).

66 In J. T. Milik's French translation of *Tractate Kelim* he followed a version indicating that Koḥlit is in the Carmel. See Józef T. Milik, "Notes d'épigraphie et de topographie palestiniennes," *RB* 66 (1959): 567–75. The important sentence for the identification of the Kaḥal Spring in Mt. Carmel is incorporated into the prologue to the midrash:

יגנזו אתם בהר הכרמל כי קדש הם. שנת שלשה אלפים ושלוש מאות ושלושים ואחד ליצירה. עין כחל בקעה גדולה ועמוקה מאד ובה מעין מים טובים ועל שם נקראת עין כחל כי שם מזרחו הר גבוה ורם ומשופע מאד ובראשו חצוב שער סתום. ואומרים כי שם נגנזו כלי המקדש.

"They shall conceal them on Mt. Carmel, for they are holy. The year three thousand and three hundred and thirty-one from creation. Kaḥal Spring (ʿen-Kaḥal) is a large and deep valley, in which there is a spring with good water, and the Kaḥal Spring is named for it. For east of it there is a high and lofty mountain, very steep, and at its peak is carved a hidden gate. And they say that the vessels of the Temple are concealed there."

According to this passage, *Tractate Kelim* was written in the year 3331 from creation. Following the system of dating that is accepted today, based upon the tannaitic work *Seder ʿolam Rabba* (which dates to approximately the second century CE), *anno mundi* 3331 would be 373 BCE. This prologue seems to be a late addition to *Tractate Kelim*, which is not found in other textual witnesses of the text (*Aggadat Bereshit*, *Bet ha-Midrash*, *Rav Peʿalim* and others. See above, n.7). Thus, despite this tradition, it is preferable to seek to identify Koḥlit in the desert of Samaria or in the southern hills of Hebron, and not near the Carmel. On the identification of the site, see Boaz Zissu, "The identification of the Copper Scroll's *Kahelet* at Ein Samiya in the Samarian desert," *PEQ* 133 (2001): 145–58.

67 See Dan Barag, "New Evidence of the Foreign Policy of John Hyrcanus," *INJ* 12 ([1992–1993] 1994): 1–12; Gerald Finkielsztejn, "More evidence on John Hyrcanus I's Conquests: Lead Weights and Rhodian Amphora Stamps," *BAIAS* 16 (1998): 33–63.

as having been placed near water aqueducts and dams (the term יגר in the *Copper Scroll* seems to refer to dams that re-directed flood waters to aqueducts) that can be identified with water installations that were constructed in the Judean desert.[68]

Summary

In this article we sought to demonstrate that the *Copper Scroll* did not purport to record Second Temple treasures, but rather treasures that were connected to the biblical period. The context for the composition of this scroll was the debate concerning religious legitimacy that raged among Jewish groups in the Second Temple period. One way in which this competition for authority was manifest was in disputes over where the First Temple vessels had been concealed. There were groups who maintained that the vessels were hidden away in the Temple in Jerusalem. Others claimed that they had been deposited in Mt. Nebo. The Samaritans claimed that the true vessels had been secreted at the top of Mt. Gerizim. Among Babylonian Jews there was a widespread tradition that the vessels had been deposited in Mesopotamia. An Ethiopian tradition maintained that the ark had been brought to Ethiopia.[69]

This is the context in which the *Copper Scroll* must be understood. The list is most plausibly interpreted as a sectarian composition. Its purpose was to make the claim that the authentic vessels, which will be revealed in the future and be put to use in the ideal Temple, are hidden in the desert, and are being stored under the supervision of groups that had separated from the establishment in Jerusalem and were active in the Judean desert. By publicizing this claim, the anti-establishment groups sought to enhance their legitimacy. The primary advantage of our proposed explanation of the nature and purpose of the *Copper Scroll* does not lie in any individual detail but rather in seeking to understand the scroll in light of the other compositions found at Qumran, and in light of other known traditions concerning the concealment of the First Temple vessels.[70]

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68 On the aqueducts and dams mentioned in the *Copper Scroll*, see Hanan Eshel, "Aqueducts in The Copper Scroll," in *Copper Scroll Studies* (ed. George J. Brooke and Philip R. Davies; JSPSup 40; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 92–107; [repr. in this volume, 131–146].

69 See Edward Ullendorff, *Ethiopia and the Bible* (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1968), 82–87.

70 See Stephan Goranson, "Sectarianism, Geography, and the Copper Scroll," *JJS* 43 (1992): 282–87. Although Goranson did not see the *Copper Scroll* as referring to the treasures of the First Temple, he did claim that the *Copper Scroll* must be understood in the context of the other scrolls found at Qumran, and that it is a fictional composition that reflects folklore rather than a description of actual treasures.

Our proposed explanation accommodates the widespread hypothesis that the Qumran site was associated with one of the groups within the Essene movement, and, that it is the site that was described by Pliny the Elder and Dio Chrysostom as the location of the Essenes.[71]

71 See David Graf, "The Pagan Witness to the Essenes," *BA* 40 (1977): 125–29; Geza Vermes and Martin Goodman, *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

Chapter 8:
Aqueducts in the *Copper Scroll**

Introduction

Several fortresses were built during the Second Temple period in the region of Qumran, within 20 km of the site (Fig. 8.1).[1] The *Copper Scroll* (3Q15) mentions aqueducts that brought water to Khirbet Qumran as well as to some of those fortresses.[2]

It may be assumed that the author of the *Copper Scroll* was familiar with these royal fortresses. During the first century CE these fortresses were guarded by Roman soldiers. Aqueducts led water to all these fortresses. In every fortress, cisterns were carved in order to store the water. Those aqueducts were quite notable, and as such were used by the author of the *Copper Scroll* as a reference to the hidden treasures.

This article is divided into two sections. In the first section I briefly describe four aqueducts that were built in the area of Qumran. In the second part I discuss the parts of the *Copper Scroll* that are related to aqueducts.

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1 Yoram Tsafrir, "The Desert Fortresses of Judaea in the Second Temple Period," *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 2 (1982): 120–45; Günter Garbrecht and Yehuda Peleg, "Die Wasserversorgung geschichtlicher Wüstenfestungen am Jordantal," *Antike Welt* 20.2 (1989): 2–20; eidem, "The Water Supply of the Desert Fortresses in the Jordan Valley," *BA* 57/3 (1994): 161–70.

2 I would like to thank David Amit for his comments on some of the issues discussed in this paper.

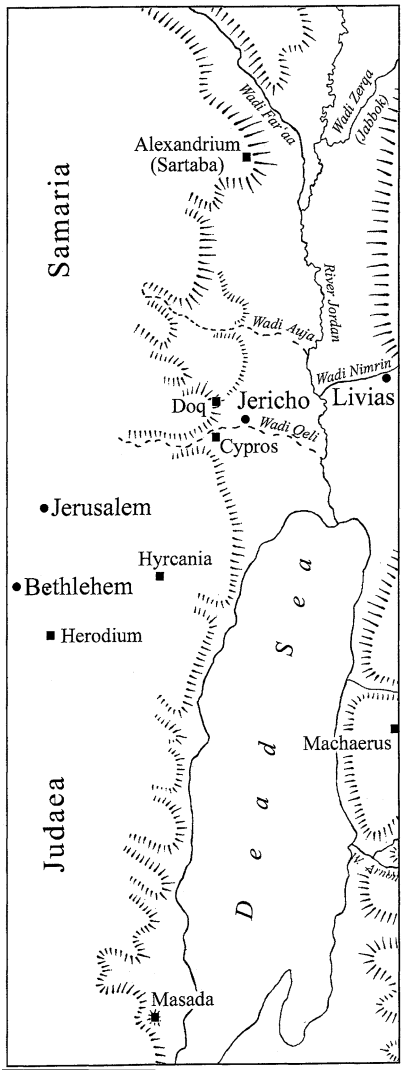

Fig. 8.1 *Map of all the fortresses in the Judaean desert*
(From Tsafrir,"The Desert Fortresses," 121)

1. The Aqueducts in the Qumran area

1.1. The Aqueduct to Qumran

A short aqueduct of c. 0.5 km in length, starting under a high waterfall in Wadi Qumran, brought water to Khirbet Qumran (Fig. 8.2).[3] This aqueduct consisted of two parts: The first part was built in Wadi Qumran, keeping its height at a uniform level by means of tunnels and supporting walls. The second part of the aqueduct was built on the plateau.

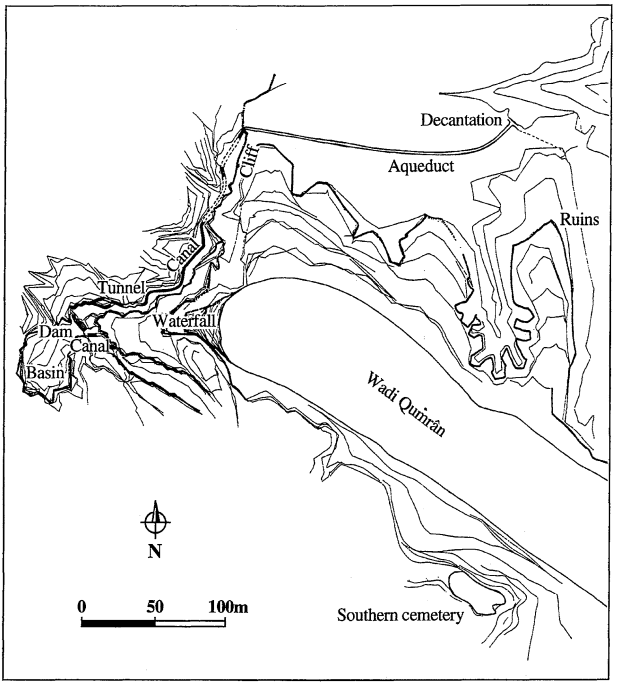

Fig. 8.2 *Map of the aqueduct of Qumran*
(From de Vaux, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran et de Ain Feshkha*, 192)

3 Ernest W. Gurney Masterman, "Notes on Some Ruins and a Rock-cut Aqueduct in Wadi Kumran," *PEQ* 35 (1903): 265–67; Roland de Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran," *RB* 63 (1956): 538–40, at 573; Siegfried Schultz, "Chirbet Kumran, En Feschcha und die Bukea," *ZDPV* 76 (1960): 53–58; Zvi Ilan and David Amit, "The Aqueduct of Qumran," in *The Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine* (ed. David Amit, Yizhar Hirschfield, and Joseph Patrich; Jerusalem: Yad Yitzhak Ben-Zvi, 1989), 283–88 (Hebrew); Roland de Vaux, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran et de Ain Feshkha* (ed. Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon; NTOA, Series Archæologica 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 192, 195–99, 342.

A dam was built under the second waterfall in the wadi, creating a small pool from which the aqueduct started. When there was a flood, the dam deflected part of the running water from the wadi to the aqueduct. Forty meters beyond the waterfall, the aqueduct becomes a subterranean tunnel 13.5 m long. After the tunnel, the aqueduct was built on supporting walls for another 130 m. On the plateau the aqueduct continues for about another 200 m, descending to Khirbet Qumran.

1.2. The Aqueducts of Hyrcania

Khirbet el-Mird, Hyrcania, is located 9 km west of Khirbet Qumran.[4] Two water aqueducts brought water to Hyrcania:[5] the northern one, 2 km long, started in a wadi north of the site (Fig. 8.3), above a waterfall of about 8 m in height. A dam, about 4–5 m wide, was built in a diagonal direction in order to deflect part of the water to the aqueduct. The width of this aqueduct in its upper part is about 1 m—double the width of the other aqueducts in the Judean desert. Thus, this aqueduct was designed to receive a vast quantity of flood water in a relatively short time.

The southern aqueduct is 9 km long, starting in Wadi Qidron (Wadi en-Nar). After 1300 m, when the wadi turns south, the aqueduct crosses the wadi and continues on the east side, in the area where in the Byzantine period the St. Saba Monastery was built (Fig. 8.3). The aqueduct leaves Wadi Qidron and changes its direction to north-east, toward the fortress. The aqueduct then goes through three high bridges and a few small ones. The southern bridge is 7.5 m at its highest point. The highest point of the middle bridge was 17 m, while the northern bridge was 9 m above the wadi.

The two aqueducts meet about 750 m west of Hyrcania. Due to the brittle bedrock in this area, a 500 m long open canal was built, and two impressive bridges were erected here. West of the fortress stood another monumental bridge, through which the two aqueducts passed, bringing water to the cisterns (Fig. 8.4).

Two water pools were built north of the bridge (Fig. 8.5). The northern pool measures 19 × 18 × 5 m. The southern pool was not preserved as well as the northern one, but it was slightly smaller, its depth being 2.6 m. A third pool was built south of the bridge.

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4 Joseph Patrich, "Hyrcania" in *The New Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (ed. Ephraim Stern; 4 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 2:639–41; Claude R. Conder and Horatio Herbert Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine* (8 vols; London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883), 3:212; George R. H. Wright, "The Archaeological Remains at el-Mird in the Wilderness of Judaea," *Biblica* 42 (1961): 1–21, at 5–6.

5 Joseph Patrich, "The Aqueducts of Hyrcania," in Amit, Hirschfield, and Patrich (eds.), *Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine*, 243–60.

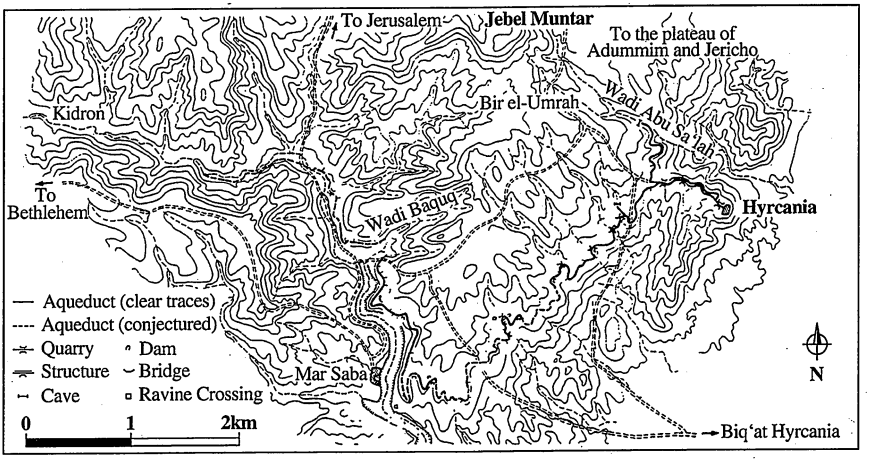

Fig. 8.3 *Map of the aqueducts of Hyrcania*
(From Patrich, "The Aqueducts of Hyrcania," 243)

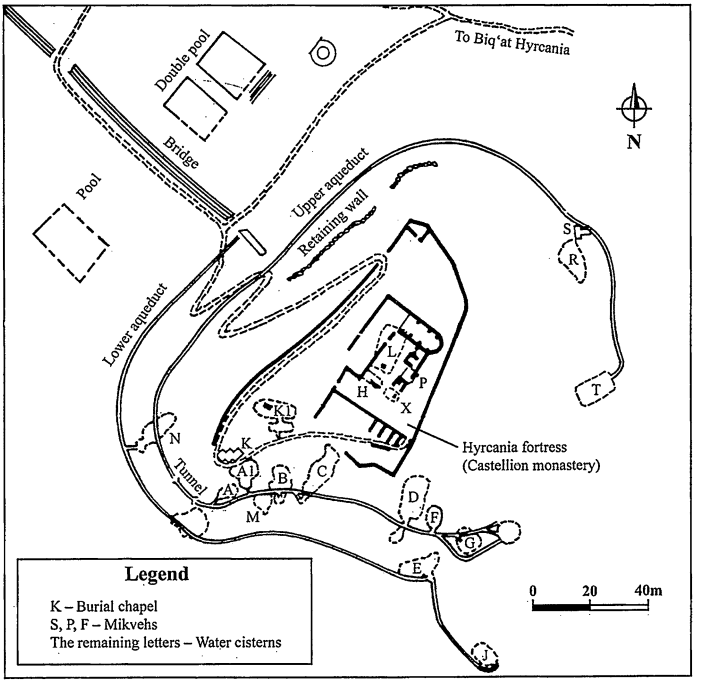

Fig. 8.4 *Map of Hyrcania and its vicinity* (From Patrich, "Hyrcania," 640)

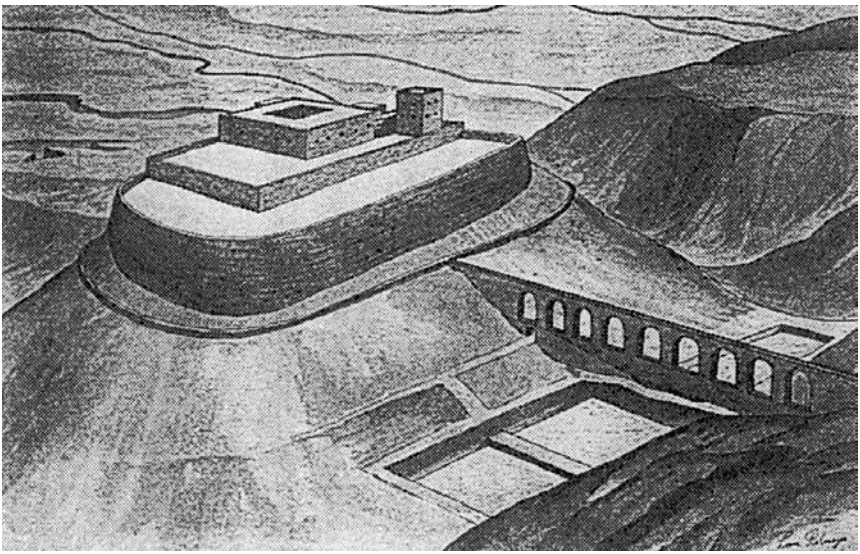

Fig. 8.5: *Northern bridge with the pools*
(From Patrich, "The Aqueducts of Hyrcania," 253)

The aqueducts that carried water to Hyrcania filled 14 cisterns, 12 of which were dug in two lines south of the fortress—8 on the upper line and 4 on the lower level. Two additional cisterns were dug north-east of the fortress. The northern aqueduct was presumably built during the Hasmonean period, filling the 4 cisterns that are located south of the fortress, on the lower level, while the southern aqueduct, which was built during the Herodian period, filled the other 10 cisterns—8 south of the fortress and 2 in the northeast. Three ritual baths were built near the cisterns (Fig. 8.4)

1.3. The Aqueducts to Tel el-Aqabeh and to Jericho from Wadi el-Qelt

The fortress of Tel el-Aqabeh is located south of Wadi el-Qelt, 12 km north of Qumran.[6] This fortress is usually identified with Cypros.[7] Two aqueducts carried water to the fortress of Tel el-Aqabeh (Fig. 8.6). The earlier one, dated to the

6 Ehud Netzer, "Cypros," in Stern (ed.), *New Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 1:315–17.

7 In 1981 we suggested identifying the Tel el-Aqabeh fortress with Herodium of the hills on the Arabian frontier (Josephus, *War* 1.419); see Hanan Eshel and Yoel Bin-Nun, "The Other Herodium and the Tomb of Herod," *Teva va-Aretz* 24 (1981): 65–71 (Hebrew). This suggestion must now be reconsidered because two fortresses from the Herodian period were

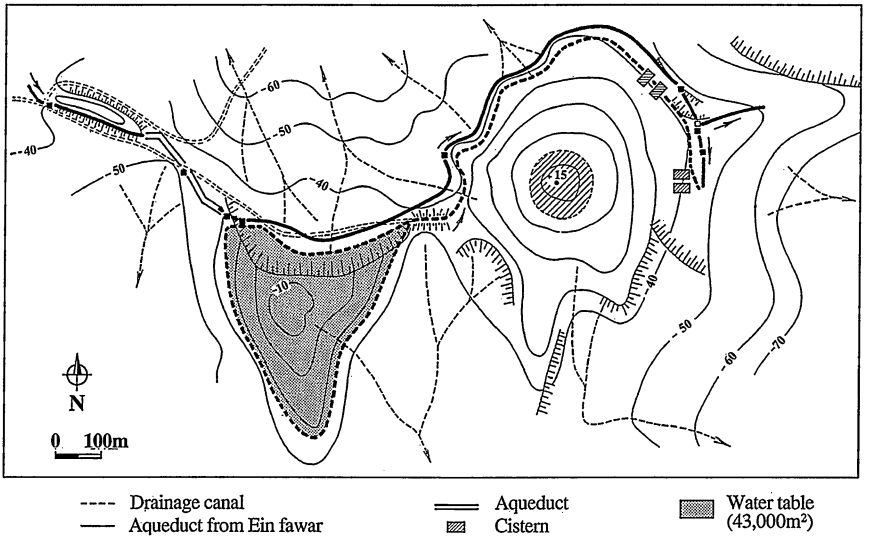

Fig. 8.6: *Map of the aqueduct of Cypros (Tel el-Aqabeh)*
(From Garbrecht and Peleg, "Die Wasserversorgung geschichtlicher Wüstenfestungen am Jordantal," 13)

Hasmonean period, was built around a hill, west of the fortress, and it collected rainwater from this hill. This aqueduct was around 1 km long. During the Herodian period another aqueduct was built to carry water from Wadi el-Qelt to Tel el-Aqabeh. This aqueduct, 14 km long, passed over a monumental bridge to the fortress (Fig. 8.7). Half a dozen additional bridges and three tunnels were built on the south side of Wadi el-Qelt. This aqueduct brought water to Tel el-Aqabeh, and from the fortress to the fields of the Royal Estate in Jericho.[8]

Four cisterns were dug in the fortress of Tel el-Aqabeh, two north-east of the site and two east of the fortress. The northern cistern was probably the smallest one.[9] In the Herodian period the aqueduct carried water to the fortress of Tel

found east of the Jordan, and one of them may be identified as the Arabian Herodium; see Alexis Mallon, "Deux Fortresses au Pied des Monts de Moab," *Biblica* 14 (1933): 400–407; Kay Prag and Hugh Barnes, "Three Fortresses on the Wadi Kafrain, Jordan," *Levant* 28 (1996): 41–61.

8 Conder and Kitchener, *Survey of Western Palestine* 3:190, 222, 227–28; Ze'ev Meshel and David Amit, "Water Supply to Cypros Fortress," in Amit, Hirschfield, and Patrich (eds.), *Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine*, 229–42 (Hebrew).

9 This cistern has collapsed but in the map of Meshel and Amit, "Water Supply to Cypros Fortress," 234, the northern cistern is smaller than the other collapsed cistern beside it.

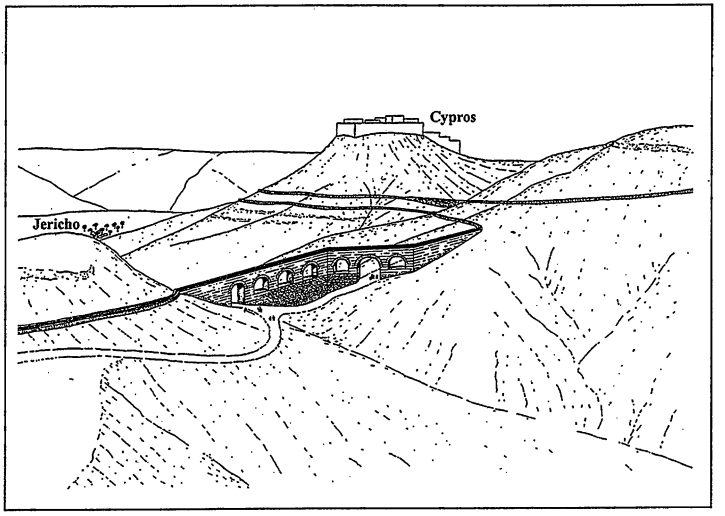

Fig. 8.7 *Drawing of the large bridge carrying the aqueduct leading to Cypros (Tel el-Aqabeh)* (From Meshel and Amit, "Water Supply to Cypros Fortress," 235)

el-Aqabeh all year long, and not only during certain days in the winter. Nevertheless, the cisterns were needed because an enemy could block the water in the aqueduct and deflect it at the beginning of a siege. Therefore, the soldiers guarding the fortress in the Herodian period had to ensure that the cisterns were always full.

The earliest aqueduct that was built in the Judean Desert was built north of Wadi el-Qelt. This aqueduct carried water to the Hasmonean Palace and to the Royal Estate, which were both built south of Jericho during the reign of John Hyrcanus I (134–104 BCE).[10] This aqueduct was 15 km long. King Herod later built a 5 km aqueduct along the south side of the eastern part of Wadi el-Qelt, carrying some of the winter water of the wadi to the fields of Jericho. At the end of the Second Temple period, three aqueducts (one on the north side, one on the south side passing Tel el-Aqabeh, and the third being a short aqueduct, on the south side of the eastern part) led the water of Wadi el-Qelt to the royal vine-

10 Ehud Netzer, "The Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces at Jericho," *IEJ* 25 (1975): 89–100; idem, "The Winter Palaces of the Judean Kings at Jericho at the End of the Second Temple Period," *BASOR* 228 (1977): 1–14; idem, "Tulul Abu el 'Alayiq," in Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, 4:682–91; Hanan Eshel, "The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 409–20.

yards at Jericho. During that period more than 34 km of aqueducts were built along Wadi el-Qelt.[11]

1.4. The Aqueduct of Doq at Ras Qarantal

The fortress of Ras Qarantal is located west of Jericho, 16 km north of Qumran (Fig. 8.8). This fortress is identified with Doq or Dagon of the Hasmonean period.[12]

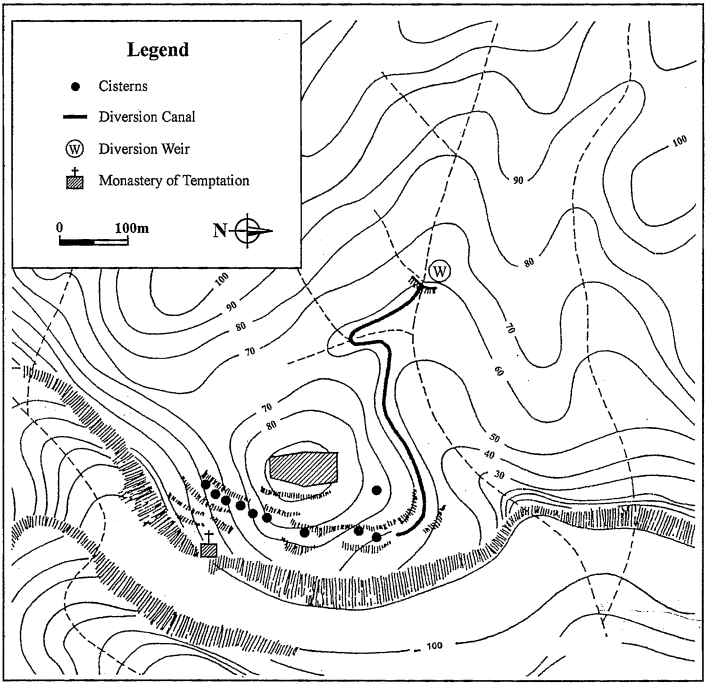

Fig. 8.8: *Map of the aqueduct of Doq*
(Taken from Garbrecht and Peleg, "Water Supply of the Desert Fortresses," 12)

11 Ehud Netzer, "Water Channels and a Royal Estate from the late Hellenistic Period in the Western Plains of Jericho," *Mitteilungen aus dem Leichtweiß Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig* 82 (1984): 1–12; Günter Garbrecht and Ehud Netzer, *Die Wasserversorgung des geschichtlichen Jericho und seiner königlichen Anlagen* (Mitteilungen aus dem Leichtweiß Institut für Wasserbau der Technischen Universität Braunschweig 115; Braunschweig: Leichtweiß Institut für Wasserbau, 1991).

12 See Tsafrir, "Desert Fortresses," 122. We have suggested identifying this fortress as Cypros of the Herodian period as well; see Eshel and Bin-Nun, "The Other Herodium."

The aqueduct that was built in order to carry water to the fortress of Ras Qarantal measures approximately 700 m. in length.[13] This aqueduct started at the foot of a small waterfall, running north of the fortress. It carried water to nine cisterns, carved east of the fortress.[14] Most of the cisterns are rectangular and measure between 7.5 m and 14 m in length and 3.5 m to 5.5 m in width. The northern cistern, no. 1, is not bigger than the other cisterns. The total capacity of all these cisterns is 2090 m^3.

2. References to Water Aqueducts in the *Copper Scroll*

2.1. The Aqueduct of Secacah

In the beginning of column 5 of the *Copper Scroll* we read:

1. ברוש אמת המים [הבאה [15]ל-]
2. סככא מן הצפון ת[חת האבן[16]]
3. הגדולא חפור אמות [שלו-]
4. ש כסף ככ 7

1. At the head of the water aqueduct [which penetrates to]
2. Secacah[17] from the north, bene[ath the] large
3. [stone,] dig for [three] cubits:
4. seven talents of silver.

As some scholars have already suggested, this aqueduct should be identified with the aqueduct of Wadi Qumran.[18] The dam that was built in this wadi is mentioned before the aqueduct at the end of column 4:

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13 David Amit, "The Water System of Dok Fortress," in Amit, Hirschfield, and Patrich (eds.), *Aqueducts of Ancient Palestine*, 223–28 (Hebrew).

14 Otto Meinardus, "Notes on the Laurae and Monasteries of the Wilderness of Judaea (Part 3)," *LA* 19 (1969): 325–26.

15 Émile Puech orally suggested the reconstruction ברוש אמת המים [ממערבא ל]סככא ("At the head of the water aqueduct coming from the west to Secacah"), which is possible.

16 Gad B. Sarfati suggested (in a seminar) the reconstruction [חת המסמא]ת. This reconstruction is based on 3Q15 11: 6. The term מסמא appears in rabbinic literature, meaning "a stone"; see *m. Kelim* 1:3; b. *Nid.* 69b; and Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, *A Complete Dictionary of Ancient and Modern Hebrew* (16 vols.; Jerusalem: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959), 3124 n.1.

17 The name of Qumran was Secacah in the First and Second Temple periods; see Hanan Eshel, "A Note on Joshua 15:61–62 and the Identification of the City of Salt," *IEJ* 45 (1995): 37–40.

18 See Józef T. Milik, "Le rouleaue de cuivre petites provenant de la grotte 3Q (3Q15)," in Maurice Baillet et al. (eds.), *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), 201–302, at 263 n. 9; Ilan and Amit, "Aqueduct of Qumran," 287. They also suggested that the term יגר refers to the dam in Wadi Qumran.

13. ביגר של גי הסككא חפור
14. אמת כסף ככ 12

13. In the dam of Secacah Gorge, dig
14. cubits: twelve talents of silver.

The word יגר means "a mound," as mentioned in Gen 31:47 יגר שהדותא.[19] It seems that יגר in the *Copper Scroll* means "a stone dam," where an aqueduct started.[20]

It seems that the first treasure was hidden under a big stone on the plateau, north of the aqueduct, while the second treasure was hidden in the dam of Wadi Qumran.

2.2. The Aqueducts of Hyrcania

The dam where the southern aqueduct leading to Hyrcania began is mentioned in column 8, lines 8–9 of the *Copper Scroll*:

8. ביגר של פי צוק הקדרון
9. חפור אמות שלוש ككز

8. In the dam of the Qidron cliff
9. dig for three cubits: seven talents of silver.

Therefore it seems that this treasure of seven talents of silver was hidden in the dam of Wadi Qidron (where the southern aqueduct of Hyrcania started).

In 3Q15 4:3–5, an aqueduct is mentioned. Its destination was not preserved in the *Copper Scroll*. According to the context I suggest the reconstruction "to Hyrcania" in line 3, based on the assumption that there is some geographical order in the *Copper Scroll*. The next treasure was hidden in עמק עכון which is probably עמק עכור, mentioned in Josh 7:24–26, to be identified with el-Buqe'a.[21] The north aqueduct carrying water to Hyrcania passes the hills west of the Buqe'a. If we accept this restoration, we read:

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19 On the יגר סהדותא see John Skinner, *Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1910), 401. On יגר in the *Copper Scroll* as a dam, see Ben-Zion Luria, *The Copper Scroll from the Judean Desert* (Publications of the Israel Bible Research Society 14; Jerusalem: Kiryat Sepher, 1963), 83 (Hebrew).

20 The word יגר appears in 3Q15 8:8, which will be discussed below, and in 3Q15 6:14: שבמגזת הכוהן ביגר. Although I do not understand this description, this יגר can also be a dam of an aqueduct. See Luria, *Copper Scroll,* 94.

21 See John M. Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960), 64–68; Eshel, "A Note on Joshua 15: 61–62," 37–38, n.5. For a discussion of Iron Age water irrigation systems in the Buqe'a, see Frank M. Cross and Józef T. Milik, "Explorations in the Judaean Buqe'ah," *BASOR* 142 (1956): 5–17; and Lawrence E. Stager, "Farming in the Judean Desert During the Iron Age," *BASOR* 221 (1976): 145–58.

3. באמא הבא[ה להורקניה] בביאתך
4. אמות ארבע[ין ואח]ת כסף
5. כ״ה 55

3. In the aqueduct which go[es to Hyrcania] when you enter (the site)
4. fort[y-on]e cubits:
5. fifty-five talents of silver.

It seems therefore that we can identify this aqueduct as the north aqueduct, carrying water from the area west of the Buqe'a to Hyrcania. The treasure was hidden 41 cubits from the point where the trail met the north aqueduct, west of Hyrcania.

2.3. The Aqueduct to Cypros or Another Reference to the Aqueduct to Hyrcania

In 3Q15 7:3 the description of a treasure starts with the words]באמא של קי "in the aqueduct of QY[."[21a] There are two possibilities to reconstruct this word. If we reconstruct [פרוס]קי —Cy[pros], then we should read:

3. באמא של קי[פרוס]
4. האשוח הצפו[ני הגדו]ל[21b]
5. בארבע רוח[ות לשמ]ולו
6. משח אמות עסרין[ואר]בע
7. ככרין ארבע מאות

3. In the aqueduct of Cy[pros],
4. the nor[th bi]g reservoir [ ]
5. on the four si[des to its le]ft (or: to its north)[22]
6. measure twenty-[fo]ur cubits:
7. four hundred talents.

The reconstruction [הגד]ול at the end of line 4 seems certain.[22a] The word משח means "to measure," namely "to measure twenty-four cubits, left (or north) of the four sides of the big northern reservoir." The fortress of Cypros was named after King Herod's mother. If the reconstruction [פרוס]באמא של קי is accepted, then this would indicate that the *Copper Scroll* was composed later than the Herodian Period.

21a [The most recent critical edition of the scroll is Judah K. Lefkovits, *The Copper Scroll* (3Q15): *A Reevaluation* (STDJ 25; Leiden: Brill, 2000). Lefkovits does not read קי here, though he cites other scholars who do (ibid., 220–21)].

21b [See the alternative suggestions, however, in Lefkovits, ibid.]

22 In Biblical Hebrew and in Arabic שמאל means north, see: BDB, p. 969.

22a [See, however, notes 21a–b above].

Most scholars identify Cypros with the fortress of Tel el-Aqabeh.[23] There are four cisterns in Tel el-Aqabeh. The north cistern collapsed, but there is no reason to assume that this cistern was bigger than the other three.[24]

I suggested in 1981 that Cypros was the Herodian name of the fortress built at Ras Qarantal, which was named Doq or Dagon during the Hasmonean period.[25] If this is correct, then a problem arises, since in another description in the *Copper Scroll*, in column 7, we read:

11. בדוק תחת פנת המשמרה
12. המזרחית חפור אמות שבע
13. כב 22

11. In Doq,[26] below the corner of the eastern
12. guardhouse dig for seven cubits:
13. twenty-two talents of silver.

This description raises the question whether it is possible that a single fortress would have been given two different names in the *Copper Scroll*, one representing the Hasmonean name, and the other the Herodian name.[27] Nevertheless, the northern cistern at Ras Qarantal is not bigger than the other cisterns.[28] Therefore we shall consider the possibility of reconstructing in 3Q15 7:3 באמא של [...קי]דרון, i. e., "in the aqueduct of Qi[dron]."[29] The passage reads:

3. באמא של קי[דרון(?)][30]
4. האשוח הצפו[ני הגדו]ל
5. בארבע רוח[ות לשמ]ולו
6. משח אמות עסרין[ואר]בע
7. ככרין ארבע מאות

23 See: Tsafrir, "Desert Fortresses," 123.

24 See the map in Meshel and Amit, "Water Supply to Cypros Fortress," 234 and Fig. 8.6 above, in which the north-eastern cistern is smaller than the other collapsed cistern beside it.

25 Eshel and Bin-Nun, "The Other Herodium."

26 For the identification of this treasure in the fortress of Ras Qarantal see Milik, DJD 3:265; Luria, *Copper Scroll*, 97.

27 If we accept the prevailing suggestion to identify Cypros in Tel el-Aqabeh, we will face a similar problem, in light of Allegro's reasonable suggestion of identifying Mount Gerizim of 3Q15 12:4 with Tel el-Aqabeh. See Allegro, *Treasure of the Copper Scroll*, 75–76. On the polemic use of the toponym Mount Gerizim in the *Copper Scroll*, see Hanan Eshel, "The Samaritans in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: The Origins of Samaritanism" (Ph.D. Diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1994), 193–95 (Hebrew).

28 See the plans of these cisterns in Amit, "The Water System of Dok Fortress," 226, and Fig. 8.8 above.

29 I would like to thank Dr. I. Knohl for this suggestion.

30 We may consider reconstructing line 3:

3. באמא של קי[דרון בבואה אל]
4. האשוח הצפו[ני הגדו]ל

3. In the aqueduct of Qi[dron when it enters]
4. the nor[th bi]g reservoir

3. In the aqueduct of Qi[dron (?)],
4. the nor[th bi]g reservoir [ ]
5. on the four si[des to its le]ft
6. measure twenty-[fo]ur cubits:
7. four hundred talents.

If we accept this reading, then this passage deals with the south aqueduct of Hyrcania and not with the aqueduct of Cyprus. One problem with this reconstruction is that קדרון is written in column 8 without a *yod*.[31] Nevertheless this possibility fits the archaeological remains of Hyrcania, and if we accept it, we can identify the אשוח, "the reservoir," with the big pool north of the bridge west of Hyrcania.[32] Therefore we may assume that this treasure was hidden twenty-four cubits north of the northern pool west of Hyrcania.

2.4. An Aqueduct at Wadi el-Qelt?

A hint to one of the aqueducts that was built in Wadi el-Qelt may be found in 3Q15 7:14–16:

14. על פי יציאת המים של הכוז[32a]
15. בא חפור אמות שלוש עד הסור
16. ככ 60 זהב ככרין שתים

14. By the mouth of the water outlet of the Koz[iba]
15. dig three cubits to the rock
16. 60 talents of silver two talents of gold.

Koziba is probably the name of the eastern part of Wadi el-Qelt since the name of the monastery built there in the Byzantine period was Choziba.[33] If this description describes an aqueduct, it should probably be identified as the beginning of one of the aqueducts built in Wadi el-Qelt.

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31 In some cases we can show that there is no consistency in the *Copper Scroll*. For example sometimes the scribe wrote אמת המים, "water aqueduct" (3Q15 5:1) and sometimes he wrote only אמא "aqueduct" (3Q15 4:3).

32 The word אשוח can be better understood to be a water pool than a cistern. See the bibliography in: Jacob Hoftijzer and Karel Jongeling, *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 122–23. See Figs. 8.4 and 8.5 above.

32a [See, however, "בוז" in Lefkovits, The Copper Scroll, 236, and the discussion, ibid., 236–41].

33 On Koziba, see Milik, DJD 3:265; Bargil Pixner, "Unravelling the Copper Scroll Code: A Study on the Topography of 3Q15," *RevQ* 11 (1983): 323–65, at 349 n.27.

2.5. Appendix: Two Unknown Aqueducts in the Copper Scroll

Two other water aqueducts are mentioned in the *Copper Scroll*, but I cannot suggest any identification for them. In 3Q15 1:9–12 we read:

9. בתל של כחלת כלי דמע בלגין ואפורן
10. הכל של דמע והאצר השבעי מעסר
11. שני בפי גל פתחו בשולי האמא מן הצפון
12. אמות שש עד נקרת הטבילה ΧΑΓ

9. In the ruins of Koḥlit, tithe vessels in a flask container and gray (silver coins?).[34]
10. All tithe and stored Seventh-Year produce (and) Second
11. Tithe, in the mouth of the mound its opening is at the edge of the aqueduct on the north
12. six cubits to the crevice (used) for ritual baths ΧΑΓ

Since little is known about Koḥlit other than it was located in the desert, I cannot identify this aqueduct.[35] In the beginning of column 8 we read:

1. [בא]מא שבדרך המזרח בית
2. האוצר שמזרח אחיה (?)
3. כלי דמע וספרין אל תדקם (?)

1. In the aqueduct which is on the road to the east of the store
2. house, to the east of Ahiya (?):
3. tithe-vessels and books do not appropriate them (?)

No fortress or site by the name Beth-Achzor is known in the Judean Desert, and although the aqueduct to Tel el-Aqabeh passes near the Roman road, I cannot identify this aqueduct.

34 Coins that are called "black silver" are mentioned in the Greek documents of Babatha. Therefore we may assume that אפורן, "Grays," are some kind of silver coins. See Yaakov Meshorer, "The 'Black Silver' Coins of the Babatha Papyri: A Reevaluation," *Israel Museum Journal* 10 (1992): 67–74. Naphtali Lewis, "Again, the Money Called Black," in *Classical Studies in Honor of David Sohlberg* (ed. Ranon Katzoff with Yaakov Petroff and David M. Schaps; Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1996), 399–401.

35 On Koḥlit in the desert, see *b. Qidd.* 66a. I see no reason to accept Pixner's suggestion that Koḥlit is the monastic center of an Essene settlement (Pixner, "Unravelling the Copper Scroll Code," 337). See now, Boaz Zissu, "The Identification of the Copper Scroll's *Kaḥelet* at ʿEin Samiya in the Samarian Desert," *PEQ* 133 (2001): 145–58; and there is an aqueduct atʿEin Samiya.

Summary

Several water aqueducts are mentioned in the *Copper Scroll*. The water aqueduct that led water to Secacah is to be identified with the aqueduct of Wadi Qumran. Of the other aqueducts in the area of Qumran two projects were long and notable; one carrying water to Hyrcania, and the other built along Wadi el-Qelt. It seems that those two projects are mentioned in the *Copper Scroll*.

There is evidence that the author of the *Copper Scroll* was familiar with the Judean Desert and used the aqueducts of the Second Temple period as reference points to the hidden treasure.[36] It is important to note that although the fortresses were occupied by soldiers at all times, the aqueducts leading to those fortresses were in open areas, and everybody had access to them.

36 Without discussing the disagreements about the authenticity of the *Copper Scroll*, I would like to note that the only treasure found in Israel that might be connected to the Temple, was found in 1960 at Isfiya (or Ussfiya) on Mount Carmel. This hoard contains about 4500 silver coins (3400 Tyrian shekels, about 1000 half-shekels and 160 Roman denarii of Augustus). It was suggested that this hoard consists of Temple contributions that were not delivered due to the military conflict between the Romans and the Jews in the Galilee in 67 CE. See Leo Kadman, "Temple Dues and Currency in Ancient Palestine in the Light of Recent Discovered Coins-Hoards," *Israel Numismatic Bulletin* 1 (1962): 9–11; idem, "Temple Dues and Currency in Ancient Palestine in the Light of Recent Discovered Coins-Hoards," in *Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica, 11–16 September 1961, Rome* (Roma: Istituto Italiano di Numismatica, 1965), 2:69–76; Daniel Sperber, "Numismatics and Halacha," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 2 (1964): 16–18.

Cave 4

Chapter 9: The *"Prayer of Joseph"* from Qumran, A Papyrus from Masada, and the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim*

1. The "Prayer of Joseph" from Qumran

Eileen Schuller recently published a fragment of a scroll from Qumran Cave 4 that contains prayers attributed to biblical characters such as Joseph, Zimri son of Salu, and the five kings of Midian.[1] The composition also contains the phrase, "his head by a stone," which Schuller relates to David and Goliath. Another section mentions "a mole and a mouse" which suggests it may be discussing halakhic issues. The purpose and literary characteristics of the composition are not clear. It survives in two copies, 4Q371 and 4Q372. The published section is 4Q372 frag. 1, which contains 32 lines. This section may be called the "Prayer of Joseph." A section parallel to lines 5–14 of this fragment is preserved in 4Q371, enabling us to fill in eleven words that have not been preserved in 4Q372. The Prayer of Joseph is presented here according to Schuller's 1990 edition, with reconstructions incorporated on the basis of 4Q371. The letters preserved in 4Q371 are underlined:[1a]

1 [...]ם[...]
2 את עושה[...]שׂרה זיסים[...]
3 ואת הכמרים וכבדו את עבד[ֽ] פסל[...]
4 עליון ויתנם בֽיד הגוים ל[... ויפץ]

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* [*Ed. note*: This article was originally published in Hebrew in *Zion* 56 (1991): 125–36, with the following note of acknowledgment.] My thanks to Prof. Daniel Schwartz for reading an earlier draft of this article and sharing important comments with me.

1 Eileen Schuller, "4Q372 1: A Text about Joseph," *RevQ* 14 (1990): 349–76. [See now: Eileen Schuller and Moshe J. Bernstein, "4Q372 (4QNarrative and Poetic Composition[b])" in DJD 28: Douglas M. Gropp (ed.), *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh*; Eileen Schuller et al., *Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellanea, Part 2* (DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 165–97].

1a [*Eds.*: The article reflects the situation in 1991. Since then, the remainder of the text has been published in DJD 28. The original article contained an image of 4Q372 1 (PAM 43.365). Images of the text are now available in the DJD edition and online via the website of the Israel Antiquities Authority's Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library: http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-284397]. The translation is according to Schuller, "4Q372 1" with some slight revision; the words attested in 4Q371 are marked with italics].

5 אתם בכל הארצות ובכל[הגוים יבזרֹם . ... לו יבואו ...]
6 ישראל וישמד אתם מארץ[...] [...ממקום]...לו יניחו להם...]
7 הגוים יתנו עומדת בגי החזון ו[י]ס[... ציון ויעשו ... וישימו את]
8 ירושלים לעיים ואת הר אלהי לבמות יע[ר ...] ס[...ין לחקי ...]
9 אל וגם יהודה יחד עמו והוא על אם הדרכים יעמוד כ[עֹ]ש[שות ... ת ח...]
10 להיות יחד עם שני אחיו ובכל זה יוסף מוטל בארצות לא י[דע ...]
11 בגוי נאכר ובכל תבל מפצפצים כל הריהם שממים בהם .. [ו ונבלים ..יסם ...]
12 ועשים להם במה על הר גבה להקניא את ישראל ויודבר[ו בדב[רי ...]
13 בני יעקב וישעירו בדברי פיהם לגדף על אהל ציון וידברו ב..[דברי שקר וכל]
14 אמרי כזב ידברו להכעיס ללוי וליהודה ולבנימן[2] בדבריהם ובכל זה יוסף [נתן]
15 ביד בני נאכר אכלים את כחו ושברים את כל עצמיו עד עת קץ לו ויזעק[וקלו]
16 יקרא אל אל גבור להושיעו מידם ויאמר אבי ואלהי אל תעזבני ביד הגוים
17 עשה אתה בי משפט למען לא יעבדו ענוים ורשים ואין אתה צריך לכל גוי ועם
18 לכל עזרה אצב[ער]גדולה וחזקה מכל אשר בתבל כי אתה בורר את האמת ואין בידך
19 כל חמס גם רחמיך רבים וחסדיך גדלים לכל דרשיך [וי]אמצו ממני[2a] ומכל אחי אשר
20 נלוו עמי עם אויב יושב עליה וכ[...].ף ופתח פיהו על
21 כל בני אהביך יעקב בבעסים לל[...]
22 עת תשמידם מכל תבל ויתנו[...]
23 ואקום לעשות משפט וצ[דקה ... לעשות]
24 רצון בראי ולזבח זבחי[תודה ...]
25 את אלהי ואגיד חסדי[ו ...]
26 אהללך יהוה אלהי ואב[ר]כך ..בל[...]
27 הראשנות וללמד לפשעים חקיך ולכל עזביך תורה[תך ...]
28 ורע אשר לא להכיחי עדותיך ולהגיד דברי צדק[ך ...]

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2 The tribes appearing in line 14 of the *Prayer of Joseph* are listed in this same order in the opening verses of the *War Scroll:* "(1) And th[is is the book of the disposition of] the war. The first engagement of the Sons of Light shall be to attack the lot of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial, the troop of Edom and Moab, and the sons of Ammon (2) and the army [of the dwellers of] Philistia and the troops of the Kittim of Asshur, and in league with them the offenders against the covenant. The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin the exiles of the wilderness, they shall fight against them with (3) with […], yea, against all their troops, when the exiles of the Sons of Light return from the Wilderness of the Nations to encamp in the Wilderness of Jerusalem." The translation is from Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 256–57. See also, Philip R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (Biblica et Orientalis 32; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 114. These scholars, and others, have taken the expression "the sons of Levi, and the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin" to signify the Sons of Light. However, the *Prayer of Joseph* indicates that the expression refers to all the residents of Judea, and not just the sectarians. It is thus possible that the sons of Judah and the sons of Benjamin mentioned in the *War Scroll* are part of "the offenders against the covenant" against whom the men of the exile of the desert will wage war. [Thus, punctuating in English: "… and in league with them the offenders against the covenant: the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin. The exiles of the wilderness, they shall fight against them…" The Hebrew in line 2 (Yadin, ibid.) reads, "…ועמהם בעזר מרשיעי ברית בני לוי ובני יהודה ובני בנימין גולת מדבר יהודה ילחמו בם"—*Eds.*]

2a [Instead of [וי]אמצו ממני of Schuller, "4Q372 1," followed here, the reading in DJD 28:168 is [לקחו]ארצי ממני.—*Eds.*]

29 כי אל גדול קדוש גבור ואדיר נורא ונפלא[… השמים]
30 והארץ וגם במעמקי תהום הוד ו[הדר …]
31 אני ידעת[י] ו[ה]תבננתי ו[.]ל[.] […]
32 […]…[…]

Frag. 1

1. […].[…]
2. the one who does […]… strangers[…]
3. and the idol-priests, and they honoured those who serve[idols …]
4. the Most High, and he gave them into the hand of the nations [… and he scattered]
5. them in all the lands, and among all[the nations *he dispersed them … they did not come …*]
6. Isra*el. And he destroyed th*em from the land[…].[…*from the place of … they did not give them rest*]
7. The nations were given a position in the valley of *vision* and […].[… *Zion and they did…* and they made]
8. Jerusalem into ruins and the mountain *of my God into wood*[*ed*] *heigh*[*ts …*].[… *the laws of …*]
9. G*od* and al*so* Judah (was) together with him, and *he stood* at the crossroads *to d*[*o …*]
10. to be together with his two brothers. And in *all th*is, *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 ..[. *and fools …*]
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 anger 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 his end. And he cried out[and aloud]
16. he called to mighty God to save him from their hand and he said, "My father and my God, do not abandon me into the hand of the nations;
17. do justice for me, lest the afflicted and poor perish. You have no need for any nation or people
18. for any help. The fin[ger of your hand]is greater and stronger than anything in the world. For you select the truth, and there is not in your hand
19. any violence. Your mercies are abundant, your kindnesses great for all who seek you. [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 .[…]. and ..[…].. and they opened their mouth against
21. all the sons of your friend Jacob with vexations to .[…]
22. the time (when) you will destroy them from the entire world, and they will be given[…]
23. And I will arise to do justice and righ[teousness … to do]

24. the will of *my creator, and to* offer sacrifices of[thanksgiving …]
25. you are my God. And I will tell [your] kindnesses[…]
26. I will praise you YHWH, my God, and I will bl[e]ss you ….[…]
27. the former things, and to teach sinners your laws and all who abandon you [your] Tor[ah …]
28. and evil so that your testimonies do not reproach me and to tell the words of [your] righteousness[…]
29. For God is great, holy, mighty and majestic, awesome and marvelous […the heavens]
30. and the earth and also in the depths of the Deep. Splendor and[majesty …]
31. I know and I understand and ..[…].[…]

On paleographic grounds, 4Q371 is dated to the Hasmonean period and 4Q372 to the Herodian period. The editor of the *editio princeps* has shown that the text does not focus upon the experiences of Joseph the son of Jacob but rather upon the tribes descended from Joseph, and it recounts their opposition to the establishment of the Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim.[3] While it is possible to see the song as a lament for the desecration of the Temple during the Maccabean period,[4] it is preferable to accept Schuller's conclusion that it is an anti-Samaritan prayer. The author notes that "Joseph was cast into lands he did not know" and that "fools" are "building altars" on their "desolate mountains" (lines 10–11). The description "desolate mountains" is not suitable to Judea and Jerusalem. It is also possible that the phrase "to revile [or: "blaspheme"] against the tent of Zion" (line 13) is directed against those who contended that Jerusalem was not the chosen sacred place. The hymn stresses that these foolish people are Gentiles, of a foreign nation (in lines 11, 12, 15, 16, and 20), and this too supports the conclusion that it refers to the Samaritans and their temple.

By relating to all the Samaritans as non-Israelites, the author of the *Prayer of Joseph* continues the approach expressed in 2 Kgs 17 and Ezra 4.[5] Line 11 labels the Samaritans as "fools," similar to Ben Sira's "a foolish nation."[6] Two expressions in the hymn attest that the author deliberately chose expressions drawn from biblical descriptions of the people of the northern Kingdom of Israel. The

3 Schuller, "4Q372 1," 367–76.

4 Cf. the lament over the desecration of the Temple incorporated into 1 Macc 1:1, 36–40, 45–49.

5 On this biblical view, see Mordechai Cogan, "Israel in Exile: The View of a Josianic Historian," *JBL* 97 (1978): 40–44; Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought* (BEATAJ 9; Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1989), 327–28.

6 Ben Sira 50:25–26 (MS B from the Cairo Geniza): "Two nations my soul detests, and the third is not even a people: Those who live in Seʿir and in Philistia, and the foolish people (גוי נבל) that lives in Shechem." See *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance, and An Analysis of the Vocabulary* (Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1973), 64 (Hebrew).

word "idol-priests" (כמרים) in line 3 is taken from Hosea 10:5, "The inhabitants of Samaria tremble for the calf of Beth-aven. Its people shall mourn for it, and its idolatrous priests shall wail over it, over its glory that has departed from it." The expression "and also Judah" in line 9 refers to 2 Kgs 17:18–20:

> The Lord was incensed at Israel and He banished them from His presence; none was left but the tribe of Judah alone. *Also Judah* did not keep the commandments of the Lord their God; they followed the customs that Israel had introduced. So the Lord rejected all the offspring of Israel, and he afflicted them and delivered them into the hand of plunderers, until finally he banished them from his presence.

The passage in Kings, like line 9 of the *Prayer of Joseph*, appears in a historical review discussing the sins of the Kingdom of Israel, and the causes that brought about its destruction and the exile of its inhabitants. In the course of this historical survey, the sins of Judah are also mentioned.[7]

In Schuller's opinion, the author of the *Prayer of Joseph* was not a member of the Qumran community, and the composition was brought to the site by somebody who came from outside to join the Community in Qumran. It thus reflects the worldview of Jewish groups in the Second Temple period, rather than specifically the Community's attitude to the Samaritans. Schuller points out that the composition was written during the Persian or Hellenistic periods, certainly not later than the Hasmonean period, as the 4Q371 copy is dated to that time on paleographic grounds.[8]

The published section has two parts. The first part (lines 1–15), is a historical introduction that describes the circumstances that caused Joseph to cry out in prayer. The second part is the prayer of Joseph itself (end of line 15–32). The first part details five stages that led Joseph to his dire straits:

1. Lines 1–3 seem to describe Joseph's sins.
2. Lines 4–7 describe Joseph's punishment of exile.
3. Lines 7–9 speak of Judah, who also sinned, resulting in the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of Judah.
4. Lines 9 and 10 apparently allude to the return of Judah and his two brothers (Levi and Benjamin) to their inheritance.
5. Lines 10–15 describe the difficult situation in which Joseph "was cast into lands he did not k[now] … [and fools …] made for themselves a high place upon a high mountain to provoke Israel."

7 On the similarity of the *Prayer of Joseph* to Deuteronomistic writings, see Schuller, "4Q372 1," 362, 366.

8 Schuller, "4Q372 1," 350–51. She dates the composition to c. 200 BCE on the basis of historical considerations (ibid., 372–74).

Joseph's prayer begins on line 15 and is divided into three sections. The prayer first details the terrible situation whereby the enemy dwells in Joseph's inheritance (lines 16–21). This part certainly included a supplication asking for the destruction of the enemy and the altar that they had erected. In the second part, lines 22–25, Joseph promises to praise and exalt God, and to execute justice and charity, once his enemies have been destroyed off the face of the earth. In the conclusion of the prayer, lines 26–32, Joseph praises God.

Even if the *Prayer of Joseph* was not composed by scribes of the Qumran Community,[9] the discovery of two copies of this composition at Qumran nevertheless attests to the negative attitude towards the Samaritans on the part of the members of the Community.

2. The Samaritan Temple on Mount Gerizim

In order to discuss the matter of dating the *Prayer of Joseph*, it is necessary to review the history of the Samaritan temple at Mount Gerizim.[10] In 1962, papyri written in the city of Samaria were discovered in a cave in Wadi Daliyeh. These documents were brought to the cave by refugees who had waged rebellion against Alexander the Great. The sons of Sanballat, satrap of Samaria, are mentioned in these papyri.[11] These finds led F. M. Cross to conclude that three Sa-

9 Fragments of a number of manuscripts found in Yadin's excavations of Masada have recently been published. See Shemaryahu Talmon, "Fragments of Scrolls from Masada," *EI* 20 (1989): 278–86 (Hebrew). [See now, in English, idem, "A Masada Fragment of Samaritan Origin," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 220–32]. The similarity of some of the Masada fragments (a fragment of the book of *Jubilees*, an apocryphal Joshua composition, and a fragment mentioning the Prince of Mastema) to compositions found at Qumran indicates that many of the writings in the Qumran corpus were not unique to the Community, but rather were prevalent in Second Temple Jewish circles. This may be the best way to understand the presence of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* at Masada. See Carol Newsom and Yigael Yadin, "The Masada Fragment of the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *IEJ* 34 (1984): 77–88. The discovery of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* at Masada need not be taken as evidence that refugees from Qumran escaped to Masada during the Great Revolt, as some scholars have claimed. Rather, this liturgical composition is likely to have served communities outside of Qumran as well—just like the calendar upon which this work is based, which is also attested in the books of *Enoch* and *Jubilees*.

10 This section of this article is based upon Hanan Eshel, "The Historical Background of Building Temples for the God of Israel in Bethel and Samaria Following the Destruction of the First Temple," M. A. thesis, The Hebrew University, 1988, written under the supervision of Professor Israel Ephʿal.

11 The papyrus WDSP 7 was signed "before [H]ananiah the satrap of Samaria" (line 17; see Gropp, DJD 28:80, 83). WDSP11r mentions "[Jesh]ua" or "[Jadd]ua" identified as "the son of Sanballat," and "Hanan, the prefect" [line 13. See now, Jan Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450–332 av. J.-C.* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 254]. One

marian satraps bore the Assyrian name Sanballat. The first, in the fifth century BCE, is the one mentioned in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah; it was to his sons that the Jews of Elephantine (Yeb) appealed for help in restoring their temple.[12] The second is the Sanballat whose sons are mentioned in these Wadi Daliyeh papyri. The third was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, and it was he who built the temple on Mount Gerizim, as recounted by Josephus (*Ant.* 11.297–347). This temple was built after Alexander crushed the rebellion that broke out in the city of Samaria and then banished its residents to Shechem.[13]

In the wake of Cross' research, G. E. Wright maintained that his excavations at Shechem showed evidence that Samaritans had indeed moved from Samaria to Shechem.[14] R. G. Bull, who excavated the Roman temple on the northern side of Mount Gerizim (Tel a-Ras), contended that the foundations of this temple were built upon the remains of a Samaritan temple that was built in the fourth century BCE.[15]

Recently a series of scholars have contested Cross' view. L. L. Grabbe says there is no evidence that Josephus knew of more than one Sanballat who ruled over Samaria.[16] D. R. Schwartz, in his detailed analysis of Josephus' sources, argues that the Wadi Daliyeh papyri do not authenticate the historicity of *Ant.* 11.297–347. Rather, they explain how Josephus erred in dating the marriage

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of the bullae contains an inscription in paleo-Hebrew: "[Isa]iah" or [Hanan]iah" "the son of [San]ballat, the satrap of Samari[a]." See Frank M. Cross, "The Papyri and Their Historical Implications," in *Discoveries in the* Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh (ed. Paul W. Lapp and Nancy L. Lapp; AASOR 41; Cambridge, Mass.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1974), 17–29. [See now, Mary Joan Winn Leith (ed.), "WD 23," in *Wadi Daliyeh I. The Wadi Daliyeh Seal Impressions* (DJD 24; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 184–87].

[*Eds.*: The original article noted that "to date, only Papyri 1 and 2 have been published," which was the case in 1991. All of the papyri have since been published. See Gropp, DJD 28:3–116; Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens*. The earlier bibliographic references cited by Eshel are as follows.] See Frank M. Cross, "Samaria Papyrus 1: An Aramaic Slave Conveyance of 335 BCE Found in the Wâdi ed-Dâliyeh," *EI* 18 [The Avigad Volume] (1985): 7*–17*; idem, "A Report on the Samaria Papyri," in *The Jerusalem Congress Volume, 1986: International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament* (ed. John A. Emerton and Benjamin Mazar; VTSup 60; Leiden: Brill, 1988), 17 –26. Nine papyri related to the purchase of slaves (including the two documents published by Cross) are analyzed in Douglas M. Gropp, "The Samaria Papyri from Wadi ed-Daliyeh: The Slave Sales," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1986).

12 On Cowley 30–31, see A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.* C. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), 108–22; Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt,* Vol. 1 (Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, 1986), 68–75.

13 Frank M. Cross, "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," *BA* 26 (1963): 110–21.

14 G. Ernest Wright, "The Samaritans at Shechem," *HTR* 55 (1962): 357–66.

15 Robert J. Bull and G. Ernest Wright, "Newly Discovered Temples on Mt. Gerizim in Jordan," *HTR* 58 (1965): 234–37.

16 Lester L. Grabbe, "Josephus and the Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 106 (1987): 231–46.

of the brother of the Jerusalem High Priest to Sanballat's daughter in the fourth century BCE.[17]

Archaeological research has also posed challenges to the accepted view. Y. Magen's excavations of Mount Gerizim—on the highest peak, south of the Temple excavated by Bull—uncovered a Hellenistic city.[18] This city was built close to the Samaritan temple during the days of Antiochus III, in the beginning of the second century BCE.[19] This discovery showed that the pottery Bull ascribed to the fourth century BCE was actually of a later date. The builders of the Roman temple brought this pottery from the Hellenistic city area to the temple enclosure, for use as fill to support the foundations of the temple.[20] The recent publication of coins minted in the city of Samaria in the fourth century BCE has cast a new light on Josephus' account. Some of these coins are stamped with the name Jeroboam.[21] On this basis, Hayim Tadmor asserts:

> It is thus not by chance that the name Jeroboam appears on the very first coins of Samaria minted in this period. We cannot know if he was a satrap or a high priest, but the very act of taking recourse to this archaic name shows an effort on the part of the residents of Samaria to assert their independent identity. They sought to signal thereby the beginning of a new era, similar to that which the original Jeroboam son of Nebat had inaugurated in his time, when he separated from Jerusalem and from the House of David.[22]

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17 Daniel R. Schwartz, "On Some Papyri and Josephus' Sources and Chronology for the Persian Period," *JSJ* 21 (1990): 175–99.

18 Yitzhak Magen, "A Fortified City from the Hellenistic Period on Mount Gerizim,"*Qadmoniot* 19 (1986): 91–101 (Hebrew). [See now, idem, "Chapter Four: The Dating of the Temple at Mount Gerizim in Light of the Archaeological Finds," *Mount Gerizim Excavations,* Vol. 2, *A Temple City* (Jerusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology – Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, and Israel Antiquities Authority, 2008), 3–93, 167–80].

19 Excavations of the Samaritan Temple have revealed a *temenos* wall that enclosed the temple and its gates. See Yitzhak Magen, "Mount Gerizim—A Temple City," *Qadmoniot* 23 (1990): 70–96. Within the temple precinct, about forty inscriptions written in square ("Aramaic") script have been found, some of which contain references to people visiting the temple on festival pilgrimages. Six fragmentary inscriptions written in paleo-Hebrew have also been discovered. One contains the word "priest"; another mentions "[Ph]ineas/who/raised"; and a third contains the Tetragrammaton. [On the inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim, see now, the preliminary publication of the corpus of approximately 400 inscriptions in Yitzhak Magen, Haggai Misgav, and Levana Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations*, Vol. 1, *The Aramaic, Hebrew & Samaritan Inscriptions* (JSP 2; Jerusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology, Civil Administration for Judea and Samaria: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2004)].

20 Magen, "A Fortified City," 92–95.

21 Arnold Spaer, "A Coin of Jeroboam?" *IEJ* 29 (1979): 218; idem, "More About Jeroboam," *INJ* 4 (1980): 2–3.

22 Hayim Tadmor, "The Samaritans and the Circumstances of their Separation" in *The History of Eretz Israel*. Vol. 2, *Israel and Judah in the Biblical Period* (ed. Israel Ephʿal; Jerusalem: Keter and Yad Ben-Zvi, 1984), 281–83, at 283 (Hebrew).

Additional coins were discovered that were minted in Samaria on the eve of Alexander's conquest. They depict a temple on one side and the inscription "*Shmrn*" on the other.[23]

In my opinion, these archaeological finds offer evidence that a temple dedicated to the God of Israel was built in the city of Samaria towards the middle of the fourth century BCE.[24] In light of the testimony of Josephus in *Ant.* 11.321–24, it is likely that the second Sanballat built this temple. The temple in Samaria was established only a few years before Alexander's conquest of the Land of Israel, as evidenced by the coins portraying the temple, dated to the second half of the fourth century BCE. Destroyed by the Macedonian troops together with the city of Samaria only a few short years later, the temple in Samaria was forgotten.[25] The temple on Mount Gerizim, as we have said, was built only later in the beginning of the second century BCE and destroyed by John Hyrcanus I in the last quarter of the second century BCE, after having stood for about 80 years.[26]

This proposal resolves quite a few difficulties raised by scholars who had dated the construction of the temple to the time of Alexander. The most striking problem arose from the evidence provided by a set of Cave 4 Qumran scrolls.

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23 Yaakov Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coinage,* Vol. 1 *Persian Period through Hasmoneans* (NY: Amphora, 1982), 31–32.

24 There is no doubt that the royal temple of the Kingdom of Israel was in Bethel. However, various sources attest to a temple in Samaria as well. The account of Jehu's revolt (2 Kgs 10:18–28) contains a reference to a "house of Baʿal" in Samaria, and 2 Kgs 13:6 refers to an Asherah in Samaria during Jehu's dynasty. An inscription from Kuntillet ʿAjrud reads "*I have blessed you to Yahweh Shômrôn (Samaria) and to his asherah,*" (ברכת.אתכם.ליהוה. שמרנ.ולאשרתה). [Kuntillet ʿAjrud inscription No. 3.1]. The expression "יהוה שמרנ" appears in Kuntillet ʿAjrud inscriptions in conjunction with "יהוה תימן." See Mordechai Gilula, "To Yahweh Shomron and to his Asherah," *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 3 (1979): 129–31. [See now, Kuntillet ʿAjrud Inscriptions No. 3.6; 3.9; 4.1.1, in Shmuel Aḥituv, Esther Eshel and Ze'ev Meshel, "Chapter 5: The Inscriptions," in *Kuntillet ʿAjrud (Horvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* (ed. Ze'ev Meshel et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012), 86–107; on *asherah*, see the discussion on pp. 130–33].

25 Rabbinic literature preserves a tradition that Alexander the Great destroyed a Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim. See the scholion to *Megillat Taʿanit*, regarding the 21st of Kislev, "Mount Gerizim Day," in Hans Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle: Eine Untersuchung Zur Jüdisch-Hellenistischen Geschichte," *HUCA* 8–9 (1931–1932): 257–351, at 339–40; and the parallel in *b. Yoma* 69a. [See now, Vered Noam, *Megillat Taʿanit: Versions, Interpretation, History* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003) (Hebrew), 100–103, 262–65. Perhaps it was the short-lived existence of this temple and the exile of the Samaritans from the city of Samaria that caused Josephus and rabbinic literature to err, leading them to assert that the temple of Alexander's period had been on Mount Gerizim, in accordance with the Samaritan belief of their time.

26 *War* 1.63; *Ant.* 13.254–56. The coins discovered in the excavation of the temple site on Mount Gerizim demonstrate that the temple was destroyed after 111 BCE, and not in 128 BCE, as was commonly thought prior to these excavations. See Magen, "Mount Gerizim," 87.

They are called "proto-Samaritan scrolls,"[27] or "harmonistic scrolls."[28] These scrolls attest that the Samaritan Pentateuch is based on a textual version of the Bible current among Jews in the second century BCE.[29] Cross therefore argued that the sources of the Samaritan Pentateuch cannot predate the Hasmonean period and that the roots of the final split between the Jews and the Samaritans lie in the historical events of the Hasmonean period. In his view, it is not necessary to see the establishment of the Samaritan temple as the final or even definitive event that caused the breach between the Jews and the Samaritans.[30] In light of the new finds, it seems that the textual evidence from the Qumran biblical scrolls fits well with the archeological evidence, and thus, it was in fact the construction of the temple on Mount Gerizim that brought about the split between the Jews and the Samaritans in the Second Temple period.

The discoveries from the excavations of Mount Gerizim resolve another historical problem: It is difficult to imagine that the Macedonians would have allowed the Samaritans—the first people to rebel against them in the East—to move from Samaria to Shechem and settle the single most strategic junction in the central mountain region.[31] The archaeological findings indicate that relations were consistently strained between the Samaritans and their Macedonian and Ptolemaic rulers. Only in the Seleucid period was there an improvement in the relationship between the Samaritans and their rulers, and they were then allowed to build a temple and a fortified city on the peak of Mount Gerizim.[32]

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27 Patrick W. Skehan, "Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumran," *JBL* 74 (1955): 182–87.

28 Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3–29; Esther Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing in the Pentateuch in the Second Temple Period," M. A. thesis, The Hebrew University, 1991 written under the supervision of Emanuel Tov; eadem, "4QDeut^{n}—A Text That Has Undergone Harmonistic Editing," *HUCA* 62 (1991): 117–54. [See now, Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," in *Emanuel; Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul, Robert A. Kraft, Lawrence H. Schiffman and Weston W. Fields; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 215–40; repr. in this volume, 257–80].

29 James D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origins of the Samaritan Sect* (HSM 2; Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968).

30 Frank M. Cross, "Samaria and Jerusalem in the era of the Restoration', in idem, *From Epic to Canon; History and Literature in Ancient Israel* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 173–202, at 199 (revised from idem, "Samaria and Jerusalem," in *The Restoration: The Persian Period,* Vol. 9, *The History of the Jewish People* [ed. Hayim Tadmor; Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1983]: 81–94, at 92–93 [Hebrew]).

31 I am grateful to Yitzhak Magen for directing my attention to this aspect of the issue. On the strategic importance of Shechem, see Amnon Shinar, "Shechem—The Development of the Built-up Area in an Arab City," in *Judea and Samaria—Chapters in Settlement Geography* (ed. Avshalom Shmueli; Jerusalem: Canaan, 1977), 270–83 (Hebrew).

32 See Uriel Rappaport, "The Samaritans in the Hellenistic Period," *Zion* 55 (1990): 373–96, at 375–77 (Hebrew). [In English, see idem, "The Samaritans in the Hellenistic Period," in

We have argued that the *Prayer of Joseph* was composed as a polemic against the Samaritan temple built on Mount Gerizim.[33] It is worth considering the possibility that this prayer was recited on the 21st of Kislev, "the Day of Mount Gerizim," the day established as a holiday marking the destruction of the Samaritan temple.[34] We cannot know whether it was composed while the temple still stood, that is, in the second century BCE, or shortly after the destruction of Mount Gerizim.[35] The fact that 4Q372 was copied in the Herodian period indicates that the composition was used even after the temple's destruction. Since the Samaritan belief in the holiness of Mount Gerizim continued even after the destruction of the temple,[36] Jewish opponents of the Samaritans had ongoing cause to celebrate this destruction, even after the event, and to continue to copy compositions affirming that the Samaritans were not descendants of Joseph. Enmity between the Jews and Samaritans is documented both during the period when the Samaritan temple stood on Mount Gerizim,[37] and after its destruction.[38] It would seem, therefore, that the *Prayer of Joseph* was composed in

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Essays in Honour of G. D. Sixdenier (ed. Alan David Crown and Lucy Davey; New Samaritan Studies 3–4; Sydney: Mandelbaum [University of Sydney], 1995), 281–88].

33 In the *Prayer of Joseph*, the phrase "and making for themselves a high place upon a high mountain" (line 12) is appropriate for Mount Gerizim, whose height is 800 meters above sea level, and rises 350 meters above the city of Shechem. This description does not fit the city of Samaria.

34 Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle." See also Schuller's comments, "4Q372 1," 373–74.

35 The *Prayer of Joseph* must have been composed before 50 BCE, since 4Q371 has been dated prior to that year on paleographic grounds; see Schuller, ibid., 349.

36 Josephus, *War* 3.307–15; *Ant.* 18.85–87; John 4.

37 An indication of the strife during the time of the temple's existence is found in Ben Sira's comment cited above, n. 6. In *Ant.* 12.257–64, Josephus describes the lack of solidarity between the Samaritans and the Jews during the time of Antiochus IV's anti-religious decrees. In a later period, during the rule of Ptolemy VI Philometor (181–145 BCE), he portrays the dispute that broke out between Jews and Samaritans in Alexandria, regarding which temple was built according to Mosaic law. See *Ant.* 13.74–79; see also Uriel Rappaport, "The Samaritans," 386–93. It is reasonable to view 2 Macc 6:2 as attesting to the scornful attitude of the Jews to the Mount Gerizim temple; but, cf. Robert Doran, "2 Maccabees 6:2 and the Samaritan Question," *HTR* 76 (1983): 481–85; see also Rappaport, ibid., 385–86.

38 Enmity between the Jews and Samaritans is also attested in the period after the destruction of the Samaritan temple. See *Test. Levi* 7:2 and the discussion in R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament,* Vol. 2*: Pseudepigrapha* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 289–90. In *Ant.* 18.29–30, Josephus describes how under Coponius' rule in 9 CE Samaritans scattered human bones over the grounds of the Jerusalem Temple, causing the people to be defiled for eight days. Further, under Cumanus, in 48 CE, Samaritans attacked Galilean pilgrims traveling to Jerusalem. See *War* 2.232–40; *Ant.* 20.118–124. For the dating of these events to 48 CE, see Daniel R. Schwartz, "Ishmael ben Phiabi and the Chronology of Provincia Judaea," in idem, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr P. Siebeck, 1992), 218–42. The hostility of the Jews towards the Samaritans is expressed also in Matt 10:5–6, and John 4 (esp. verses 9, 20).

the second century BCE or in the first century BCE. In either case, the *Prayer of Joseph* joins the body of evidence documenting the hostility between the Jews of Israel and the Samaritans in the Second Temple period.

3. The Masada Papyrus

One of the inscribed fragments discovered in the "casemate of the scrolls," south of the synagogue in Masada,[39] is a small papyrus scrap with paleo-Hebrew writing,[40] which has recently been published. All that is left of this composition is a 3.5x4.0 cm fragment, written on both sides. Each side was written by a different scribe, in a different style of lettering. These fragmentary remains should be read as follows:[41]

verso	*recto*
1. [...]להמ לרננה[...]	1. [...]מתה
2. [...]. לרננה * ס.וב	2. [...]פדיה * י[...]
3. [...].ל... * .בהת[...]	3. [...]יה * כמכמ[...]
4. [...]הרגרי[ז]י[מ]	4. [...]מה * רבה *[...]
5. [...]מלא[...]	5. [..]הס *

Although this papyrus scrap is very poorly preserved, we may confidently restore "MountGerizim" (one word) in line 4 of col. 2 and determine that this side of the papyrus originally contained a hymn or prayer mentioning Mount Gerizim. The papyrus should be dated on paleographic grounds to the first century CE.[42]

Shemaryahu Talmon took this fragment as evidence that Samaritans had escaped to Masada at the end of the Great Revolt. His view is based on the generally accepted assumption in scholarship that only the Samaritans wrote "MountGerizim" as one word. This custom is first attested in two Greek inscriptions, dated to the first half of the second century BCE, which refer to "the Isra-

39 This papyrus fragment was discovered in 1963, together with scrolls of Psalms, Leviticus, and the Song of the Sabbath Sacrifice, as well as two additional extra-canonical compositions, Greek and Latin papyri, and Hebrew ostraca. See Yigael Yadin, "Masada: The First Excavation Season 1963–1964," *Yediot* 29 (1965): 1–134, at 90–93 (Hebrew).

40 Talmon, "Fragments of Scrolls from Masada," 283–85; Yadin, ibid., 122. [Cf. Hanan Eshel, "Some Notes Concerning High Priests in the First Century CE," *Tarbiz* 64, 4 (1999): 495–504; transl. in this volume, 287–98, at 297 n.37].

41 I am grateful to Ada Yardeni for assisting me in reading this papyrus.

42 The script on this papyrus seems more developed than that of 11QPaleoLev, which is dated to the Herodian period. See Mark David McLean, "The Use and Development of Paleo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods," (Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1982, 227, pl. 4).

elites in Delos who make offerings to the temple in 'MountGerizim.'"[43] The Samaritans have continued this convention to this day. It must be noted, however, that in the Latin translation of 2 Maccabees,[44] in Pliny,[45] and once in Josephus (*War* 1.63), "MountGerizim" is written as a single word. Scholars have tended to explain that these sources were influenced by the Samaritans.[46] Recently, Reinhard Pummer analyzed the phenomenon of writing "MountGerizim" as one word, gathering examples from both Samaritan and non-Samaritan historical sources.[47] Pummer noted that "MountGerizim" is found in manuscripts of the Septuagint which do not feature characteristic Samaritan textual elements, and that there are examples in manuscripts of the Septuagint and in the book of Revelation where the word "Mount" is joined to the beginning of other toponyms.[48] On this basis, Pummer determined that one cannot view the writing of "MountGerizim" as a uniquely Samaritan custom.

There is no religious rationale that would account for the Samaritans' preference to write "MountGerizim" as one word. The practice should not, however, be attributed to error.[49] It is possible that the name of the Hellenistic city that had been built on the summit of the mountain, which was not part of the city of Shechem, had been written as one word.[50] This suggestion could explain the

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43 Philippe Bruneau, "Les Israélites de Déos et la juiverie délienne," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 106 (1982): 465–504, at 467–71; A.Thomas Kraabel, "New Evidence of the Samaritan Diaspora Has Been Found on Delos," *BA* 47 (1984): 44–46. These inscriptions are undated, but the first one is dated on paleographic grounds to between 150–50 BCE, and the second to 250–175 BCE. This indicates that the Samaritan community of Delos existed in the first half of the second century BCE.

44 See the early Latin translation of 2 Macc 5:23; 6:2. This translation seems to preserve the original reading of 2 Maccabees, as is indicated by a citation of the second verse in an extant manuscript dated to the year 360 CE in which the name is written as one word ("Margarizin"). See Donatien de Bruyne, "Notes de philology biblique. II Argarizim (II Mach 5,23; 6,2)," *RB* 30 (1921): 405–7.

45 Pliny, *Natural History* V 14:68; see Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (3 vols; Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1974–1984) 1:468, 470, 473.

46 See for example, Hans G. Kippenberg, *Garizim und Synagoge*: *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode* (RVV 30; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971), 54–55; Talmon, "Fragments of Scrolls from Masada," 284. There is no reason, however, to accept their suggestion that Josephus relied upon a Samaritan source for his description of John Hyrcanus' conquest of Mount Gerizim.

47 Reinhard Pummer, "ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ: A Criterion for Samaritan Provenance?" *JSJ* 18 (1987): 18–25.

48 In LXX manuscripts, "Har Shefer" in Num 33:23 is written as one word, as is "Har Se'ir" in Josh 15:10, which is similar to the toponym Armageddon in Revelation 16:16. See the discussion and bibliography in Pummer, "ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ."

49 It would therefore seem that the examples brought by Pummer from LXX manuscripts are not germane to this matter.

50 As Magen suggested, "Mount Gerizim," 70.

expression "MountGerizim" in the Latin translation of the 2 Maccabees and in the description of events related to the Samaritan city and temple on the summit,[51] as well as Josephus' use of this form of the name when describing the city's destruction (*War* 1.63). Pliny also mentions *Mons Argaris* (the "mountain of MountGerizim"), in the framework of his list of cities in Israel.[52] Eusebius relies on Alexander Polyhistor, and he quotes two short passages from "psuedo-Eupolemus," a Hellenistic Samaritan who wrote his work in the first half of the second century BCE.[53] This anonymous author notes that after the war with the four kings, Abraham was "greeted as a guest in the city and in the temple on 'MountGerizim.'"[54] This quote also supports the suggestion that the name of the city at the top of the mountain was written as one word. It should be noted that the practice of writing "MountGerizim" is documented from the time of the founding of the Samaritan city.[55] Therefore, present day Samaritans who continue the practice of writing "MountGerizim" may be preserving the name of the city that they built near their temple in the second century BCE.

The bulla of Wadi Daliyeh and six inscriptions found near the Mount Gerizim temple[56] show that the Samaritans used the paleo-Hebrew script during the Second Temple period. This script, however, primarily served the Jews in that era.[57] It would seem that this script become the hallmark of the Samaritans only after the destruction of the Second Temple. Therefore, the use of paleo-

51 See above, n. 44.

52 See above, n. 45.

53 See Yehoshua Gutman, *The Beginnings of Jewish-Hellenistic Literature* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Bialik), 2: 95–108 (Hebrew); Ben Zion Wacholder, "Pseudo-Eupolemus' Two Greek Fragments on the Life of Abraham," *HUCA* 34 (1963): 83–113, at 85–87; Nicholas Walter, "Zu Pseudo-Eupolemus," *Klio* 43–45 (1965): 282–90; Carl R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, vol. 1: Historians* (Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 157–65.

54 Gutman, *Jewish-Hellenistic Literature*, 159; Ben Zion Wacholder, *Eupolemus A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (HUCM 3; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1974), 313; Holladay, *Fragments*, 172–73.

55 The earliest evidence for writing "MountGerizim" as one word is offered by the Greek inscriptions from Delos and the quote preserved in Pseudo-Eupolemus. These are both dated to the period after the establishment of the Samaritan city on Mount Gerizim; see above, notes 43, 53.

56 Concerning the bulla from Wadi Daliyeh, see above, n.11. As noted above (n.19), about forty Aramaic inscriptions and six paleo-Hebrew inscriptions were discovered near the Samaritan temple. A Second Temple period paleo-Hebrew inscription was also found near the Jerusalem temple. See Benjamin Mazar, "Excavations Near the Temple Mount," *Qadmoniot* 5 (1972): 74–90, at 90 (Hebrew).

57 There is a greater preponderance of evidence from the Second Temple period for Jewish use of paleo-Hebrew script in inscriptions, scrolls, seals, and coins than for Samaritan use of this script. This evidence was gathered in McLean, "The Use and Development of Paleo-Hebrew," and in Joseph Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1997), 119–23. It is important

Hebrew script and the toponym "MountGerizim"—even if we accept this restoration—should not be taken as proof that this fragmentary hymn from Masada was written by a Samaritan.

The poor state of preservation of the Masada fragment does not enable us to determine whether the verso contained a Samaritan composition praising "MountGerizim" or perhaps a Jewish text. Now, thanks to the publication of the *Prayer of Joseph* from Qumran, we can entertain the possibility that the verso of the Masada papyrus records a Jewish hymn praising the *destruction* of the Samaritan temple and of the city built around it, and, that perhaps this work is connected to the celebration of the Day of Mount Gerizim on the 21st of Kislev.

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to note that there is evidence for Samaritan use of Aramaic script, on the *Shmrn* coins (see above, notes 21 and 22), in the Wadi Daliyeh papyri (above, n. 11), and on the inscriptions found at the Mount Gerizim temple (above, n. 19).

Chapter 10: *Dibre Hame'orot* and the Apocalypse of Weeks*

The Apocalypse of Weeks is a vision that chronicles world history in a very concise manner by dividing it into special time units called "weeks." Each week is described as being either positive or negative in content. The Apocalypse of Weeks is preserved in the Epistle of Enoch, one of the compositions included in *1 Enoch* (chapters 90–105). In the Ethiopic manuscripts of *1 Enoch*, the Apocalypse of Weeks is divided into two parts: 93:3–9 describes seven weeks from the creation of the world until the end of days; and 91:12–15 describes the last three weeks, during which God judges the wicked—beginning with those in Israel, followed by those among the Gentiles, and ending with the fallen angels. Following R.H. Charles, most scholars have favored moving the final three weeks to the end of the Apocalypse of Weeks.[1] Support for doing so has since been found in an Aramaic copy of the book of *1 Enoch* from Qumran in which the three weeks follow the vision of the seven weeks (4QEn^{g}).[2] The consensus among scholars is that one needs to differentiate between the vision of the seven weeks, which describes real historical periods, and the vision of the last three weeks, which deals with meta-history.[3] It is also agreed that the Apocalypse of

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* [*Ed. note*: This article was originally published in *Things Revealed; Studies in Early Jewish and Christian Literature in Honor of Michael E. Stone* (ed. Esther G. Chazon, David Satran, and Ruth A. Clements; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 149–54. The following note of acknowledgment appeared in the original.] I wish to thank my friends Magen Broshi and Esther Chazon for their useful comments.

1 R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch, or, 1 Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1912), 232–34. See also Michael A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch: A New Edition in Light of the Aramaic Dead Sea Fragments* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1978), 2:218; James C. VanderKam, "Studies in the Apocalypse of Weeks," *CBQ* 46 (1984): 511–23; George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 438.

2 Józef T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 247, 361; Matthew Black, "The Apocalypse of Weeks in Light of 4QEn^{g}," *VT* 28 (1978): 464–69; Florentino García-Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (STDJ 9; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 79–96.

3 See R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (2 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1913), 2:262–63; Ferdinand Dexinger, *Henochs Zehnwochenapokalypse und offene Probleme der Apokalyptikforschung* (StPB 29; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 102–9; Matthew Black, *The Book of Enoch or 1 Enoch: A New English Edition* (SVTP 7; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 291; Jacob Licht, "The Attitude to Past Events in the Bible and in Apocalyptic Literature," *Tarbiz* 60 (1990–1991): 1–18, at 10–11 (Hebrew); Magen Broshi, "A Commentary on the Apocalypse of Weeks (4Q247)," *EI* 26 (1999): 39–42 (Hebrew).

Weeks is the oldest extant Jewish historical apocalypse, and that it should be dated to the middle of the second century BCE.[4]

According to the Apocalypse of Weeks, history is divided into seven periods ("weeks"): the first begins with creation and ends with Enoch; the second ends with the flood in the days of Noah; the third ends with Abraham; the fourth ends with the events at Mount Sinai and the giving of the Law; the fifth with the construction of the Temple in Jerusalem; the sixth with the Temple's destruction; the seventh ends with the choosing of the righteous elect who will be granted understanding of God's mysteries. The eighth week, the first in the meta-historical cycle, deals with the judgment of the wicked from within Israel as well as with the construction of an everlasting Temple; the ninth deals with the judgment of the wicked from among the Gentiles; and the tenth with the judgment of fallen angels.[5]

In Cave 4 at Qumran, three copies of a liturgy called *Dibre Hame'orot* (4Q504–506) were found.[6] The title of the composition appears on the back of the first sheet of 4Q504. On paleographical grounds, 4Q504 is dated to the middle of the second century BCE. In light of this dating, coupled with the fact that *Dibre Hame'orot* does not exemplify any sectarian characteristics, it is generally assumed that someone outside of the Qumran sect composed the text, a collection of prayers for the seven days of the week.[7]

All three scrolls containing *Dibre Hame'orot* are quite fragmentary. From 4Q504 there remain portions of two parchment sheets (the first with two columns and the second with five columns), six larger fragments (frags. 3–8), and 41 smaller fragments. Ten papyrus fragments remain from 4Q505, only one of which is large enough to allow for content identification. From 4Q506, which was also written on papyrus, 46 fragments have survived, but only three are large

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4 James C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* (CBQMS 16; Washington D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984), 142–46.

5 On this division, see Jacob Licht, "Time and Eschatology in Apocalyptic Literature and in Qumran," *JJS* 16 (1965): 177–82, at 178–80; Stephen B. Reid, "The Structure of the Ten Week Apocalypse and the Book of Dream Visions," *JSJ* 16 (1985): 189–201, at 190–95; Devorah Dimant, "The Seventy Weeks Chronology (Dan 9, 24–27)," in *The Book of Daniel in the Light of New Findings* (ed. A.S. van der Woude; BETL 106; Leuven: Leuven University Press and Peeters, 1993), 57–76, at 66–71.

6 The first edition of the three scrolls which contained the prayer *Dibre Hame'orot* was published by Maurice Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 137–75. A most important work on the *Dibre Hame'orot* is Esther G. Chazon, *"A Liturgical Document from Qumran and its Implications: "Words of the Luminaries"* (4QDibHam)," Ph.D. Diss., The Hebrew University, 1991 [Hebrew]). Furthermore, a prayer similar to *Dibre Hame'orot* was found in Cave 11; see Hanan Eshel, "Three New Fragments from Qumran Cave 11," *DSD* 8 (2001): 1–8, at 5–8.

7 See Esther G. Chazon, "Is *Dibre Hame'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill; Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press and Yad Ben-Zvi, 1992), 3–17.

enough to permit determination of content. Because all the copies of this prayer were fragmentary, Maurice Baillet, who edited the original publication of the three scrolls, was not able to grasp the structure of *Dibre Hame'orot*. However, in an important article published in 1992, Esther Chazon showed how the content of the different prayers for the successive days of the week reflects a chronological order.[8] She noticed several elements in the structure of each prayer. Each prayer begins with a title, such as "[… on] the fourth [da]y. Remember, O Lord, […]"; or "Thanksgivings on the day of the Sabbath. Give thanks […]." Immediately following is a reference to certain historical events or periods which God is called upon to remember. Next are requests for physical salvation and help in following the Torah. Finally, each prayer concludes with a series of blessings to which the congregation was expected to respond with "Amen! Amen!"[9]

There are some notable similarities between the historical divisions recorded in the Apocalypse of Weeks and those mentioned in *Dibre Hame'orot*. In her doctoral dissertation, written under the supervision of Michael Stone, Chazon divided all the surviving fragments of *Dibre Hame'orot* into different prayers corresponding to the different days of the week.[10] The prayer for Sunday describes the creation of the world and the Garden of Eden.[11] For Monday's prayer, the fragments are too small to permit identification of the historical event being described.[12] Tuesday's prayer recalls God's love for Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the election of their offspring.[13] Relatively well preserved, the prayer for Wednesday mentions the covenant made at Mount Horeb between God and Israel, the laws and commandments which were given to Moses face to face, and

8 Esther G. Chazon, "4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature?" *RevQ* 15 (1992): 447–55. In this article, Chazon suggests that the historical overview contained in *Dibre Hame'orot* resembles those found in biblical prayers, such as those in Psalm 105 and Neh 9: 6–37.

9 On the structure of the prayers found in *Dibre Hame'orot*, see also Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (transl. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 89–99.

10 See also Dennis T. Olson, "Words of Lights (4Q504–506)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations.* Vol. 4A, *Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (ed. James H. Charlesworth et al., PTSDSSP 4A, Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1997), 110–37. All quotations of *Dibre Hame'orot* are based on this translation.

11 4Q504 6 10 reads: "[…] you (were) in our midst in a pillar of fire and cloud"; later, in line 12, the phrase "Moses [your] serv[ant. . .]" seems clearly to signal that this fragment is describing the Exodus. It has been suggested that the fragment should be assigned to Sunday's prayer (Chazon, "A Liturgical Document," 129, 133). If this is the case, there is an exception to the historical order put forward by Chazon. Olson, however, does not ascribe this fragment to the Sunday prayer (Olson, "Words of Light," 107).

12 Chazon ("A Liturgical Document," 176) suggests that fragment 26 of 4Q504 deals with the election of Israel. However, judging from the parallels between *Dibre Hame'orot* and the Apocalypse of Weeks, it would appear to be dealing with the election of Noah's firstborn son, Shem.

13 4Q505 124 6.

the fact that "[… eye] to eye you have been seen in our midst … in order to test us [and in order that] your [fear] may be on us that we may not si[n …]."[14] Thus, there is no doubt that the event being described is what took place at Mount Sinai. The fragments that relate to Thursday's prayer recall certain miracles which took place in Egypt and during the wanderings in the wilderness.[15] One fragment recalls the fact that God thought of destroying Israel because of its sin in the desert, but that Moses atoned for the sin that the nation committed.[16] A well-preserved fragment of this prayer recalls the choosing of Jerusalem and the tribe of Judah, and the covenant that "you established with David, that there may be from his seed[17] a prince over your people. He was seated upon the throne of Israel before you all the days, and all the nations saw your glory (by) which you were honored as holy in the midst of your people Israel; and to your great name they brought their offerings: silver and gold and precious stone(s) with all the treasure(s) of their land in order to glorify your people and Zion, your holy city, and your marvelous house. …"[18] It therefore appears that the prayer for Thursday describes various historical events leading up to the construction of the Temple in the days of King Solomon. For Friday, the prayer talks about the people abandoning the spring of living water, the land deserted by young and old alike because of God's wrath; although Israel was scattered throughout the nations, God made sure they would not be forsaken in the places to which He had exiled them.[19] Undoubtedly then, Friday's prayer recalls the destruction of Judah and Israel's guilt for its deportation. The prayer for the Sabbath opens with the line "Thanksgiving for the day of the Sabbath." Only a few fragments of this prayer, which mentions the "nobles" who will "exalt" and "[te]ll of the glory" of God, have survived.[20]

The lists of historical events in Apocalypse of Weeks and *Dibre Hame'orot* seem to be entirely parallel. The correspondence between Sunday's prayer, which deals with Creation and the Garden of Eden, and the events of the First Week, which begins with the Creation account, cannot really be considered significant. However, the historical events listed in the Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday prayers in *Dibre Hame'orot* correspond to the historical divisions found in the Apocalypse of Weeks. Tuesday's prayer mentions God's election of the nation's forefathers and their seed after them, while the last event of Week Three is God's calling of Abraham. Wednesday's prayer describes at

14 4Q504 3 ii 7–9.

15 4Q504 1 i 8–10.

16 4Q504 1 ii 7–10.

17 On the reading "from his seed," see Elisha Qimron, "Improvements to the Editions of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *EI* 26 (1999): 142–46 (Hebrew).

18 4Q504 2 ii 3–12.

19 4Q504 2 v 2–13.

20 4Q504 2 vii 4; and the back side of vii 1–3.

length God's covenant at Horeb, the most important event listed in Week Four of the Apocalypse. The last event recalled in Thursday's prayer is the construction of the Temple, the same event which concludes Week Five. Friday's prayer describes the destruction of the land and the people's exile, events which bring Week Six to a close. The prayer for the Sabbath mentions the nobles who will tell of God's wonders, and Week Seven of the Apocalypse portrays the righteous elect receiving understanding of God's mysteries. Such similarities between the Apocalypse of Weeks and *Dibre Hame'orot* can hardly be viewed as coincidental.

As mentioned above, *Dibre Hame'orot* has been dated to the middle of the second century BCE,[21] the same time period scholars have assigned to the composition of the Apocalypse of Weeks. In light of the character of *Dibre Hame'orot*, it is clear that its author was primarily interested in liturgy. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that he was not the author of the system dividing the history of mankind into seven periods. Rather, to establish a framework for the presentation of his liturgy, he drew upon an external source, most likely the Apocalypse of Weeks.

Two other compositions found at Qumran offer evidence that the Apocalypse of Weeks was known to at least a few authors of the Qumran scrolls. The first, *Pesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks* (4Q247), mentions "the fif[th] week" and describes the construction of the Temple in the days of King Solomon, 480 years after the exodus from Egypt. The end of the fragment includes the words "Kin[g] of the Kittim."[22] The other document, 11QMelchizedek, is a thematic pesher which places much importance on Melchizedek in its description of the End of Days. It contains the phrase "in the first week of the jubilee after [the] ni[ne] jubilees. And [the] d[ay of atonem]ent i[s] the end of [the] tenth [ju]bilee, in which atonement is made for all the Sons of [Light]" (11Q13 2:7–8).[23] It now

21 Chazon, "Sectarian Prayer?" 7–9.

22 Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 256; Broshi, "A Commentary on the Apocalypse of Weeks," 39–42, and "247. 4QPesher on the Apocalypse of Weeks," in *Qumran Cave4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts* (ed. Stephen J. Pfann); and *Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. Philip Alexander et al., in consultation with James C. VanderKam and Monica Brady; DJD 36; Clarendon: Oxford, 2000), 187–91; Hanan Eshel, "The Kittim in the *War Scroll* and in the Pesharim," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27–31 January 1999* (ed. David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick and Daniel R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 29–44, at 31–32. On the contributions of this fragment to the understanding the place of the Apocalypse of Weeks at Qumran, see Devorah Dimant, "4QApocryphon of Jeremiah: Introduction," in *Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4; Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (ed. Devorah Dimant; DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 91–116, at 114, n.37.

23 "Week and "[divi]sions of [time]" also appear at the end of the document (11Q13 3:17–18). The author of *11QMelchizedek* apparently uses a system in which the terms "week" and "jubilee" have the same meaning. See Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and

appears that the author of *Dibre Hame'orot* also was aware of the Apocalypse of Weeks and adopted its historical divisions to provide a structure for his own liturgy. Thus, *Dibre Hame'orot* offers yet further evidence of the important role Enochic literature played in Jewish religious compositions of the Second Temple period.[24]

A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.I, (11Q2–18, 20–31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 225, 234.

24 On the important role of the Books of Enoch during the Second Temple period, see Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 64–81 and the literature listed there.

Chapter 11:
When Were the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* Recited?*

One of the most important, and beautiful, liturgical works discovered at Qumran is a collection of hymns called *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. This composition contains thirteen hymns that were recited in the course of thirteen consecutive Sabbaths. In this article I call attention to a previously unnoticed point which indicates that the recitation of this sequence of hymns was completed at least twice in the course of the year. On this basis, I suggest that selections from *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were incorporated into the liturgy of every Sabbath of the year.[1]

The *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* describes the way in which the angels praise God in the heavenly Temple.[2] Ten copies of the work are known today: eight were discovered in Qumran Cave 4 (4Q400–4Q407),[3] another was found

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1 This article is similar in some ways to David Nahman, "When Were the 'Daily Prayers' (4Q503) Said in Qumran?" *Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 13 (2002): 177–83 (Hebrew). We both challenge a generally accepted view concerning the frequency and intervals of the recitation of a set of Qumran prayers, though our alternative proposals differ. Nahman took issue with the scholarly consensus that the "Daily Prayers" were recited annually in the month of Nisan, suggesting instead that that they were recited only once every three years. The current article argues that a set of Qumran prayers was recited *more* frequently than is generally assumed—that hymns from the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were recited on every sabbath, and not only during the first season of the year.

2 John Strugnell, "The Angelic Liturgy at Qumran—*4QSerek Šîrôt ʿÔlat Haššabbāt*," *Congress Volume Oxford 1959* (VTSup 7; Leiden: Brill, 1959), 318–45; Ithamar Gruenwald, "The Song of the Angels, the 'Qedushah' and the Composition of the Hekhalot Literature," in *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period: Abraham Schalit Memorial Volume* (ed. Aharon Oppeheimer, Uriel Rappaport and Menahem Stern; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1981), 459–81 (Hebrew); Lawrence H. Schiffman, "*Merkavah* Speculation at Qumran: the *4Q Serekh Shirot ʿOlat ha-Shabbat*," in *Mystics, Philosophers, and Politicians* (ed. Jehuda Reinharz and Daniel M. Swetschinski; Durham: Duke University Press, 1982), 15–47; Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Qumran Sabbath Shirot and Rabbinic Merkabah Traditions," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 199–213; Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (transl. Jonathan Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 273–96.

3 See Carol Newsom, "Shirot ʿOlat HaShabbat," in Esther Eshel et al., *Qumran Cave 4 VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 173–401; Hanan Eshel, "Another Fragment (3a) of *4QShirot ʿOlat HaShabbat*[b] (4Q401)," in *Liturgical Per-*

in Cave 11 (11Q17),[4] and the tenth copy was discovered at Masada, in the "casemate of the scrolls" near the synagogue (Mas1k).[5] The two most significant studies of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were published by Carol Newsom, who edited the Cave 4 fragments and the Masada scroll, and furnished a wonderful English translation of these prayers.[6] According to Newsom, the hymns included in the *Songs* were composed in a pyramid-like structure, with its peak at the seventh Sabbath.[7] Newsom pieced together and presented the fragments that could be associated with each of the thirteen songs.[8] Scholars have not yet reached agreement on the question of whether these prayers were exclusive to the members of the Qumran Community, or whether other Second Temple period groups also recited the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*s in their Sabbath liturgies.[9]

The following heading appears at the beginning of the composition: **"[For the Maskil: Song of the whole-offering of the] first [Sabba]th on the fourth of the first month"** (למשכיל שיר עולת השב[ת הראישונה בארבע לחודש הראשון];

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spectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls (ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 89–94.

4 Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11 II, 11Q2–18, 11Q20–30,* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 259–304.

5 Carol Newsom and Yigael Yadin, "The Masada Fragment of the Qumran Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *IEJ* 34 (1984): 77–88; idem, "1039–200 Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (MasShirShabb)," in Shemaryahu Talmon and Yigael Yadin, *Masada VI: Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Report* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 120–32.

6 Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); Carol A. Newsom and James H. Charlesworth et al. (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*. Vol. 4B, *Angelic Liturgy: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (PTSDSSP 4B; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [P. Siebeck], 1999) [hereafter, Newsom and Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*].

7 Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 13–17; Newsom and Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, 3.

8 Newsom and Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, 138–89. The extant manuscripts preserve fragments of all of the songs except the one for the third Sabbath. Only a few isolated words remain from the song of the fourth Sabbath.

9 For the view that the hymns were composed by scribes who were members of the Qumran Community, see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 293–96. Christopher R. A. Morray-Jones, "The Temple Within: The Embodied Divine Image and its Worship in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish and Christian Sources," *SBLSP* 37/1 (1998): 400–431, at 409–10; Daniel K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 137–38. For the view that the songs were written in circles that adhered to a 364-day calendar, but not necessarily by writers who belonged to the *Yahad* (i. e., the Qumran Community), see Carol Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters* (ed. William H. C. Propp, Baruch Halpern, and David Noel Freedman; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 179–85; Hanan Eshel,"The Prayer of Joseph from Qumran, a Papyrus from Masada and the Samaritan Temple on APGAPIZIN," *Zion* 56 (1991): 125–136, at 129 n.9 (Hebrew; Engl. transl. in this volume, 149–63). See also, n. 34 below.

4Q400 1 1).[10] Headings of this sort appear at the beginning of each the thirteen hymns. Thus, for example, the song for the sixth Sabbath opens with the words: **"[For the Maskil]: Song of the whole-offering of the sixth Sabbath on the ninth of the [second] month"** (Mas1k, col.1, line 8).[11] If we suppose that this refers to the first through the third months of the annual cycle, then the dates that appear in the opening formulas fit the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year.

The members of the Yahad Community who lived at Qumran used a 364-day calendar.[12] The advantage of this calendar is that the number of days in the year divide evenly into fifty-two weeks (52 × 7 = 364). The year of the Qumran Community was conceived of by them as a perfect square, comprising four sides of thirteen weeks each.[13] Each of the sides of the square, which are called *tequfot* in the scrolls, consists of ninety days, configured as three months of thirty days each. Four days stand at the corners of the square. [See Fig. 11.1]. It appears that, at least according to one conception of the 364-day calendar, these days were counted as days of the week, but were not considered to be part of the concluding month that preceded them, nor of the subsequent month.[14] These liminal days

10 Newsom, DJD 11:176. Headings are preserved, fully or partially, at the beginning of the hymns for the first, second, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and twelfth Sabbaths. See Newsom and Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, 138 n.2; Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 283.

11 Newsom, DJD 11:240–41.

12 On the annual 364-day calendar of the Qumran Community, see Shemaryahu Talmon, "Calendar Controversy in Ancient Judaism: The Case of the 'Community of the Renewed Covenant'," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 379–95; Jonathan Ben-Dov and Wayne Horowitz, "The 364-Day Year in Mesopotamia and Qumran," *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 3–26 (Hebrew). [See also, in the current volume: "The Seventy-Weeks Prophecy in Two Compositions from Qumran," 41–60, at 50; "Two Notes on Column 2 of the *War Scroll* (1QM)," 85–89, at 81.

13 Annie Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la Secte de Qumrân: Ses origines bibliques," *VT* 3 (1953): 252–64; eadem, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et les jours liturgiques de la semaine," *VT* 7 (1957): 35–61.

14 If this hypothesis concerning epagonal days is accurate, then it could offer an improvement in one point upon Jaubert's brilliant reconstruction. Jaubert had proposed that every third month contained thirty-one days. Proof that the four days in the "corners" of the calendar were not always considered part of the months, which always consisted of thirty days, can be found, for example, in the description in *Jub.* 5:27, "And the water prevailed on the face of the earth for five months, one hundred and fifty days." The Astronomical Book of the *1 Enoch* states: "The leaders of the heads of the thousands who are over all the creation and over all the stars (have to do) with those four (days) that are added; they are not separated from their work according to the calculation of the year and they serve on the four days that are not reckoned in the calculation of the year. People err regarding these (four days)…and the accuracy of the world is completed in the 364 positions of the world" (*1 En* 75:1–2; the translation is from George W. E. Nickelsburg and James C. VanderKam, *1 Enoch: A New Translation* [Minneapolis: Fortress, 2004], 103). These verses might be taken to indicate that the four days of transition from one season to another were indeed counted as days of the year, but were not

separated one season from the next, and they were considered dangerous.[15] The thirteen hymns of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* correspond, then, to one side of the square, i. e., one fourth of the Sabbaths of the year.

Newsom concluded that these thirteen hymns were recited only during the first quarter of the year, primarily on the basis of the dates that are preserved at the beginnings of the hymns.[16] In an important article, Johann Maier raised the possibility that the *Songs* were recited four times in the course of the year. According to his view, the headings are to be understood as referring to the Sabbath and month within the season, i. e., within the quarter, and not within the year. Thus, he explained the heading of the first hymn as indicating that it was

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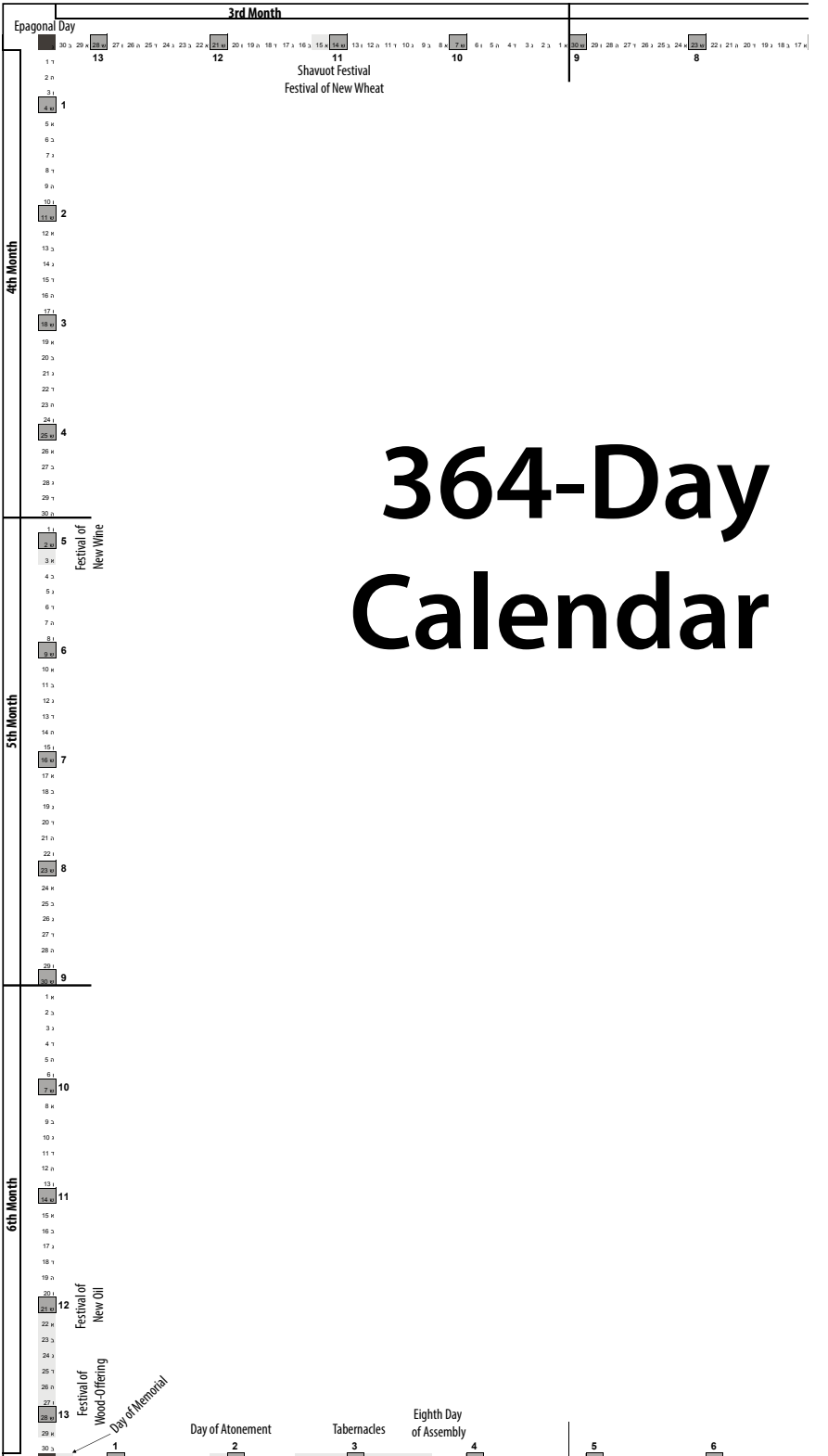
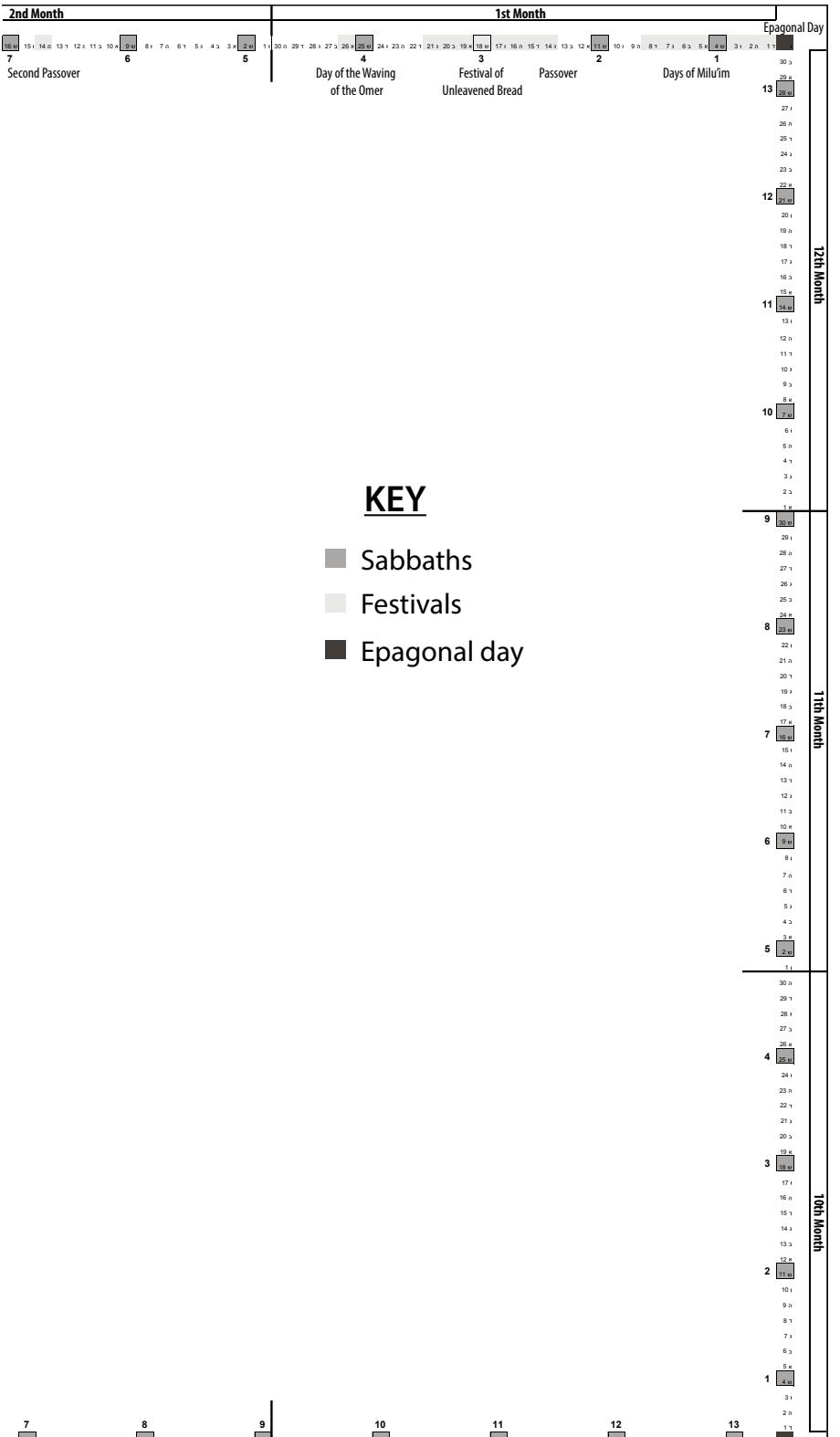
included within the months. The special status of these days can also be seen in *Jub.* 6:23–29. In three calendrical texts found at Qumran (4Q320, 4Q321, 6Q17), Shemaryahu Talmon and Jonathan Ben-Dov reconstructed an explicit stipulation that certain months had 31 days. See Shemaryahu Talmon, Jonathan Ben-Dov and Uwe Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4 XVI; Calendrical Texts,* (DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 7, 51–52, 71. Even though these are reconstructions, if we grant that they are correct, then they might attest to a diversity of conceptions of the annual calendar among the members of the Qumran Community. As restored, these texts offer further evidence that the four days are special transitional days. Their positioning outside the months creates a more symmetrical structure, which explains why these days were considered to be dangerous and why we find emphasis in the scrolls that one of these days is "an additional day, and the completion of the season" (יום...נוסף ושלמה התקופה [4Q394]). Regarding the status of these four days, see the discussion in Jonathan Ben-Dov, "Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran: Sources and Trends" (Ph.D. diss, The Hebrew University, 2005), 31–42. [See now, idem, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in Their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78, Leiden: Brill, 2008), 31–52]. On the character of these four days as times of vulnerability to demons and evil spirits, see Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238, and the discussion in the following note.

15 See Johann Maier, "*Shîrê ʿOlat hash-Shabbat*: Some Observations on their Calendric Implications and on their Style," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March, 1991* (STDJ 11; 2 vols.; ed. Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:549–52. In the summary list of poems composed by King David in the Cave 11 Psalms Scroll, it states that David wrote "four songs to chant over the stricken" (שיר לנגן על הפגועים ארבעה; 11QPs[a] 27: 9–10). On the magic poetry in the Qumran corpus that was intended to offer protection against evil spirits and demons, see Nitzan, *Qumran Poetry,* 227 –272; Esther Eshel, "Apotropaic Prayers in the Second Temple Period," in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 48; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 69–88. A composition discovered in two copies at Qumran (4Q510–4Q511) appears to contain songs that were composed for recitation on the four days of transition from season to season. In one of them (4Q511) there were preserved remnants of the headings for two of these songs: "For the Maskil, a song" and "[For the Maskil, a] second [so]ng." There is evidence that this scroll contained two cycles of four songs, which were intended to protect those who recited them from demons on the four days of transition between the seasons. See E. Eshel, ibid., 83. In this scroll (4Q511 frag. 11 i 8), the employment of the term stricken (הפגועים) is attested, just as it is used in the list of David's compositions.

16 Newsom and Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, 3–4.

364-Day Calendar




2nd Month
1st Month
Epagonal Day
7
Second Passover
6
5
4
Day of the Waving of the Omer
3
Festival of Unleavened Bread
2
Passover
1
Days of Milu'im
13
12
11
10
12th Month
9
8
7
6
5
11th Month
4
3
2
1
10th Month
KEY
Sabbaths
Festivals
Epagonal day

"the song of the sacrifice of the first Sabbath [*of the season*] (i. e., of the quarter), which is said "on the fourth day of the first month [*of the season*].[17]

Newsom raised two objections to Maier's proposal. First, Maier did not bring any other examples to support his proposal that the numbering of the Sabbaths and months was intended to place them within the season rather than within the year.[18] She further argued that the contents of the various *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* correspond particularly to the festivals of the first quarter of the year. Newsom identified allusions to festivals of the first season in two of the songs. Since she did not find allusions to festivals observed in the other three seasons of the year, she reasoned that the songs were recited only during the first quarter of the year.[19]

If we coordinate the dates of the festivals according to the calendar followed at Qumran,[20] with the cycle of the Sabbaths in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* (see Fig. 11.1), we find that in the first quarter of the year, the first Sabbath falls within the eight days of Consecration; the second Sabbath is three days before Passover; the third Sabbath is during the Festival of Unleavened Bread; the fourth Sabbath is the eve of the "Day of the Waving of the Omer"; and the eleventh Sabbath is the eve of the Festival of Shavuot. Newsom pointed out that there is a connection between the song of the first Sabbath and the eight days of Consecration.[21]

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17 Maier, "*Shîrê ʿOlat hash-Shabbat*," 544. Daniel Falk (*Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers*, 139) also accepted this position. Nitzan expressed uncertainty as to whether to accept Maier's view or Newsom's opinion, and in the end left the question unresolved. See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 284. In Raanan Abusch's important study comparing the series of seven liturgical declarations documented in the song of the sixth Sabbath, in which the seven chief princes of the angels praise God, to a hymn embedded in the composition Hekhalot Rabbati, he mistakenly attributed Maier's opinion to Newsom and vice versa. See Raanan Abusch, "Seven-fold Hymns in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and the Hekhalot Literature," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. James R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 220–47, at 224, n. 9.

18 We have not yet found evidence in the Dead Sea Scrolls that the Sabbaths were counted anew each season, but it is worth noting that Joseph Baumgarten pointed to similar numbering of the Sabbaths in Samaritan *piyyutim*, which also do not start from the beginning of the year. See Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Counting of the Sabbath in Ancient Sources," *VT* 16 (1966): 277–81.

19 Newsom and Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, 4. In the discussion that followed my presentation of an earlier version of this article at the Fourth Annual Haifa University Workshop on the Scrolls, Prof. Bilhah Nitzan expressed skepticism about the supposition that we attempt to link the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* with a 364-day calendar. Nevertheless, in her book, she associated the hymn of the twelfth Sabbath with the festival of Shavuot. See Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 317 n. 139.

20 The calendar of the Qumran Community, with a list of the dates of the festivals, appears, inter alia, in Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:118.

21 Newsom and Charlesworth, *Angelic Liturgy*, 4.

It is written in this song: "And they have become for Him priests of [the inner sanctum …], ministers of the Presence in His glorious shrine. In the assembly of all the gods of [knowledge] ([דעת] אלי)" (4Q400 1 3–5). The text continues: "pries[ts of] the inner sanctum who serve before the King of holiest [holiness] (ibid., lines 8–9).[22]

These descriptions reflect the belief that the angels were appointed as priests, and that they served in the heavenly Temple. Newsom suggested that these descriptions appear in the song of the first Sabbath because this Sabbath falls during the eight days of Consecration, which commemorate the appointment of Aaron and his sons as priests. The song that was composed for the second Sabbath has not been well-preserved, but in the scant remains of this song there is no allusion to the Passover holiday. The song for the third Sabbath has not survived, and so we cannot know whether it contained any allusions to the Festival of Unleavened Bread. Only bits of the beginning of the song for the fourth Sabbath have survived, and they do not contain any reference to the Day of the Waving of the Omer. The festival of Shavuot was celebrated in the 364-day calendar on the day after the eleventh Sabbath of the year. In the surviving remains of the song for this Sabbath, there is mention of "His glorious chariots … holy cherubim, luminous ophanim…" (4Q405 20 ii 3) and "the glorious seats of the chariot[s]" (line 4) and "his glorious chariots as they move" (line 5).[23] The divine chariot is described in the song for the twelfth Sabbath as well. This prayer is one of the festive high points of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. It opens with the following lines:

[1] For the Instr[uctor. Song of [the sacrifice of] the twelf<th> [Sa]bbath [on the twenty-first of] the third [month. Praise the God of. . .]
[2] O [wo]ndrous [de]puty [princes,] and exalt Him according to the glory. In the tabernac[le …] knowledge, the [*cheru*]*bim* fal[l] before Him and bless as they rise. A sound of divine stillness
[3] [is heard;] and (there is) a tumult of jubilation at the lifting up of their wings, the sound of divine [stillne]ss. The form of the chariot throne do they bless, (which is) above the firmament of the *cherubim*.
[4] [And (in) the maje]sty of the luminous firmament do they exult, (which is) beneath His glorious seat. And when the wheels (*ophanim*) move, the holy angels return. They go out from between
[5] its glorious [h]ubs. Like the appearance of fire (are) the spirits of holiest holiness round about, the appearance of streams of fire like electrum (*ḥashmal*). And (there are) works of [6] [ra]diance with glorious mingled colors, wondrously hued, bright<ly> blended, spirits of living [g]odlike beings moving continuously with the glory of [the] wondrous chariots.

22 Newsom, DJD 11:178.
23 Newsom, DJD 11:347.

[7] (And there is) a still sound of blessing in the tumult of their movement, and holy praise as they return on their ways. As they rise, they rise wondrously; and when they settle,
[8] they [stand] still. The sound of exultant rejoicing falls silent, and (there is) a still-n[ess] of divine blessing in all the camps of the godlike beings; [and] the sound of lau[ding]
[9] [.. .]..[.. .] from between all their divisions on [their] side[s. .. and] all their mustered troops exult, each o[n]e in [his] statio[n] (Composite text: 4Q405 frags. 20–25; 11Q17 frags. 16–18)[24]

Newsom proposed that there is a connection between the song written for the twelfth Sabbath and the *haftarah* of the festival of Shavuot, which contains the description of the divine chariot in chapter 1 of the book of Ezekiel.[25] Christopher Morray-Jones noted that even if we suppose that the reading of the description of the divine chariot as the *haftarah* on Shavuot was not yet established in the Second Temple era, the only way to explain the special and festive nature of the song for the twelfth Sabbath is to associate it with the covenant renewal cer-

24 Newsom, *Angelic Liturgy*, 182–85. On this description, see the literature cited above, n. 2, and Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Hekhalot Literature and the Qumran corpus," in *Early Jewish Mysticism: Proceedings of the First International Conference on the History of Jewish Mysticism* (*Mehqare Yerushalayim BeMahshevet Yisra'el* 6; Jerusalem, 1987), 121–38, at 122–26 (Hebrew). Nitzan did not accept Newsom's hypothesis. According to her view, the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are not arranged in a pyramid, but rather in ascending order, climaxing in the final hymns that describe the divine chariot. See Nitzan, *Qumran Poetry*, 295 n. 72. Morray-Jones also argued against Newsom's analysis, according to which the apex of the *Songs* is at the seventh Sabbath ("The Temple Within," 415–18). In his view, the climax of the composition occurs in the twelfth Sabbath. Nitzan's view that the last songs are the climax of the composition could be bolstered by one line preserved in the song of the thirteenth Sabbath, which also seems to contain an allusion to the chariot: "For His glorious thrones and for [his foo]tstool […] his splendid [cha]riots" (11Q17 23–25 line 7). However, it would seem that the very festive nature of the songs composed for the sixth Sabbath (which Bilhah Nitzan termed "liturgical proclamations"), the seventh Sabbath ("praise of the heavenly sanctuary"), and the eighth Sabbath ("a liturgical chain, in which the permission to utter praise is passed from one [angel] to the other, the praise increasing seven-fold") make it difficult to disregard Newsom's observation concerning the centrality of the seventh Sabbath. It seems, then, that the extant remains of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* indicate that this liturgical cycle incorporated two climaxes: the first, in the seventh Sabbath and the second in the eleventh and twelfth Sabbaths. [For the characterizations of the songs provided above, see Nitzan, *Qumran Poetry*, 296–312].

25 The custom of reading the description of the divine chariot in Ezekiel ch. 1 is first attested in a *baraita* cited in the Babylonian Talmud, *b. Meg* 31a. Newsom noted that although we cannot know when specific *haftarah* festival readings were determined, it is unlikely that the detailed description of the chariot in the song of the twelfth Sabbath, the next after the festival of Shavuot, is simply a matter of chance coincidence (*Angelic Liturgy*, 4–6). For a similar suggestion that Second Temple *haftarot* readings were the same as today's, see Naomi G. Cohen, "Earliest Evidence of the *Haftarah* Cycle for the Sabbaths between the 17th of *Tammuz* and *Succoth* in Philo," *JJS* 48 (1997): 225–49; the thesis remains conjectural.

emony that the Qumran Community was accustomed to conduct annually on Shavuot.[26] There is evidence that various circles in the Second Temple era, including the members of the Qumran Community, believed that most of the significant covenants between God and Israel, including the covenant of Sinai, were enacted on the festival of Shavuot.[27] It is likely that the reasons that the description of the divine chariot was chosen as the *haftarah* portion for the holiday were the same as the considerations that motivated the author of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* to describe the chariot in the hymns that were written for the Sabbaths around the time of Shavuot.[28] It seems, then, that there is an allusion to the days of Consecration in the song of the first Sabbath, and reference to the festival of Shavuot in the songs that were composed for the eleventh and twelfth Sabbaths.[29]

The aim of the present study is to call attention to the fact that the song for the first Sabbath does in fact have clear allusions to festivals that occur in the third quarter of the year, *pace* Newsom, who claimed that *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* contains no allusions to festivals celebrated after the first quarter. These references show that *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* was recited at least twice during the year, in the first quarter and in the third quarter.

In the second quarter of the year, the fifth Sabbath would occur on the eve of the "festival of the first-fruits of the new wine," and the twelfth Sabbath is the eve of the "festival of the first-fruits of the oil," and the "festival of the wood-offering," which seems to have been celebrated for six days, in the same week that they celebrated the "festival of the first-fruits of the oil." In the third quarter of the year, the first Sabbath occurred between the holiday of the First of the Seventh Month [the biblical "Day of Trumpeting"; the "New Year" in rabbinic tradition] and the Day of Atonement; the second Sabbath was the day after the Day of Atonement, and the third Sabbath was the Sabbath of the intermediary days of the festival of Sukkot. After the seventh month (Tishrei), no other biblically-ordained festivals follow in the remainder of the year. The calendar of the Qumran Community therefore does not contain any festivals in the last quarter of the year.

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26 Morray-Jones,"The Temple Within," 415–18.

27 On the importance of the festival of Shavuot in the book of *Jubilees* and in other writings discovered at Qumran, see Werner Eiss, "Das Wochenfest im Jubiläenbuch und im antiken Judentum," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 165–78.

28 It is worth considering that the process might have occurred in reverse, i. e., that because it was customary during the Second Temple era to recite prayers based on the description of the chariot around the time of Shavuot, it was later determined that the description of the chariot in the book of Ezekiel would be the *haftarah* for Shavuot.

29 Due to the fragmentary state in which the song for the eleventh Sabbath has been preserved, little attention has been given to date to the fact that the chariot is also described in this hymn, which was said on the actual eve of Shavuot.

I would like to suggest that some of the descriptions in the song for the first Sabbath indicate that the author of the hymn intended it to be recited between the Day of Trumpeting and the Day of Atonement. This hymn states: "By these all the eternal Holy Ones sanctify themselves. And He purifies the pure ones of […]. all who pervert the way. And they propitiate His good will for all who repent of sin" (4Q400 1 i 15–16). It continues: "His [me]rcies for eternal compassionate forgiveness" (line 18).[30] It must be noted that there are no references to purification, atonement, or forgiveness in the songs for the other Sabbaths.[31] Thus, in addition to containing allusions to the days of Consecration that were celebrated in the first quarter of the year, the song of the first Sabbath also features allusions to the Day of Trumpeting and the Day of Atonement, which were celebrated in the third quarter.[32] If this conjecture is correct, then we may infer that each of the songs in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* was recited at least twice a year, in the first and third seasons. This view could accommodate the proposal of Johann Maier that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were recited on each Sabbath of the year.[33]

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30 Newsom, DJD 11:176–78; eadem, "'He has Established for Himself Priests': Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 101–20, esp. 104–5.

31 Israel Knohl and Shlomo Naeh have demonstrated a close connection between the Day of Atonement and the days of Consecration. They maintained that during the Second Temple era, there was a dispute between the Sages and the Community of Qumran as to whether the days of Consecration were to be observed in Nisan (so, the Qumran Community) or Tishrei (the Sages). See Israel Knohl and Shlomo Naeh, "Days of Consecration and Atonement," *Tarbiz* 62 (1983): 17–44 (Hebrew). If the song of the first Sabbath was in fact recited not only during the days of Consecration but also before the Day of Atonement, then perhaps the author of the songs found a way to point to the connection between these festivals. See Yoel Ben Nun, "The Eighth Day and the Day of Atonement," *Megadim* 8 (1989): 9–34 (Hebrew). One might suggest that the reason that idioms referring to purification, atonement, and forgiveness are mentioned in the song of the first sabbath is that the role of the angels appointed to serve as priests in the heavenly Temple was to atone, like the priests in the Jerusalem Temple. However, if this were the only reason for the use of such expressions in the song of the first Sabbath, then we would expect to find similar language in the songs of the other Sabbaths as well.

32 As noted above, only small remnants are extant from the song of the second Sabbath, and the song of the third Sabbath has not survived. We thus cannot know whether they contained allusions to the Day of Atonement and to the festival of Sukkot.

33 It may be possible to identify a reference to the "festival of the first-fruits of the new wine" in the song of the fifth Sabbath. Only a few fragments have survived from this song, so this suggestion remains tentative. The relevant expression is "[while] he is unclean" ([…] [ב]היותו טמא; 4Q402, 4 4). See Newsom ("Shirot 'Olat HaShabbat," 228). The appearance of this phrase in the song is surprising, since we do not find references to halakhic matters, including purity and impurity, in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. Since the context is fragmentary, we cannot know how the author of the hymn used this expression. Perhaps he meant to say that before grapes are atoned for in the "festival of the first-fruits of the new-wine," grape products

On the basis of the character of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, it seems that those who recited these hymns on the Sabbaths felt great exaltation in the fact that on the Sabbath they could join together with the angels and praise God along with them. These prayers would have held special significance for the members of the Qumran Community, who prided themselves on the fact that some of their number were priests of the house of Zadok who had broken away from the Jerusalem establishment, removing themselves to the desert and refraining from participation in the rituals that were conducted in the Jerusalem Temple. There is no reason to suppose that the Sabbaths of the first season of the year would have been considered more important than the Sabbaths of the other seasons. It is therefore difficult to accept Newsom's supposition that the hymns were recited only on the first thirteen Sabbaths of the year.

Summary

Carol Newsom thought that *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* contains allusions to festivals that were celebrated near the time of the corresponding songs.[34] She noted that in the song written for the first Sabbath, there are allusions that show that this prayer was recited during the days of Consecration and that the song for the twelfth Sabbath contains references to the festival of Shavuot. In this article, I sought to draw attention to the fact that the song for the first Sabbath also contains expressions that show that it was recited on the Sabbath be-

are impure. Another possibility is that he contrasted wine (תירוש) with oil (יצהר) and hinted at the preferential status of wine in matters pertaining to purity and impurity. See Hanan Eshel, "CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery*, (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill), 45–52 (repr. in this volume, 61–68). These suggestions seem implausible. If we nevertheless associate the expression "[while] he is unclean" with the "festival of the first-fruits of the new-wine," this would serve as evidence that the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* were also recited in the second quarter of the year.

34 The presence or absence of allusions to various festivals in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* cannot serve as indicators of whether they were composed by a scribe who belonged to the Qumran Community or a scribe from one of the other circles that adhered to a calendar of 364 days. See the literature cited above, n. 9. We have not found definitive references in the composition to the "festival of the first-fruits of the new wine" (despite the conjectures raised in the previous note), to the festival of first-oil, or to the festival of the wood offering. It is possible, however, that this is due to the fragmentary state of preservation of the songs, especially since it may be supposed that these festivals were not unique to the Community of Qumran. We ought not discount the possibility that these festivals were observed by all of the nation, including those Jews who adhered to a lunar calendar. In any case, we may suppose that these festivals were observed by all the groups who followed a 364-day calendar. This issue is related to the question: within which group or groups was the *Temple Scroll* composed—a question about which scholars have not yet reached consensus. [See Hanan Eshel, "The Fortieth Anniversary of the Discovery of the Temple Scroll," in this volume, 193–207, at 200–202].

tween the Day of Trumpeting and the Day of Atonement. If these allusions do in fact attest to the recitation of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* between the Day of Trumpeting and the Day of Atonement, this would serve as support for Johann Maier's proposal that each of the hymns included in the *Songs* was recited four times throughout the course of the year.[35] If additional copies of the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* are found in the future, in which the songs for the second and third Sabbaths are preserved, then we may hope to find in these hymns, which were recited at the time of the festival of Passover and during the Festival of Unleavened Bread—and, as we have argued here, also at the time of the Day of Atonement and during Sukkot—allusions to these festivals that will support the proposal put forth above.

35 There is thus no basis for associating the thirteen hymns in the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* with the description that is found in the prose passage known as "David's Compositions" from the Psalms Scroll from Cave 11, in which is stated that David wrote: "For the Sabbath sacrifices, fifty-two songs" (11Q5 [11Q Psalms[a]] 27:7; see above, n. 15). It is likely that during the Second Temple era, there were groups who had the custom of reciting a cycle of fifty-two hymns for Sabbaths. These hymns were attributed to King David. This cycle is not to be identified with the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* which contained only thirteen hymns, and did not attributed these hymns to King David. See the cautious discussion in James C. VanderKam, "Studies on 'David's Compositions' (11QPs[a] 27:2–11)," *EI* 26 (1999): 212*–220*, at 220* n. 36. Contrast Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Festival Calendar in the Solar Year of the Yahad Community Seasons according to the List of David's Compositions in the Psalms Scroll from Cave 11 (11QPs[a] XXVII)," in *Fifty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research: Studies in Memory of Jacob Licht* (ed. Gershon Brin and Bilhah Nitzan; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2001), 204–19, at 208.

Chapter 12: Abraham's Fulfillment of the Commandment "Honor Your Father" in Early Jewish Exegesis and the Dead Sea Scrolls*

Anybody studying the early narratives about Abraham in the book of Genesis attentively must grapple with a variety of questions that arise from the text. In the brief discussion that follows, I wish to point out a few of these difficulties and examine how they were addressed by Jewish exegetes in the Second Temple period. This analysis will serve as the basis for my proposal of a new reconstruction of one of the fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls found in Qumran Cave 4.

The Masoretic text of Gen 11:26–32 reads:

> When Terah had lived 70 years, he begot Abram, Nahor, and Haran. Now this is the line of Terah: Terah begot Abram, Nahor, and Haran; and Haran begot Lot. Haran died in the lifetime of his father Terah, in his native land, Ur of the Chaldeans. Abram and Nahor took to themselves wives, the name of Abram's wife being Sarai and that of Nahor's wife Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah and Iscah. Now Sarai was barren, she had no child. Terah took his son Abram, his grandson Lot the son of Haran, and his daughter-in-law Sarai, the wife of his son Abram, and they set out together from Ur of the Chaldeans for the land of Canaan; but when they had come as far as Haran, they settled there. The days of Terah came to 205 years; and Terah died in Haran.

These verses indicate that Nahor and Milcah remained in Ur of the Chaldeans when Terah, Abram, Sarai, and Lot left Ur to go to the land of Canaan. In the continuation of the narrative it is stated that after dwelling for some time with his father in Haran, Abram was commanded to go to the land of Canaan. Genesis 12:4 states: "Abram went forth as the LORD had commanded him, and Lot went with him. Abram was seventy-five years old when he left Haran." Using the details provided in the text, we may calculate that Terah was 145 years old when Abram departed from Haran, since Terah was 70 years old when Abram was

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* [*Ed. note*: This article was originally published in Hebrew in *Megadim* 46 (2007): 9–15, and included the following dedication.] This article was written in honor of the 70th birthday of my father, Yaakov Eshel. It is dedicated with much love to him and to my brother, Rabbi Boaz Eshel.

born. According to the MT, Terah lived another sixty years after Abram's departure from Haran, since he died at the age of 205 (Gen 11:32).

Since the book of Genesis does not record the ages of Terah and Abram at the time of their departure from Ur, we do not know how long Abram, Sarai, and Lot remained in Haran. Among Jewish exegetes of the Second Temple period, we find two different approaches to this question. According to one approach, Abram spent fourteen years in Haran: "And Abram dwelt with Terah his father in Haran two weeks of years" (*Jub* 12:15).[1] Another tradition, however, is attested in one of the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran. 4Q252 states: "Terah was one hundred and fo[r]ty years old when he *went forth from Ur of the Chaldeans and entered Haran* (cf. Gen 11:31b). And Ab[ram was se]venty years old. And for five years Abram stayed in Haran" (4Q252 1,3 ii 8–10).[2] According to the tradition found in *Jubilees*, Terah was 131 years old and Abram was 61 years old when they departed Ur.[3] According to the approach taken in 4Q252, Terah was 140 years old and Abram was 70 when they left Ur for Haran.[4]

The fact that Abram left his father back in Haran, and that Terah remained living there, apparently alone, for another 60 years, caused some exegetes to question Abram's treatment of his father. The following midrash appears in Genesis Rabbah, parsha 39, on the initial verses of the portion of *Lekh Lekha*:

> "Now the Lord said to Abram, 'Get thee…'" (Gen 12:1). Now what precedes this passage? "And Terah died in Haran" (Gen 11:32)…. R. Isaac said: From the point of view of chronology a period of sixty-five years is still required. But first, you may learn that the wicked, even in their lifetime, are called dead. For Abraham was afraid, saying, "Shall I go out and bring dishonor upon the Divine Name, as people will say, 'He left his father in his old age and departed?'" Therefore the Holy

1 The verses in the book of *Jubilees* that state that Abraham spent 14 years with Terah in Haran are preserved in a copy of *Jubilees* found in Qumran Cave 11. See 11Q12 frag. 9 in Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, and A.S. van der Woude, "11QJubilees," in eidem, *Qumran Cave 11 II, 11Q2–18, 11Q20–30* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 207–20, at 217.

2 See George J. Brooke, "252. 4QCommentary on Genesis A," in George J. Brooke et al., *Qumran Cave 4 XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 185–207, at 198.

3 On the chronology of the book of *Jubilees*, see James C. VanderKam, "Studies in the Chronology of the Book of Jubilees," in James C. VanderKam, *From Revelation to Canon* (JSJSup 62; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 522–44, esp. 532–37.

4 On the possibility that the determination of Abraham's age at the time of his departure from Ur as 70 is related to the reference to 400 years in Gen 15:13 and the reference to 430 years in Exod 12:40–41, see Moshe J. Bernstein, "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary," *JJS* 45 (1994): 1–27 at 12–14 [rev. and repr. in idem, *Reading and Re-reading Scripture at Qumran* (2 vols.; STDJ 107; Leiden, Brill, 2013), 92–125]. Bernstein (ibid., n. 44) suggested also connecting this to traditions found in *Seder Olam Rabbah* and *Midrash Leqah Tov*, to the effect that the Covenant of the Pieces was established with Abraham when he was 70 years old. See n.17 below.

> One, blessed be He, reassured him: "I exempt you (*lekha*) from the duty of honoring your parents, though I exempt no one else from this duty. Moreover, I will record his death before your departure." Hence, "And Terah died in Haran" is stated first, and then, "Now the Lord said unto Abram…" (Gen 12:1).[5]

The solution put forth in this midrash—that Abraham left his father in Haran because God exempted Abraham from the commandment of honoring one's father—is clearly difficult. It is thus not surprising to find other exegetes pursuing alternative directions towards an explanation of this matter.[6] Those commentators who believed that Abraham did not leave Terah, and that he went to Canaan only after Terah had died, had two options: (1) move Terah's death earlier or (2) move Abraham's departure later. The first approach was taken by the Jewish scribes who produced the harmonistic version of the Torah found in the Samaritan Pentateuch.[7] These scribes read Gen 11:32 as follows: "And the days of Terah were five years and forty and one hundred years; and Terah died in Haran."[8] According to this reading, Abraham did not leave his father in Haran, but only departed after his father's death, since Terah lived only 145 years, rather than 205 years.[9]

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5 [The translation is slightly revised from *Midrash Rabbah Genesis* (2 vols.; transl. Harry Freedman; London: Soncino, 1951) 1:315–16. (Cf. Ed. Theodor-Albeck, 369)]. It would seem that R. Yitzchak read 65 (סה) years, although according to our understanding, he should have read 60 (ס) years. He made his calculations on the premise that Abraham went up to Israel before he was 75, and then later returned to Haran, as it is stated in *Seder Olam Rabbah* and in *Midrash Leqah Tov*; see n.17 below, and the long notes of Theodor and Albeck, *ad loc.*

6 For a survey of the various proposed solutions to this exegetical problem, see the brief but comprehensive discussion in James L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998), 270–71, and the important study of Menahem Kister, "Leave the Dead to Bury Their Own Dead," in *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (ed. James L. Kugel; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Center for Jewish Studies, 2001), 43–56, at 45–46. For a radical solution using a source-critical approach, see Yair Zakovitch, "The Exodus from Ur: A Chapter in Literary Archaeology," in *Ki Baruch Hu: Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Judaic Studies in Honor of Baruch A. Levine* (ed. Robert Chazan, W. W. Hallo, and Lawrence H. Schiffman; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 429–39.

7 On the Jewish harmonistic editing underlying the Samaritan Pentateuch, see Hanan Eshel and Esther Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. Shalom M. Paul; Robert A. Kraft; Lawrence H. Schiffman; Weston W. Fields; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 215–40 [repr. in this volume, 257–80].

8 ויהיו ימי תרח חמש שנים וארבעים ומאת שנה וימת תרח בחרן. Abraham Tal, *The Five Books of the Torah According to the Samaritan Version* (Tel Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 1994), 10.

9 Note that Gen 12:1, in both MT and the Samaritan Pentateuch, reads "Go forth from your land and from your birthplace, and from your father's house." If we were to accept the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch, according to which Terah died before Abraham's departure from Haran and all the remaining family members accompanied Abraham to the land of Canaan, then the expression "your father's house" in the verse would be problematic.

Similarly, Philo of Alexandria remarked that Abraham did not leave his father in Haran when he left to Canaan:

> Abraham had previously migrated from Chaldaea when he came to live in the land of Haran. But after his father died he then departed from this land of Chaldaea, too, so that he has now migrated from two different places (*Migration of Abraham* 177).[10]

Two early Christian exegetes went in the opposite direction to the Samaritan Pentateuch, explaining the verses in the book of Genesis such that Gen 12:4, "Abram was seventy-five years old when he departed from Haran," refers not to the biological age of Abraham, but rather to his spiritual age. According to these commentators, seventy-five years passed from the time when Abraham came to recognize God until he went to the Land of Israel. According to their chronology, Abraham was 60 years old when he discovered the existence of God, and at that time, in their understanding, he was born anew. Thus, Abraham left Haran when he was 135 years old, in exactly the year when Terah died.[11]

The author of the Qumran scroll quoted above (4Q252) seems to have relied upon the text of MT, according to which Terah lived 205 years; rather than the alternative version of the Samaritan Pentateuch, which allots only 145 years to Terah's life. We can thus reconstruct line 10 as follows:[12]

4Q252 Col. ii (frags. 1,3)

8. ... בן מאה וארב[ע]ים שנה תרח בצאתו
9. מאור כשדיים ויבוא חרן. ואב[רם בן ש]בעים שנה. וחמש שנים ישב
10. אברם בחרן. ואחרי צא[ת אברם אל] ארץ כנען ששי[ם שנה מת תרח].

8. .. .Terah was one hundred and fo[r]ty years old when he went forth
9. from Ur of the Chaldeans and entered Haran. And Ab[ram was se]venty years old. And for five years
10. Abram stayed in Haran. And sixt[y years] after the departu[re of Abram to] the land of Canaan [Terah died].

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10 A similar emphasis is recorded in the name of Stephen in the Acts of the Apostles: "And Stephen replied: 'The God of glory appeared to our ancestor Abraham when he was in Mesopotamia, before he lived in Haran, and said to him, "Leave your country and your relatives and go to the land that I will show you." Then he left the country of the Chaldeans and settled in Haran. After the death of his father, God had him move from there to this country in which you are now living'" (Acts 7:2–4).

11 Thus, Jerome, *Questions on Genesis*, on Gen 12:4, and Augustine, *City of God* 16:14–16.

12 In his edition of the text, Brooke presented line 10 as: [...]ארץ כנען ששי[ם...] ואחר יצא. He did not propose any restorations for this line (DJD 22:198). It seems that the *yod* ought to be connected to the previous word, to read, following Bernstein ("4Q252," 12): [ת]ואחרי צא. [*Eds*: the translation here follows Bernstein, ibid.] Another alternative is to restore [ת אברהם אל]ואחר יצא ארץ כנען ששי[ם].

It appears that yet another solution to the exegetical problem—how did Abraham leave his father Terah in Haran and go off to Canaan—may possibly be found in the statement in Genesis Rabbah: "Therefore the Holy One, blessed be He, reassured him: 'I exempt you (*lekha*) from the duty of honoring your parents, though I exempt no one else from this duty.'" As we have seen, one may conclude from Gen 11:29 that Nahor and Milcah remained in Ur when Terah, Abraham, Sarah, and Lot went to Haran. From the details recorded in the continuation of the narratives in the book of Genesis, it seems that Nahor and Milcah did not remain in Ur but rather joined their family in Haran. Genesis 24:10 states that the servant who was sent by Abraham to return to Abraham's land and birthplace to find a wife for Isaac, came to "the city of Nahor." It is not clear whether the "city of Nahor" denotes Haran, or some other city. A city named Nahor mentioned in Akkadian inscriptions seems to have been located near Haran.[13] Rebecca presented herself to the servant with the statement, "I am the daughter of Bethuel the son of Milcah, whom she bore to Nahor" (Gen 24:24). The grandson of Nahor, Laban the Aramean, dwelled in Haran, as his grandfather did (Gen 28:10).

Isaac was "forty years old when he took to wife Rebecca, daughter of Bethuel the Aramean of Paddan-aram… for himself as a wife" (Gen 25:20).[14] This would mean that the servant went to take Rebecca in the 140th year of Abraham's life, five years after Terah's death.[15] Since Gen 24:50 names Bethuel and Laban as Rebecca's male relatives, it may be inferred that when the servant arrived in the city of Nahor, Nahor was no longer alive. We may further suppose that Nahor died during that period of five years between Terah's death and the arrival of Abraham's servant at the house of Bethuel. I extrapolate this from the fact that with respect to Haran, the text emphasized, "and Haran died in the presence of his father" (Gen 11:28), but we do not see a similar emphasis regarding Nahor.

We do not have any details about when Nahor and Milcah left Ur and joined Terah in Haran, but since they clearly did come to Haran, the simplest exegetical solution to the problem of Abraham leaving Terah is to suppose that Nahor arrived in Haran before Abraham left their father. In the book of *Jubilees* it is

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13 See Abraham Malamat, "Nahor," in *Encyclopedia Biblica* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1968) 5:807–8, and Gershon Galil, *Genesis* (World of the Bible [*Olam HaTanach*], Tel Aviv: Davidson Atai, 1993), 156–57.

14 The Arameans were considered to be descendants of Nahor, as is seen in the list of Nahor's sons (Gen 22:20–24), which includes "Kemuel, the father of Aram" and "Maʿacah" (cf. 1 Chron 19:6, "Aram-Maʿacah"); and especially in the story of Gal-ed/*yegar sahaduta*, which was erected on the border of Israel and Aram (Gen 31:44–54).

15 Abraham was 100 years old when his son Isaac was born (Gen 21:5). Since Abraham was born when Terah was 70 years old, we may calculate that Isaac's fortieth year was 210 years after the birth of Terah, i.e., five years after Terah's death; according to MT and LXX, which record that Terah lived 205 years.

stated explicitly that Nahor was in Haran at the time of Abraham's departure, and that the responsibility for caring for Terah devolved upon him:

> [28]In the seventh year of the sixth week [1953 A.M.], he [Abraham] spoke with his father and told him that he was leaving Haran to go to the land of Canaan to see it and return to him. [29]His father Terah said to him: "Go in peace: May the eternal God make your way straight. May the Lord be with you and protect you from every evil; May he grant you kindness, mercy, and grace before those who see you. And may no person have power over you to harm you. Go in peace. [30]And if you see a land that, in your view, is a pleasant one in which to live, then come and take me to you. Take Lot, the son of your brother Haran, with you as your son. May the Lord be with you. [31]Leave your brother Nahor with me until you return in peace. Then all of us together will go with you" (*Jub.* 12: 28–31).[16]

According to this account in *Jubilees*, when Abraham left Haran, Terah and Abraham still intended to follow through with the decision that Terah had undertaken in Ur, "to travel to the land of Canaan" (Gen 11:31). Abraham thus intended to return to Haran, and to then bring his father to the land of Israel. We do not find any description in the book of *Jubilees*, however, of Abraham returning to Haran any time after he went to Canaan.[17] In any case, according to the book of *Jubilees*, Abraham did not leave his father alone since Nahor was in Haran and he was the one who was responsible for caring for Terah. The author of *Jubilees* seems to have deliberately blurred the fact that, according to Gen 11:31, Terah left Nahor and Milcah in Ur when he left for Haran, and that they only joined the family later on. The book of *Jubilees* simply states: "Then Terah left

16 The translation is from James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511; Scriptores Aethiopici 88; Louvain: Peeters, 1989).

17 In *Seder Olam Rabbah* and in *Midrash Leqah Tov*, it is stated that Abraham went to Canaan before he reached the age of 70, and that he returned to Haran after the Covenant between the Pieces. *Seder Olam Rabbah* states: "Our father Abraham was 70 years old when he was spoken to (by God's presence) at the Covenant Between the Pieces, as it is said, 'And it was after 430 years" (Exod 12:41). After he was spoken to he returned to Haran and stayed there for five years." See Dov Ber Ratner, *Midrash Seder Olam* (New York: Talmudic Research Institute, 1966), 4–5. [See now, Chaim Milikowsky, *Seder Olam: Critical Edition, Commentary, and Introduction* (2 vols.; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2013), 1:219. The translation follows Heinrich W. Guggenheimer (ed.), *Seder Olam: The Rabbinic View of Biblical Chronology* (Northvale, NJ: Aronson, 1998), 8–9]. The *Midrash Leqah Tov* is similar (Lekh Lekha, ed. S. Buber, p. 56). These calculations were intended to explain the divergent specifications of the number of years that the Israelites spent in Egypt as 400 (Gen 15:17) and 430 (Exod 12:40–41). For a discussion of these calculations, see R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 103–4. In any case, according to these calculations, Abraham went to Canaan and returned to his father in Haran before the age of 75. I have not found any text that has Abraham returning to visit Terah in Haran, during the sixty years that Terah lived there following Abraham's departure to Canaan at age 75 to fulfill the divine command, "Go forth."

Ur of the Chaldeans—he and his sons" (*Jub.* 12:15). I have not found any ancient Jewish exegetical source specifying how much time passed between the departure of Terah and Abraham from Ur until Nahor and Milcah joined Terah in Haran. In a Christian text written in Syriac, which is based upon the book of *Jubilees*, Jacob of Edessa (which is near Haran) wrote that Nahor arrived in Haran a short time after Terah and Abraham had arrived there.[18]

In light of the above data, it appears to me that we should consider the possibility of restoring of the name Nahor in fragment 2 of the composition known as *Pseudo-Jubilees* (4Q225), from Cave 4 at Qumran. The beginning of this column is very fragmentary, but I suggest the following reconstruction:[19]

4Q225 frag. 2 Col. i

0. [… אך בשר בנפשו דמו לא]
1. [תאכלו וכל נפש אשר תאכל דם כר]ת תכרת הנ[פש] ההיא
2. [מקרב ע]מיה[ויצא נחור מאור ויש]ב בחרן עשר[י]ם [ש]נה
3. [ויאמר א]ברהם אל אלוהים אדני הנני בא עררי ואלי[עזר]
4. [בן ביתי] הואה וירשני *vacat*
5. [אמר אד]ני אל א[ב]רהם שא צפא את הכוכבים וראה
6. [וספור את] החול אשר על שפת הים ואת עפר הארץ …

0. [… Only, flesh with its life, that is, its blood you shall not]
1. [eat and every person that eats blood], that per[son] will [sure]ly be cut off
2. [from among] his [peo]ple.[And Nahor went out from Ur and he sta]yed in Haran twenty [ye]ars.
3. [And A]braham [said] to God: "My Lord, I go on being childless and Eli[ezer]
4. is [the son of my household,] and he will be my heir." *vacat*
5. [The Lo]rd [said] to A[b]raham: "Lift up (your eyes) and observe the stars, and see
6. [and count] the sand which is on the seashore and the dust of the earth…"

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18 See Sebastian P. Brock, "Abraham and the Ravens: A Syriac Counterpart to Jubilees 11–12 and its Implications," *JSJ* 9 (1978): 135–52, at 139; William Adler, "Jacob of Edessa and the Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Chronography," in *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (ed. John C. Reeves; SBLEJL 6; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 143–71, at 157–64.

19 See James C. VanderKam and Józef T. Milik, "225. 4QpseudoJubilees[a]," in Harold W. Attridge et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4 VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 141–55, at 145. A very different reconstruction of these lines was proposed by Robert Kugler at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in November 2004. Kugler proposed the following restoration:

1. [בדרך לא]ה[יה ואת הפסח חדל לעשו]ת תכרת הנ[פש] ההיא
2. [מקרב ע]מיה[ויעקב חדל כי יש]ב בחרן עשר[י]ם [ש]נה

[*Eds.*: The citation of Kugler's reading here differs somewhat from the text as cited in the original Hebrew publication of this article. We have followed the text as published in Robert A. Kugler, "4Q225 2 i l.1–2: A Possible Reconstruction and Explanation," *JBL* 126 (2007): 171–82 at 179. On 4Q225, see now, Atar Livneh, "How Many Years Did Abraham Remain in Haran," *Meghillot* 8–9 (2010): 193–209 (Hebrew)].

According to this proposed restoration, lines 0 to 2 relate to traditions about Noah and the prohibition of the consumption of blood that appear in Gen 9:4–5 (and in *Jub.* 6:7–8); compare also, the prohibitions against eating blood in Lev 17:10–14 and Deut 12:16.[20]

The editors of this scroll noted that they did not find any tradition in the cycle of Abraham narratives in which Abraham remained in Haran for twenty years.[21] If we adopt the proposed restoration, then the scribe would not be talking about Abraham, but rather, about Nahor. This restoration is based on the supposition that the scribe who composed 4Q225 thought that Nahor arrived in Haran during the time when Abraham was there, i. e., a short while after Terah arrived in Haran. According to his approach, Abraham left his father in Haran, since Nahor had taken upon himself to care for Terah, as stated explicitly in the book of *Jubilees*.[22] Twenty years later, when Terah was still alive, Nahor left Haran, abandoning his father, and went to live in the city of Nahor (Gen 24:10). If we accept the proposed restoration above, then we must suppose that the author of 4Q225 thought that the city of Nahor was not Haran, but another city. According to this exegetical approach, it may be that the prohibition against leaving Haran was considered to fall upon Nahor alone, who is thus culpable for abandoning his father, and not upon Abraham, who left Terah in the care of his brother.[23] The question that remains open is whether the exegete who authored the composition preserved in 4Q225 believed that this short sentence was enough to clear Abraham of any guilt for dishonoring his father, simply by stating that Nahor stayed in Haran for twenty years—i. e., just a third of the time when Terah dwelled in Haran after Abraham's departure to the land of Canaan. Is this short sentence sufficient to justify pointing the accusatory finger at Nahor for neglecting the honoring of Terah?[24]

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20 On this halakha, see Cana Werman, "The Rules of Consuming and Covering the Blood in Priestly and Rabbinic Law," *RevQ* 16,4 (1995): 621–36.

21 See VanderKam and Milik, DJD 13:148. They observed that an association of a period of twenty years with Haran is known only in the cycle of the Jacob narratives, as Jacob dwelled in Haran for twenty years (see Gen 31:38–41). See also, Bernstein, "4Q252," 13–14 n. 43.

22 This scribe tended to use short sentences, without explanations, and jumped from topic to topic. See, e.g., his formulations in frag. 2, col. ii, lines 10–11 (DJD 13:150).

23 Ancient Jewish exegetes tended to portray Terah and Nahor as guilty of idolatry and other sins on the basis of Josh 24:2, "In olden times, your forefathers—Terah, father of Abraham and father of Nahor—lived beyond the Euphrates and worshipped other gods." See Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, 246–49.

24 As an example of the view that the scribes who wrote the Qumran scrolls knew the Hebrew Bible by heart, and alluded to biblical verses by employing phrases that appear in them, see Hanan Eshel, "The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 409–20.

Cave 11

Chapter 13: The Fortieth Anniversary of the Discovery of the *Temple Scroll**

The *Temple Scroll* was acquired forty years ago. In this article, I survey the history of scholarship on the *Temple Scroll* and suggest a reason for the fact that scholars have not reached a consensus about whether this scroll was authored by a member of the Qumran Community or was brought to Qumran from outside. I argue that this stalemate demonstrates that the accepted binary division of the corpus of scrolls discovered at Qumran—i. e., sectarian scrolls and non-sectarian scrolls—is insufficient. They need to be divided into three categories: scrolls that were written by followers of the Teacher of Righteousness, sectarian scrolls that were not written by scribes of the Qumran Community, and non-sectarian scrolls that express non-sectarian worldviews.

1. The Discovery, Acquisition, and Publication of the *Temple Scroll*

Yigael Yadin acquired the *Temple Scroll* on June 8, 1967, during the Six-Day War. This detail is part of the fantastic story of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Yadin's father, Prof. Eliezer Lipa Sukenik, acquired two of the scrolls from Qumran Cave 1 on the very day that the UN voted in favor of the establishment of the State of Israel, November 29, 1947.[1] In lectures, Yadin would frequently say that his father deciphered and studied the *War Scroll,* which describes the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, during the siege of West Jerusalem in Israel's 1948 War of Independence, while he himself acquired the *Temple Scroll*, which describes the ideal Temple, the day after the Old City of Jerusalem and the Temple Mount came into Israel's hands. Yadin would emphasize that these details have no relevance for the scrolls' significance as sources for the

* [*Ed. note*: This article was originally published in Hebrew in *Moed* 18 (2008): 42–54. Unless otherwise noted, references to Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* in this article are to the English critical edition, Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983)].

1 Eliezer Sukenik acquired the *War Scroll* and the *Hodayot (Thanksgiving) Scroll* on November 29, 1947. He purchased the second *Isaiah Scroll* (1QIsa^{b}) in December of that year.

history of Second Temple era Judaism, but that they do hold substantial symbolic significance for the general public in the State of Israel.[2]

Cave 11 was discovered by Bedouin of the Ta'amireh tribe at the end of January or the beginning of February in 1956. It is a natural cave that was formed in the limestone cliffs opposite Kibbutz Qalya, situated between Cave 1, where the first scrolls were found, and Cave 3, where the *Copper Scroll* was found. Cave 11 was the last cave in which scrolls were discovered at Qumran. The textual finds from this cave include four fairly well-preserved scrolls, which were found in similar condition to that of the initial seven scrolls discovered in Cave 1 in 1947. These relatively complete scrolls from Cave 11 are: (1) *The Psalms Scroll* (11Q5), 3.89 m long, with 28 extant columns. This scroll contains 35 psalms from the last third of the biblical book of Psalms, together with eight additional psalms not found in the Masoretic Text. It was published by James A. Sanders.[3] (2) A scroll containing an Aramaic translation of the book of Job. There are 38 extant columns in this scroll, but in 28 of them the extant text is preserved only on circular fragments from the center of the scroll, which are not joined to one another. The eight final columns of the scroll are joined to one another, and their combined length is 1.10 meters. This scroll was first published by two Dutch scholars, Johannes van der Ploeg and Adam van der Woude.[4] Michael Sokoloff subsequently published a second edition,[5] and a third edition was published in the official DJD series.[6] (3) A copy of Leviticus in paleo-Hebrew script, approx. 1 meter long. Fourteen columns of this scroll have survived, containing twelve chapters of the book of Leviticus. This scroll was published by David Noel Freedman and Kenneth A. Mathews.[7] (4) Finally, the *Temple Scroll*,[7a] which is the subject of this survey.

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2 See, inter alia, Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Tel Aviv: Maariv, 1990), 41–69 (Hebrew).

3 James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a]),* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965; idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967).

4 See Johannes P. M. van der Ploeg and Adam S. van der Woude, *Le Targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumrân* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).

5 Michael Sokoloff, *The Targum of Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1974).

6 Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, "11QtargumJob," *Qumran Cave 11 II, 11Q2–18, 11Q20–30* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 79–180.

7 David Noel Freedman and Kenneth A. Mathews, *The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985).

7a [Throughout this article, the term *Temple Scroll* is used to refer both to the manuscript 11Q19 (11QT[a]) and to the composition preserved in this scroll. Fragments of additional manuscripts of this work have been found as well. See below, 197. The recent edition by Qimron is an eclectic version, which integrates readings from all the MSS: Elisha Qimron, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew Writings* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2010), 1:137–207.—*Eds.*]

Starting in 1960, Yadin was in contact with a Protestant priest named Joseph (Joe) Uhrig from Virginia, a host of a religious program on American television. Uhrig acted as a mediator between Yadin and the antiquities dealer, Khalil Iskander Shahin (known as "Kando"), who lived in Bethlehem. Uhrig and Kando offered Yadin the opportunity to purchase the scroll that is known today as the *Temple Scroll*.[8] In December 1961, Yadin paid the American minister $10,000 as an advance deposit toward its purchase, but he did not receive the scroll, and this deposit was not returned. On June 8, 1967, during the Six-Day War, the scroll was removed from a primitive hiding-place dug under the floorboards of Kando's Bethlehem home. Unfortunately, it suffered more damage over the eleven-year period of concealment in Bethlehem, than it had during the previous 1900 years when it was in Cave 11. Its entire upper portion had disintegrated. After negotiations lasting almost a year, the Israeli government decided to pay Kando $105,000 for the scroll. Later, due to the efforts of Moshe Dayan, Kando received an additional $20,000. The Wolfson Foundation reimbursed the State of Israel towards the acquisition costs.[9]

Immediately following the Six-Day War the *Temple Scroll* was opened by Dudu Shenhav, who was the director of the conservation laboratories at the Israel Museum. The scroll was found to contain 66 columns and, at 8.15 meters, it is the longest of the scrolls from Qumran. By way of comparison, note that the complete *Isaiah Scroll* from Cave 1, the only scroll close to the *Temple Scroll* in length, contains 54 columns and is 7.34 meters long.[10]

Ten years after his acquisition of the *Temple Scroll*, Yadin published a Hebrew edition of the text in three volumes;[11] six years later an English version followed.[12] Yadin characterized the first volume in his edition as an Introduction. It consists of eight chapters in which Yadin discusses the main novel contributions of the scroll.[13] The second volume presents the text of the scroll along with a comprehensive commentary, and the third volume provides photographs of each column accompanied by transcriptions. Yadin also wrote a popular book in English about the scroll, which was published posthumously just after his death, two years after the publication of the English edition.[14] The Hebrew

8 Yadin's popular book has a full account of this negotiation, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*, 8–39. For further details, see Hershel Shanks, "Intrigue and the Scroll," in idem, ed., *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Random House, 1992), 116–25.

9 Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*, 8–55.

10 Yadin, ibid., 57.

11 Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977) (Hebrew).

12 Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983).

13 I discuss these novel contributions below, in section 3.

14 Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*.

version of the popular book appeared five years later.[15] The popular book comprises a dozen chapters, which basically follow the content and order of the first volume of his scientific edition. In this article, I would like to survey some of the novel contributions of the *Temple Scroll* to scholarship, and the debates that it has generated among scholars in the thirty years that have passed since its publication. This topic cannot be exhausted in one article, as one can see from the extensive bibliography compiled by Florentino García Martínez, and appended to Elisha Qimron's 1996 edition of the scroll.[16] It lists over a dozen books and many hundreds of articles relating to various aspects of the *Temple Scroll*.[17] The topics covered in the current article are thus a subjective overview, covering the areas of research on the *Temple Scroll* that seem to me to be of primary importance.[18] The structure follows the order of Yadin's presentation of the *Temple Scroll* in the introductory volume of his scientific edition and in his popular book.

2. The Significance of the *Temple Scroll* and its Textual Witnesses

The *Temple Scroll* belongs to the literary genre of "Rewritten Bible." It re-writes the books of the Pentateuch other than Genesis. In this aspect, the relationship between Torah and the *Temple Scroll* can be compared to that between the book of Kings and the book of Chronicles.

Before we turn to a discussion of details pertaining to the scroll, I would like to make a general observation that I believe is very important, namely, that the publication of the *Temple Scroll* re-directed the focus of Qumran scholarship. Prior to its publication most Dead Sea Scrolls scholars focused on theological aspects of the contents of the scrolls. After the publication of the *Temple Scroll*, however, they turned to address the halakha that is reflected in the Qumran scrolls. Thus, if we want to summarize the developments in Qumran scholarship over the past thirty years, one of the most important changes in the history of the field is that more and more scholars deal with halakhic aspects of

15 Yigael Yadin, T*he Temple Scroll* (1990), 41–69 (Hebrew).

16 Elisha Qimron, *The Temple Scroll: A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (Beer Sheva: Ben-Gurion University, 1996).

17 Qimron, *The Temple Scroll*, 95–121. Note also the collection of articles on the *Temple Scroll*: George J. Brooke (ed.), *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December, 1987* (JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989).

18 For earlier surveys of scholarship on the *Temple Scroll*, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Temple Scroll After Thirty Years," *Qadmoniot* 30 (1997): 101–4 (Hebrew), and Florentino García Martínez, "The *Temple Scroll* and the *New Jerusalem*," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998–1999), 2:431–60; Sidnie White Crawford, *The Temple Scroll and Related Texts* (CQS 2; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000).

the scrolls. It may be said that the publication of the *Temple Scroll* in 1977, and the publication of six copies of *4QMMT Miqṣat Maʿasé ha-Torah* in 1994, completely changed the scholarly agenda of Qumran scholarship. It is because of the publication of these compositions that today it is obvious to all scholars that the Qumran Community was a group that was punctiliously strict about observing halakha in accordance with its interpretations of Torah laws.[19]

In all that pertains to the text of the scroll, it is important to note that all of the fragmentary texts that parallel the *Temple Scroll*, which Yadin used in preparing his edition, have been published in recent years. Two additional copies of the *Temple Scroll* were found in Cave 11. The text of the second copy is identical to that of the scroll published by Yadin. This scroll was copied by the same scribe who wrote the *Pesher Habakkuk* scroll found in Cave 1; it is written in a Hasmonean script and dated to the first half of the first century BCE.[20] Three fragments have been found of a scroll that appears to have been a third copy of the *Temple Scroll*.[21] One of these fragments deals with the prohibition of raising chickens in Jerusalem.[22]

Yadin proposed identifying two scrolls discovered in Cave 4 as additional copies of the *Temple Scroll*, but these were later determined to be earlier sources that were used by the author of the scroll. One of these scrolls, 4Q365, was published by Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White Crawford, who classified it as "Reworked Pentateuch."[23] This scroll is dated to c. 125–75 BCE on paleographic grounds. The fragment that is parallel to the *Temple Scroll*, which appears to be

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19 See Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The War of the Scrolls: Developments in Research on the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Cathedra* 61 (1991): 3–23 (Hebrew). [See now, idem, "The Many 'Battles of the Scrolls,'" in *Archaeology and Society in the 21st Century: The Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Case Studies* (eds. Neil A. Silberman and Ernst S. Frerichs; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, the Dorot Foundation, 2001), 188–210. —*Eds.*]; Yaakov Sussman, "The History of the Halakhah and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Observations on Miqsat Maʿase Ha-Torah (4QMMT)," *Tarbiz* 59 (1990): 11–76 (Hebrew). [An English translation, without the extensive annotation of the Hebrew original, was published as "Appendix I: The History of Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Observations on *Miqsat Ma'aśe ha-Torah* (4QMMT)," in *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma'aśe ha-Torah*, [ed. Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell; DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994], 179–200). —*Eds.*].

20 See DJD 23:364.

21 See DJD 23:357–414. There are reportedly additional fragments of this scroll (at least three) in private hands that indicate that it is in fact an additional copy of the *Temple Scroll*.

22 See Elisha Qimron, "Chickens in the Temple Scroll (11QT^{c})," *Tarbiz* 54.4 (1995): 473–76 (Hebrew). [In English, on this topic, see now, Jodi Magness, "Dogs and Chickens at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Contemporary Culture; Proceedings of the International Conference Held at the Israel Museum, Jerusalem (July 6–8, 2008)* (ed. Adolfo D. Roitman, Lawrence H. Schiffman, and Shani Tzoref; STDJ 93; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 349–62. —*Eds.*]

23 Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White [Crawford], "365. 4QReworked Pentateuch^{c}," in Harold Attridge et al., *Qumran Cave 4 VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 255–318.

part of 4Q365, was edited by Sidnie White Crawford.[24] The integration of this fragment within the *Reworked Pentateuch* scroll raises some important questions pertaining to the status of the *Temple Scroll*. If we suppose that the passage originated in the *Temple Scroll*, then its incorporation into 4Q365 would indicate that the *Temple Scroll* held "canonical" status, and was treated in the same way as Torah. It remains possible, however, that it was the author of the *Temple Scroll* who took this passage from 4Q365, it which case we would have evidence concerning the sources that were employed in the production of the *Temple Scroll*, rather than about its status. The second Cave 4 scroll that Yadin identified as a copy of the *Temple Scroll* was 4Q524. This scroll is dated to 150–125 BCE. The fragments of this scroll were published by Émile Puech, who believed that they preserved a much earlier version of the *Temple Scroll*.[25] Perhaps he is right. In any case, the text of this scroll differs from the *Temple Scroll*, and it is likely to have served as a source for the author of the *Temple Scroll*.

Five years after the publication of the English edition of the *Temple Scroll*, Michael Wise succeeded in reconstructing the end of col. 22 and the beginning of col. 23 of 11QT[a], on the basis of 4Q365.[26] In 1996, André Lemaire published a small fragment of col. 14 of 11QT[a], containing four lines (lines 13–16). This fragment is in a private collection in Jerusalem.[27] That same year, Elisha Qimron published a new edition of the *Temple Scroll*, with many new readings, made possible by the use of advanced photographic techniques developed after the publication of Yadin's volume. Qimron also changed the numbering of the lines in the scroll. In a series of seven articles that preceded this edition, Qimron suggested improved readings in many columns of 11QT[a], primarily on the basis of the remains of letters that could be deciphered in mirror writing on the reverse side of the scroll parchment.[28] Qimron did not publish the photographs that he used in preparing the edition; he expressed his intention to publish a future edition including these photographs,[29] but this has not yet appeared.

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24 Sidnie White [Crawford], "365a. 4QTemple?" DJD 13:319–33.

25 Émile Puech, *Qumran Cave 4 XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521–528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 85–114.

26 Michael O. Wise, "A New Manuscript Join in the Festival of Wood Offering (Temple Scroll XXIII)," *JNES* 47 (1988): 113–21.

27 André Lemaire, "Nouveaux fragments du *Rouleau du Temple* de Qumran," *RevQ* 17 (1996): 271–74. A dozen small fragments from cols. 2–3 of 11QT[a] have been reported to be located in the collection of Martin Schøyen in Norway. Information about these fragments can be found on the website of the collection [The current site is http://www.schoyencollection.com/; (accessed 8.18.2013) —*Eds.*]. These are tiny remains which cannot offer any new information, and it is not even certain that they are from the *Temple Scroll*.

28 These articles are listed in Qimron, *The Temple Scroll*, 104.

29 Qimron, *The Temple Scroll*, 4.

3. The Editing of the Scroll and its Major Topics

Much of the scholarly discussion of the *Temple Scroll* relates to the redactional principles and techniques employed by its editor. Yadin notes in the first chapter of his introductory volume that the *Temple Scroll* brings whole chapters from the Torah, emended grammatically to first person speech, so as to leave no doubt that it is God who spoke these words. The scroll sought to emphasize that these words were put into writing by Moses. This is evident in the wording of the command in 11QT[a] 44:5–6, "You shall all[ot] to the sons of Aaron your brother eight hundred and one hundred chambers." The editor of the scroll focused upon rewriting laws that appear in multiple locations in the Pentateuch. He incorporated biblical verses in almost every section of the scroll, bringing together different verses that dealt with the same laws. This required him to interpret the various excerpted texts in a coherent manner, eliminating inconsistencies and contradictions, employing an exegetical approach that scholars term "harmonistic editing."[30] By comparing the wording of the scroll to the biblical text, we can trace the editor's methods and learn what was important to him, what he emphasized, what he changed, and how he resolved the apparent contradictions between various laws found in the Torah.[31] Yadin began this work in his extensive commentary in the second volume of the critical edition.[32] Various scholars continued applying Yadin's approach to analyzing the work of the scribe who produced the *Temple Scroll*. Some even attempted to prove that the redactor of the scroll relied upon other sources besides the five books of the Torah, which occasionally reflected differing worldviews.[33] Of particular note among these scholars is Prof. Lawrence H. Schiffman of New York University, who has writ-

30 Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3–29; Esther Eshel, "4QDeut[n]: A Text That Has Undergone Harmonistic Editing," *HUCA* 62 (1991): 117–54. [See also, in this volume, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 257–80].

31 See the summary in Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*: *The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*, 68–78.

32 For a translation and additional commentary on the *Temple Scroll*, see Johann Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (JSOTSup 34; Sheffield: JSOT, 1985).

33 See, e.g., Andrew M. Wilson and Lawrence Wills, "Literary Sources of the Temple Scroll," *HTR* 75 (1982): 275–88; Michael O. Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990); Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (STDJ 14; Leiden: Brill, 1995); Magnus Riska, *The Temple Scroll and the Biblical Text Traditions* (Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society, 2001).

ten more than twenty articles on this aspect of the editorial approach of the redactor of the *Temple Scroll*.[34]

Columns 13–29 of the *Temple Scroll* concern festivals. As Yadin noted in the second chapter of his introduction, the biggest surprise in this section is that in addition to the festival of the first-fruit of wheat, which we know as Shavuot, the scroll also mentions festivals for the first-fruits of wine and of oil. The festival for the first-fruit of the vine was celebrated fifty days after the festival of the first-fruit of wheat, and the festival of the first-fruit of oil was celebrated another fifty days afterward.[35] Yadin noted correctly that the calendar underlying the *Temple Scroll* is the same 364-day solar calendar attested in the *Astronomical Book of Enoch* and in the book of *Jubilees*. In the Second Temple period, this calendar was visualized as a square composed of four sides of 90 days, with four additional days located at the corners of the square.[36] Since this calendar is attested in scrolls found at Qumran, Yadin maintained that this demonstrated that the author of the *Temple Scroll* was a member of the Qumran Community. Today, it is generally recognized that additional groups in Second Temple Judea followed a 364-day calendar, and that it was not exclusive to the Qumran Community. This is easily proven by the *Astronomical Book of Enoch*, which was composed by mid-third century BCE, long before the establishment of the Qumran Community.[37] Therefore, the fact that the author of the *Temple Scroll* followed this calendar cannot serve as evidence that this scribe was a member of the Qumran Community.

Columns 3–13 of the scroll contain commandments pertaining to the construction of the Temple and cols. 30–46 pertain to the Temple courtyards and offices. Yadin discussed these topics in the fourth chapter of the introductory volume. 11QT[a] 29:7–10 reads:

> And they shall be my people, and I will be theirs forever, and I will dwell with them for ever and ever. And I will consecrate my temple by my glory, (the temple) on which I will settle my glory, until the day of blessing on which I will create my temple and establish it for myself for all times, according to the covenant which I have made at Bethel.

According to this statement the Temple that is to be constructed on the basis of the commands in the *Temple Scroll* is not the final Temple. It is intended for the

34 These articles are listed in the bibliography in Qimron, *The Temple Scroll*, 95–122, passim.

35 Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*, 84–111.

36 On this calendar, see Jonathan Ben-Dov and Wayne Horowitz, "The 364-Day Year in Mesopotamia and Qumran," *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 3–26 (Hebrew). See also, Hanan Eshel, "When Were the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* Recited," *Meghillot* 4 (2006): 3–12 (Hebrew). [Engl. transl. in this volume, 170–82; see also, Fig. 11.1].

37 Ben-Dov and Horowitz, "The 364-Day Year," 9–11.

present, rather than the future, since the expectation was that God himself will build his Temple in the End of Days. Despite this apparently "temporary" nature of the Temple described in the scroll, a great deal of attention was devoted to its details. It is to have three square courtyards, enclosed by walls (in contrast to the two courtyards in the Second Temple, one of which was rectangular). Four gates are to be opened in the inner wall, in the middle of each of its four sides. Twelve gates are to be set in both the middle and the outer walls, named according to the twelve tribes of Israel.[38] Yadin's popular edition includes wonderful color reconstructions of the gates, stoa, and courts described in the scroll.[39] The dimensions of the Temple described in the scroll are enormous. Magen Broshi calculated that its area would be equivalent to the size of late Second Temple-era Jerusalem in its entirety, from today's Damascus Gate in the north to the Mount of Olives in the east. The construction of the complex would have required filling in the Kidron Valley with earth.[40] The primary contribution of the numerous scholarly attempts to reconstruct the Temple of the scroll has been the comparison of its descriptions, written in Hebrew, to the descriptions of the Aramaic composition called the *New Jerusalem* scroll, of which there are seven extant copies.[41]

Columns 46–49 of the *Temple Scroll* contain laws pertaining to Jerusalem, which Yadin discussed in the fifth chapter of his introductory volume.[42] The publication of 4QMMT in 1994 gave us an additional group of laws concerning Jerusalem.[43] The *Temple Scroll* laws include a reference to the "Hand" (היד)—public latrines that are to be set up "northwest of the city." Yadin associated this description with the details noted in Josephus' description of the first wall of Jerusalem in *War* 5.144–55. Josephus states there that the western corner the first wall started at the Hippicus Tower (at the site of today's "Tower of David"), and continued through Bethso (a term that apparently is to be interpreted as "house of excrement," *beth zo'ah*), and on to the Essene Gate, where the first wall turned southward. Yadin and others therefore identified the gate that was discovered

38 Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*, 112–69.

39 Yadin, ibid., 141–44.

40 Magen Broshi, "The Gigantic Dimensions of the Visionary Temple in the Temple Scroll," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Hershel Shanks; New York: Random House, 1992), 113–115.

41 See Lorenzo DiTommaso, *The Dead Sea New Jerusalem Text: Contents and Contexts* (TSAJ 110; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 2005); Avi Solomon, "The New Jerusalem Scroll from Qumran: A Critical Reconstructed Edition," (Ph.D. diss., Bar Ilan University, Ramat Gan, 2006) (Hebrew).

42 See the summary in Yadin's popular book, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*, 178–91.

43 See the summary and bibliography in Menahem Kister "Studies in 4QMMT and Its World: Law, Theology, Language and Calendar," *Tarbiz* 68 (1999): 317–71 (Hebrew).

during archaeological excavations at Mt. Zion as the Essene Gate.[44] Since Josephus (*War* 2.145–49) wrote that the Essenes carry a kind of hatchet that they use to cover their excrement (cf. Deut 23:13–14), Albert Baumgarten argued in 1996 that the author of the *Temple Scroll* and his Community are not to be identified as Essenes, as the *Temple Scroll* describes permanent latrines.[45] However, it is unlikely that it would have been possible in Second Temple Jerusalem—a densely inhabited city, built on natural bedrock—to dig a pit (which, in Jerusalem, would require quarrying) and then cover it after every act of defecation.[46]

Two other topics mentioned among the laws of Jerusalem in the *Temple Scroll* are the prohibition against eating non-sacrificial meat (בשר תאווה, "meat of desire," in rabbinic parlance) in Jerusalem, and the prohibition against engaging in sexual intercourse in Jerusalem. These two laws reflect an ideological inclination to extend the sanctity of the Temple to all of Jerusalem, and demonstrate that the author of the scroll did not make an effort to accommodate realistic residential life in the city. These laws thus seem to indicate that the author belonged to a group that had left Jerusalem and did not need to live according to the laws of the scroll.[47]

Columns 56–59 of the *Temple Scroll* are devoted to the Law of the King, discussed by Yadin in ch. 6 of his introductory volume. In this section, it is easy to detect the joining of separate units into a single code, apparently edited by the author of the scroll.[48] This code deals with: the organization of the army, the selection of the king's bodyguards, the judicial council that is required to work

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44 See Yigael Yadin, "The Gate of the Essenes and the Temple Scroll," in idem, *Jerusalem Revealed: Archaeology in the Holy City, 1968–1974* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1976), 90–91; idem, "The Essene Gate in Jerusalem and the Temple Scroll," *Qadmoniot 5* (1972): 129–30 (Hebrew).

45 Albert I. Baumgarten, "The Temple Scroll, Toilet Practices and the Essenes," *Jewish History* 10 (1996): 9–20. [*Eds.*: Baumgarten later extended this argument to apply to the community at Qumran as well, after permanent latrines were found at the site of Qumran. See the following note, and Albert J. Baumgarten, "Who Cares and Why Does It Matter? Qumran and the Essenes, Once Again!" *DSD* 11/2 (2004): 174–90.]

46 Note that two fixed latrines were found at Qumran as well. See Jodi Magness, "Two Notes on the Archaeology of Qumran," *BASOR* 312 (1998): 37–44.

47 These strict stipulations led Baruch Levine and Lawrence Schiffman to argue that the expression "City of the Sanctuary" (עיר המקדש) in the Scroll did not refer to Jerusalem but only to the site of the sanctuary—the Temple Mount. See Baruch A. Levine, "The Temple Scroll: Aspects of its Historical Provenance and Literary Character," *BASOR* 232 (1978): 5–23, at 14–17; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Exclusion from the Sanctuary and the City of the Sanctuary in the Temple Scroll," *Hebrew Annual Review* 9 (1985): 301–20. However, Yadin's conclusion that the term refers to the entire city of Jerusalem is more convincing. See Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:277–84. So, too, Jacob Milgrom, "The City of the Temple," *JQR* 85 (1994): 125–28.

48 On the different perspectives reflected in the Law of the King in the *Temple Scroll*, see the important discussion of Yoav Barzilay, "The Law of the King in the Temple Scroll: Its Original Characteristics and Later Redaction," *Tarbiz* 72/1–2 (2003): 59–84 (Hebrew).

alongside the king, the prohibition against his taking more than one wife, the laws of spoils of war, and laws pertaining to discretionary wars. Yadin suggested that the details concerning the royal bodyguards hint that the work was composed in the Hasmonean period, since they include the following:

> and he shall choose from them one thousand, one thousand from each tribe, to be with him, twelve thousand mighty men, who will not leave him alone, lest he be taken by the hands of the nations. And all the approved whom he will choose shall be men of truth, God-fearing, hating unjust gain and mighty men of war, and they shall always be with him, day and night. They shall guard him from every sinful thing and from a foreign people, lest he be taken by them (11QT[a] 57:5–11)

Yadin pointed to historical events during Hasmonean rule in which Hasmonean rulers were captured by Gentiles, or narrowly escaped such capture: Jonathan the son of Matathias was captured by Tryphon in Acre in 153 BCE, and Alexander Jannaeus nearly fell into the hands of the Nabatean king Obodas in a battle near the Yarmuk in 96 BCE.[49]

In the seventh chapter of his introductory volume, Yadin discusses the law concerning the execution by hanging of men who "went bearing tales against their people" and who "handed over their people to foreign Gentiles" (11QT[a] 46:9–13). Yadin associated this law with a passage in the *Pesher Nahum* Scroll from Cave 4, which states that the "Lion of Wrath"—to be identified as Alexander Jannaeus—executed his opponents, who had summoned Demetrius III in 88 BCE to invade the land of Israel, by "hanging them alive upon a tree." Yadin argued that Jannaeus acted in accordance with the law as it is recorded in the *Temple Scroll*. He therefore suggested restoring the text of *Pesher Nahum* in a way that was not critical of the "Lion of Wrath."[50] His proposal is difficult, however, since the expression כי לתלוי חי יקרא in *Pesher Nahum* is an allusion to Deut 21:23, "for accursed of God is the one hanged" (כי קללת אלהים תלוי). If Yadin's analysis were correct and *Pesher Nahum* did not intend any criticism against the "Lion of Wrath," there would be no reason to allude to this verse. It is therefore preferable to accept the dominant view among Qumran scholars, who reject Yadin's proposal that Jannaeus acted in accordance with ancient halakha as recorded in the *Temple Scroll*. These scholars distinguish between "hanging" in the *Temple Scroll* and "hanging alive" in *Pesher Nahum*, arguing that the expression to "hang men alive" denotes crucifixion. Crucifixion was a form of execution that did not allow for removing the corpses from the cross at sunset (as stipulated in Deut 21:23)—often, the victims of crucifixion would survive on the cross for days before submitting to death. Most likely, the members of the Qum-

49 Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*, 192–217.

50 Yigael Yadin, "Pesher Nahum (4Q pNahum) Reconsidered," *IEJ* 21 (1971): 1–12.

ran Community believed that Jannaeus was justified in executing the men who summoned Demetrius to invade Judea, but that it he was prohibited to crucify them. Since he chose to execute them by crucifixion, he could not remove them "from the tree" before sunset as required by Deuteronomy.[51]

4. The Status of the *Temple Scroll*, and the Categorization of the Manuscripts Discovered at Qumran

In the eighth and final chapter of his introduction, Yadin discusses the dating of the scroll and its status. 11QTemple Scroll[a] was copied by a single scribe, except for the first sheet of the scroll, which apparently wore out in antiquity and was replaced with a new sheet copied by a different scribe. The manuscript produced by these two scribes is dated paleographically to the Herodian period. Since one of the manuscripts from Cave 4 identified by Yadin as a copy of the *Temple Scroll* is dated to the end of the second century BCE, Yadin determined that the *Temple Scroll* was composed before 100 BCE, and his view was accepted by most scholars. If, however, we adopt the view that the scrolls from Cave 4 are not copies of the *Temple Scroll* but only sources that lay before the author of the *Temple Scroll*, we could theoretically suggest a later date for the composition.[52] Yadin attempted to determine the date of composition (as distinguished from the date when these particular manuscripts were physically copied) on the basis of allusions in the scroll to events in the rule of John Hyrcanus I, son of Simon the Hasmonean (who reigned from 135 to 104 BCE), but the allusions he identified are not conclusive.

As for the status of the scroll, Yadin identified the *Temple Scroll* as the "Book of Meditation" (ספר ההגו) mentioned in some of the Qumran scrolls, and also as "[the statute] and the law" (והתורה [החוק]) sent by the Teacher of Righteousness to the Wicked Priest, according to the pesher to Psalm 37 in *4QPesher Psalms*[a] (4Q171). This pesher states that the Wicked Priest attempted to attack the Teacher of Righteousness because of "[the law] and the statute" that the Teacher of Righteousness sent to the Wicked Priest.[53] In 1994, however, six copies of the composition known as *Miqṣat Maʿasé ha-Torah* (4QMMT) were pub-

51 For a thorough bibliography on the topic of the connection between the *Temple Scroll* and *Pesher Nahum*, see Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 117–31.

52 For such attempts, see Ernest-Marie Laperrousaz, "Does the Temple Scroll Date from the First or Second Century BCE?" in Brooke (ed.), *Temple Scroll Studies*, 91–97; Barbara Thiering, "The Date of Composition of the Temple Scroll," in Brooke (ed.), *Temple Scroll Studies*, 99–120.

53 For a survey of these opinons, see Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect*, 218–32.

lished. This work is framed as a halakhic letter, written in first person plural to a singular second person addressee. Following its publication, most scholars are of the opinion that 4QMMT is the letter that the Teacher of Righteousness sent to the Wicked Priest.[54] Therefore Yadin's proposal that the Teacher of Righteousness composed the *Temple Scroll* is not accepted in current scholarship. Moreover, if the Teacher of Righteousness were indeed the author of the *Temple Scroll*, and if the scroll really had a very high (near-canonical) status among the Qumran Community, as Yadin believed, then we would need to answer the question: Why did the composition survive in only three copies, and all of these from Cave 11? Why is it that no copy of the *Temple Scroll* has been positively identified among the 600 scrolls discovered in Cave 4 (if we discount the two fragments that probably served as sources for the *Temple Scroll*, 4Q365a and 4Q524)?[55]

At a 1987 conference marking the fortieth anniversary of the scrolls' discovery, Hartmut Stegemann presented a lecture at the Israel Museum in which he attempted to demonstrate that the *Temple Scroll* differs from all the other scrolls found at Qumran in its positive attitude to the Temple, the king, and the priesthood.[56] Stegemann therefore proposed that the *Temple Scroll* was not written by a scribe who belonged to the Qumran Community.[57] He dated the scroll to the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, i. e., to the mid-fifth century BCE. This claim—which Stegemann also published in popular articles, where he termed the *Temple Scroll* the "sixth book of the Torah"[58]—naturally stirred up a storm

54 Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:115–16; Hanan Eshel,"The Teacher of Righteousness and 4QMMT: The Question of the Sectarian Approach to the Religious Composition of *Miqṣat Maʿasé ha-Torah*," in *A Light for Jacob: Studies in the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls, in Memory of Jacob Shalom Licht* (ed. Yair Hoffman and Frank H. Polak (Jerusalem, Bialik Institute), 201–10 (Hebrew).

55 Ben Zion Wacholder accepted most of Yadin's assumptions and sought to answer this question by emphasizing the importance of the four fragmentary copies of the *Temple Scroll* that Yadin identified at Qumran (the two fragmentary scrolls found in Cave 11 and the two scrolls from Cave 4). See Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Fragmentary Remains of 11QTorah (Temple Scroll)," *HUCA* 62 (1991): 1–116. However, as stated previously, only one of the Cave 11 manuscripts is certainly a copy of the *Temple Scroll*. The other three scrolls do preserve texts that are similar to the *Temple Scroll*, but they are most likely sources that were used by the author of the *Temple Scroll*, rather than copies of the work itself.

56 Hartmut Stegemann, "The Institutions of Israel in the Temple Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Forty Years of Research* (ed. Devorah Dimant and Uriel Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 156–85.

57 See also, Hartmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and its Status at Qumran" in Brooke (ed.), *Temple Scroll Studies*, 123–48.

58 Hartmut Stegemann, "Is the Temple Scroll a Sixth Book of the Torah—Lost for 2500 years?" in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Hershel Shanks; NY: Random House, 1992), 126– 36.

of controversy. Whereas most scholars date the composition of the *Temple Scroll* to c. 135 BCE, Stegemann proposed dating it to c. 450 BCE. In the history of Qumran scrolls scholarship, no controversy concerning the dating of any text has come anywhere near the proportions of this one.

It is important to distinguish between two separate matters in this controversy: (1) the *Temple Scroll*'s date of composition and (2) its authorship: was the *Temple Scroll* authored by a scribe who belonged to the Qumran Community? Concerning the first issue, most scholars rightly follow Yadin and date the composition to the latter half of the second century BCE, since the scroll includes many details that reflect the architectural reality of the Hellenistic period.[59] On the second question, it seems to me that we should accept Stegemann's view and conclude that the scroll was not written by a scribe from among the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness, since it reflects a worldview that differs from the Community's ideological stance with regard to king, priesthood, and Temple. Even though it seems most likely that the *Temple Scroll* was not authored by a member of the Qumran Community, it must be emphasized that from the perspective of halakha, there is great similarity between laws in the *Temple Scroll* and laws of the sectarian compositions composed by the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness (such as the *Damascus Document*).[60]

I would like to suggest that we ought to divide the scrolls found at Qumran into three categories, rather than following the currently accepted division into just two categories of "sectarian" and "non-sectarian,"[61] a more accurate division, which I would like to see adopted, is: (1) Scrolls composed by the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness; (2) "Sectarian scrolls," in which the 364-day solar calendar is attested, but not the special terminology found in the works in

59 See the works cited in Broshi, "The Gigantic Dimensions," and the works cited in n. 41 above.

60 For an example of a law in which we can discern halakhic differences between the *Temple Scroll* and the *Damascus Document*, see Hanan Eshel, "CD 12:15–17 and the Stone Vessels Found at Qumran," *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon and Avital Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 45–52. [Repr. in this volume 61–68. On the similarity between laws in the *Temple Scroll* and CD see, inter alia, Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:398.—*Eds.*].

61 See Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman and Devorah Dimant; STDJ 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23–58. In the second group, which I suggest identifying as "sectarian" scrolls, but not necessarily written by groups within the Qumran Community, I would place compositions that feature the strict priestly halakha, and the use of the 364-day calendar, but do not use the special terminology that characterizes the writings of the Community. These compositions are: the *Enoch* literature, *Jubilees*, *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Testament of Naphtali*, *Testament of Qahat*, *Testament of Amram*, the *Temple Scroll*, and the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*.

group 1; and (3) Non-sectarian scrolls.[62] In my opinion, the *Temple Scroll* belongs to the second group.

Yadin opened his critical edition of the *Temple Scroll* with a motto, quoting the Mishnah "It is not your responsibility to finish the work, but neither are you free to desist from it" (*m. Avot* 2:16). This was a most beautiful and apt motto for the first edition of the *Temple Scroll*. It is our good fortune that the scroll was preserved so well,[63] and it was the good fortune of the scroll that it reached the hands of Yigael Yadin. This serendipity has enabled all of us to benefit from the most magnificent of all the editions of the Qumran scrolls. We may hope that the intensive ongoing study of the Qumran corpus, and of the *Temple Scroll* in particular, will enable us to continue to learn further details from and about this fascinating scroll.

62 Devorah Dimant has also hinted at the potential usefulness of such a division. See Devorah Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4 XXI: Parabiblical Texts 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001), 110–12.

63 This observation does not offer consolation, however, for the significant damage sustained by the scroll during the eleven years in which it was concealed under the floorboards in Kando's home in Bethlehem.

Chapter 14: Alphabetical Acrostics in Pre-Tannaitic Hebrew*

The preliminaries in section 1 will be followed by a section 2 in which an observation of Hanan Eshel will be developed further in order to demonstrate that 4QPs[f] cols. 9–10, hitherto published as an *Eschatological Hymn* followed by an *Apostrophe to Judah* (i. e., a text presented erroneously under distinct titles as two distinct Psalms), in fact contains the remains of only one alphabetical acrostic which once contained a complete alphabet. After that, section 3 will offer further notes on the *Apostrophe to Zion* that is found both in 11QPs[a] and in 4QPs[f], and in section 4, our last section, following an observation of John Strugnell, we will venture a hypothesis that could remove some of the well-known formal defects presented by the alphabetical acrostic(s) in Psalms 9 and 10.

1. Preliminaries: Analyses of the Alphabetical Acrostics

In these preliminaries we will confine our remarks to specimens of the category of the alphabetical acrostic poem as it is strictly defined, be they complete or incomplete specimens, flawless or quite corrupt. We will try as much as possible to use consistently each of the descriptions of acrostic units, such as a "hemistich" (of two to five accents), a "monostich" or "stichos" (equivalent to two hemistichs), and a "distich." We will try to avoid confusion with different terms such as "semicola," "cola," and "bicola."

Let us then start with an analysis of all the examples commonly recognized of pre-Tannaitic Hebrew alphabetical acrostics, that is, those Hebrew alphabetical acrostics earlier than 70 CE, whether complete or incomplete, that still follow a strict definition. We avoid identifying as alphabetical acrostics other poetic "paragraphs" which may be twenty-two or twenty-three monostichs long but are neither alphabetical nor acrostical. It is also just possible that one or more complete or partial alphabetical acrostics still lurk in Sirach at points where the Hebrew text has not yet been discovered and only the versions are known. The acrostic is also used in the poetry of other cultures to convey information cryptically (e.g., claims of authorship in a *sphragis*); however, at least in early Hebrew poetry, this practice is not found.

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* [*Ed. note*: This article, co-authored with John Strugnell, was originally published in *CBQ* 62 (2000): 441–58].

A sequenced pair of monostichs beginning with two of the twenty-two letters of the alphabet in their correct alphabetically acrostical order can easily occur. Such a sequence could occur accidentally (i. e., not intentionally) once in each group of twenty-one pairs of lines. As the sequences grow longer, however, the statistical improbability of such a sequence's occurring accidentally grows in geometrical proportion to the number of lines. A sequence of three such lines beginning with letters in alphabetical order would occur only once in every 441 lines (perhaps accidentally), and such a sequence with four such lines would occur only once in every 9,261 lines (hardly by accident). A sequence with five such lines in alphabetical order would occur only once in every 194,681 lines (scarcely accidentally), and a correct sequence of six such lines would occur accidentally even less often (only once in 4,94,101 lines).

As for partial alphabetical acrostic sequences, the correct sequence of three or four letters (כ), ל, מ, and נ in Song of Songs 4:7–11 could perhaps have occurred accidentally (though cf. the discussion in section 4), but the chances that the sequence of eleven acrostical monostichs כ-א in Nah 1:2–8 occurred in alphabetical order unintentionally would be infinitesimal.

Below, in table 1, we indicate for each alphabetical acrostic the departures from the norm that are found in such psalms. In this table, col. A indicates differences from the regular length of a psalm (e.g., if it contains just ל-א or if it attests an abnormal but not infrequent order of the alphabet such as נ, ע, ס instead of נ, ס, ע); col. B then presents a metrical analysis showing how consistent the pattern of the lines is in each psalm, and col. C indicates whether formal irregularities can, or should, be healed easily and plausibly by conjecture. Of course, in col. C the readings which call for conjectural emendation could have been as easily presented as correct and original readings, which were permissible departures from strict regularity of form—*chacun à son goût.*

Table 1 *Alphabetical Acrostics in Hebrew Literature*

Text	A. Extent of Acrostics	B. Metrical Analysis	C. Irregularities
Nahum 1:2–8	כ-א; note the half alphabet	All verses monostichs	Additional nonalphabetic material in vv. 2c–3b (ז slightly corrupt)
Psalms 9–10	ת-א, in the order ל, מ, נ, ס, ע, פ,	All verses distichs except ד, י, and כ	In Psalm 9: a distich to be added for ד and a monostich after י (and ל?); a third monostich to be deleted after כ. In Psalm 10:2–6: מ, נ, ס acrostics confused but easily restored (e.g., by reading the minimal corrections of BHS, מהלל, נאץ, and סרים); צדיק to be added in 10:10

Text	A. Extent of Acrostics	B. Metrical Analysis	C. Irregularities
Psalm 25	א–ת, with an additional final monostich	All verses monostichs	A hemistich lost in the ו verse; an extra (superfluous?) monostich at ח; the required ק word missing in v. 18
Psalm 34	א–ת, with an additional final monostich	All verses monostichs	The ו monostich now lost; the ע stich formerly perhaps after the פ stich
Psalm 37	א–ת	All verses distichs; in v. 40, a third hemistich *extra metrum*	One of the three monostichs at ח to be deleted; parts of כ to be lengthened (?); hemistich to be added at ד; part of v. 25 (the נ verse) to be removed; first monostichs of the ע (and ק?) distichs perhaps defective
Psalm 111	א–ת	All verses hemistichs	
Psalm 112	א–ת	All verses hemistichs	
Psalm 119	א–ת	Same letter beginning every line of each eight-line stanza, or octave, the order of the octaves being the alphabetic order of their initial letters; all verses monostichs (but cf. the tripartite monostichs in vv. 43 and 48)	
Psalm 145	א–ת	All verses monostichs, with a phrase added *extra metrum* after the last line	The נ monostich lost in MT but surviving, or conjecturally restored, in 11QPs[a] (and in LXX and Peshitta)[a]
Prov 31:10–31	א–ת, with a better order (פ–ע) in LXX	All verses monostichs (sometimes tripartite)	

Text	A. Extent of Acrostics	B. Metrical Analysis	C. Irregularities
Lamentations 1	א–ת	Triplets in *qînâ* lines, first letters in the triplets making up the complete alphabet	A hemistich lost from the second monostich of the ק triplet (v. 19)
Lamentations 2	א–ת (N.B., order originally נ, ס, פ, ע, צ)[b]	*Qînâ* lines, with the same stanzaic and alphabetic arrangement as in Lamentations 1	A surplus monostich to be deleted from v. 19
Lamentations 3	א–ת (N.B., order originally נ, ס, פ, ע, צ)	*Qînâ* lines and stanzas as in Lamentations 2, but with the appropriate acrostic letter repeated here in each line of its stanza	V. 13 defective (?); v. 56 too long
Lamentations 4	א–ת (N.B., order originally נ, ס, פ, ע, צ)	Pairs of *qînâ* lines, each pair beginning with the letter required by alphabetic order	V. 14 defective (?)
Sirach 51:13–30 (cf. the earlier version of the beginning of this text in 11QPs[a])	א–כ–[ל–ש]–ת with extra ת monostich at the end	All verses monostichs	א confused; ז too long[c]
Psalm 155 Syriac (*quondam* Syr. Apoc. Ps. 3);[d] for its better Hebrew form, cf. 11QPs[a] 24:3–17	א–פ only; צ–ת missing in all Syriac MSS, and no room for them in the ca. nine-line lacuna in 11QPs[a] between 24:17 and 25:1	Usually monostichs, but with confusion in the lines from א to ד, some now being only hemistichs	A superfluous hemistich accompanying the מ monostich; restoration of the א line possible by reading either אליכה קראתי יהוה or אדוני קראתי אליכה instead of the יהוה קראתי אליכה of 11QPs[a] (and Psalm 155 Syr)[e]

Text	A. Extent of Acrostics	B. Metrical Analysis	C. Irregularities
Apostrophe to Zion (11QPs[a] 22:1–15 = 4QPs[f] cols. 7–8 and 11QPs[b] frag. 6; see section 3 below)	א–ת	Usually monostichs, but ש, ה, ו, ה, ב and ת lines hemistichs in all MSS	
The piece formerly entitled *Eschatological Hymn* (4QPs[f] col. 9), forming one acrostic with the so-called *Apostrophe to Judah* (4QPs[f] col. 10; see section 2 below)	י, כ, ל, מ, נ, פ, ע, ק(?), צ(?), ר, ש, ת	י–מ hemistichs; ע–נ monostichs (?); ר–ת certainly distichs; unclear whether the lines at the end are hemistichs or monostichs, because of lacunae and possible omissions of several lines	הללויה *extra metrum*

[a] See *b. Ber.* 4b. In 11QPs[a] 17:2–3, נאמן אלוהים בדבריו וחסיד בכל מעשיו is the נ verse of Psalm 145. This reading is supported by the LXX, by other translations, and by one of the Hebrew MSS of the MT. See James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11* (11QPs[a]) (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 38; Yehoyada ʿamir, "An End-note to a Lost Verse," *Beth Mikra* 38 (1993): 80–82 (Hebrew); Reuven Kimelman, "Psalm 145: Theme, Structure, and Impact," *JBL* 113 (1994): 49–50.

[b] On the order ע–פ or פ–ע in alphabetic inscriptions of Iron Age II, see Émile Puech, "Deir ʻAlla et l'école' de Kuntillat ʻAjrud," in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 363.

[c] In 1882, before the Hebrew text was known, Gustav Bickell ("Ein alphabetisches Lied Jesus Sirachs," *ZKT* 6 [1882]: 326–30), on the basis of the LXX, conjectured the existence of a Hebrew alphabetical acrostic here. The alphabetic structure of Sir 51:13 is clear in 11QPs[a] 21:11–17 but is not as well preserved in MS B from the Cairo Genizah. See *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance, and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language; Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language and Shrine of the Book, 1973), 66–67 (Hebrew). On the nature of the theological development in the recensions of this hymn, see Takamitsu Muraoka, "Sir 51:13–30: An Erotic Hymn to Wisdom?" *JJS* 10 (1979): 166–78.

[d] *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version* 4/6 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 9–10 of the part "Apocryphal Psalms" (ed. Willem Baars).

[e] In 1930, before the Hebrew text was known, Martin Noth ("Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen," *ZAW* 48 [1930]: 1–23) conjectured from the Syriac the existence of a Hebrew alphabetical acrostic here.

2. Parts of an Alphabetic Eschatological Hymn from Qumran

In 4QPs^{f} (4Q88) there are both biblical and apocryphal psalms. The fragments now grouped as parts of 4QPs^{f} were initially divided between Jean Starcky, who was responsible for the Apocryphal Psalms in this manuscript, and Patrick W. Skehan, who worked on the biblical psalms. After 11QPs^{a} with both its biblical and apocryphal psalms had been published in 1965,[1] John Strugnell identified Starcky's group of nonbiblical fragments as a group which also belonged to the Psalter, 4QPs^{f}. In 1966 Starcky published these apocryphal psalms from 4QPs^{f},[2] and the complete scroll was recently published from Skehan's notes by Eugene Ulrich and Peter W. Flint.[3] Thus, 4QPs^{f} contains parts of Psalm 22, Psalm 107, and Psalm 109, together with the *Apostrophe to Zion* and other nonbiblical material which Starcky had called an *Eschatological Hymn* (col. 9) and an *Apostrophe to Judah* (col. 10).[4] After thirty-five years we would like to make a somewhat tardy suggestion: that the *Eschatological Hymn* and the *Apostrophe to Judah* are in fact parts of one and the same alphabetical acrostic. Columns 9 and 10 of 4QPs^{f} read as follows:[5]

A. The Text of 4QPs^{f} Column 9

1. כי [...]
2. מל[...]
3. [...]..[...]..
4. רבים [...] **י**הללו אתֹ
5. שם יהוה[**כ**]י בא לשפט אתֹ
6. כל מעֹ[ש]ה **ל**השבית רשעים
7. מן הארצ[**מ**]עשי[עֹולה לוא
8. ימצאו [**נ**]תנו שֹמֹ[י]ם טלם

1 Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs^{a})* (DJD 4).

2 Jean Starcky, "Psaumes apocryphes de la grotte 4 de Qumrân (4QPs^{f} vii-x)," *RB* 73 (1966): 353-71 with pl. 13.

3 Patrich W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Peter W. Flint, "A Scroll Containing 'Biblical' and 'Apocryphal' Psalms: A Preliminary Edition of 4QPs^{f} (4Q88)," *CBQ* (1998): 267-82.

4 Skehan's identification of an *Eschatological Hymn* in col. 9 and an *Apostrophe to Judah* in col. 10 was followed in James A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), 144 (see also 123); Peter W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 35; Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (NY: Harper, 1996), 198–99; Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (NY: Penguin, 1997), 308-9; James A. Sanders, James H. Charlesworth, and Henry W. L. Rietz ("Non-Masoretic Psalms," in PTSDSSP 4a [Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997], 206–11; and Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint, "Scroll Containing 'Biblical' and 'Apocryphal' Psalms," 281–82.

5 We print the text as the lines stand in the manuscript but set the first letter of each alphabetical acrostic in a larger size, so that the verse structure can easily be recognized.

9. ואין שדפ[ון בג]בוליהם הארץ
10. [6]**פ**ריה [תתן] בעתה ולוא
11. תכחש [תבו]אותיה **ע**צי
12. פרי בֹּתֹ[נ]וֹבתם ולוא
13. יכח[שו זי]תיה יוכלו
14. ענוים וישבעוֹ **ק**ראי יהוה
15. [יח]ל[פו כח] ל[...]

B. The Text of 4QPs^{f} Column 10

4. [...]שה
5. [...]הם אז יהלֹ[ו שמים וארץ
6. יחד יהללו <נא> כל כוכבי נשף
7. **ש**מחה יהודה שמחתכה
8. שמחֹה שמחתכה וגילה גילך
9. חג חגיך נדרֹ[יך שלם כי אין
10. בקרֹבך בֹ[ליעל **ת**רם ידך
11. תגבֹ[ר ימינֹ[ך הנא אואבים
12. יובדו ויֹתֹ[פרֹ]דו כול פועלי
13. און ואתה יהוה לעוֹ[ל]ם
14. תהיה כבוֹ[דכה לעוֹ[ל]ם וע]ד
15. [ה]ללויה

The reconstruction נתנו (instead of יתנו) in 9:8 uses the 3rd person plural *qātĕlû* form as a jussive; this can be supported by, for example, נכרתו in the ט and ס verses of the *Apostrophe to Zion* (see section 3 below). The supplement בת[נ]ובתם in 9:12 is based on Isa 27:6, ומלאו פני תבל תנובה, and on Ezek 36:30, והרביתי את פרי העץ ותנובת השדה. The reconstruction with תיה[זי] in 9:13 is based on Hab 3:17, כחש מעשה זית and the tentative one with [יח]ל[פו כח] in 9:15 could be based on Isa 40:31, וקוי יהוה יחליפו כח (?) and Isa 41:1, ולאמים יחליפו כח.

According to our understanding, those two columns are parts of a single alphabetical acrostic poem. The beginning of the acrostic (letters א to ט) is missing in the lacuna from the end of col. 8 to the beginning of col. 9. The first surviving part of the acrostic (the letters י, כ, ל, מ, נ, פ, ע and ק, with ס omitted) can be found in col. 9. The acrostic letters צ and ר are probably missing; they would perhaps have been written in the lacuna between the end of col. 9 and the beginning of the text in col. 10. Their order is easy to explain.[7] After the lacuna, the concluding letters of the acrostic (ש to ת) can easily be discerned in col. 10.

In the light of what remains of an alphabetic acrostic, a ס monostich is probably missing between the נ monostich and the ע–פ monostichs, perhaps also a צ verse before קראי. This should not surprise us, since in many alphabetical acrostics

6 Might it not be assumed that the original פ verse was פריה הארץ תתן בעתו?

7 That the next hemistichs (צ and ק) were צדיקים יוכלו וישבעו and קראי יהוה יחליפו כח can be assumed.

the loss of one or two lines has occurred through a similar accident (see table 1). Metrically, the acrostic seems to have been composed of hemistichs ([-א] מ-י) of monostichs (נ, פ, ע), and of distichs ([ר]-ש, ת). Note the consistent use of the 2nd sing. fem. verb and the suffix ך– as in the *Apostrophe to Zion* but here referring to ארץ ("earth," "land") or to Judah.

On the basis of Skehan's translation,[8] but with modifications, and with the lines rearranged so that the acrostic pattern appears clearly, we may now translate the preserved parts of this single alphabetical acrostic (composed of the so-called *Eschatological Hymn* followed by the *Apostrophe to Judah*).

C. Translation of 4QPs^f Column 9

ט. …many…
י. **L**et them praise the name of the Lord,
כ. **F**or he comes to judge every deed,
ל. **T**o extirpate the wicked from the earth.
מ. **D**eeds of iniquity will nowhere be found.
נ. **L**et the heavens **G**ive their dew,
and let there be no **S**corching drought within their borders.
פ. Its **F**ruit the earth will give in its (?) right seasons
and will not fail in its produce.
ע. The **F**ruit trees (will not fail) with their produce
and (the trees) will not fail in their olives.
צ (?). *The righteous* will eat and be filled.
ק (?). *Those who call* upon the Lord will gain strength.

D. Translation of 4QPs^f Column 10

ר. (?) …
Then the heavens and earth will give praise in unison;
all the stars of the twilight will praise (in unison).
ש. **R**ejoice, Judah in your joy.
Rejoice in your joy and dance in your dance.
Celebrate your feasts, fulfill your vows,
for there is in your midst no scoundrel.
ת. **L**et your hand be exalted, may your hand prevail.
Behold, let the enemy perish, and let all evildoers be scattered.
But you, Lord, will be forever.
Your glory forever and ever.
Praise the Lord.

8 Skehan, Ulrich, and Flint, "A Scroll Containing 'Biblical' and 'Apocryphal' Psalms," 281–82.

3. The Apostrophe to Zion

Three scrolls from Qumran (11QPs[a], 11QPs[b], and 4QPs[f]) contain biblical psalms together with psalms that are not biblical.[9] The *Apostrophe to Zion* appears in all three of these scrolls. The best-preserved version of this hymn is the one in the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a] 22:1–15),[10] and the next best text is found in cols. 7 and 8 of 4QPs[f]. Recently another small fragment of the *Apostrophe to Zion* was identified in a second copy of the Book of Psalms from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[b]).[11]

The following text of the *Apostrophe to Zion* is that of the *Psalms Scroll* from Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a]). In the apparatus here the variants of 4QPs[f] can be found. (In the only fragment of the *Apostrophe to Zion* in 11QPs[b] there are no variants). Our reading and understanding of this hymn differ in several points from those proposed by James A. Sanders. Because of the similarity of the א verse to the פ verse, we think that the second hemistich here (… בכול) belonged to the א monostich, not to the ב one. In the ג monostich, we would like to move ושלום from the second hemistich to the first, and to understand it phonetically as equivalent to בשלום "in [or] for prosperity."[12] (Perhaps there is another possibility, to compare ושלום here with 2 Kgs 4:23 and Job 5:24 and to understand it as "and all will be well.") In the כ-verse, it is paleographically easy to read תמיד, "always," "all the time" instead of תמיך "your perfect ones." Superscript letters in the following text refer to the variants in 4QPs[f] listed afterwards.

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9 Some scholars (Sanders, Charlesworth, and Rietz, "Non-Masoretic Psalms," 155) speak of four such scrolls, but 11QPsAp[a] (11Q11) does not belong to this group, and it is not an interpolated biblical manuscript. It is merely a collection of songs composed for expelling demons, and in such a collection Psalm 91 only would appropriately be included.

10 Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 85–89.

11 See Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J.C. Tigchelaar, and A.S. van der Woude, (eds.), *Qumran Cave 11,* Vol. 2*, 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 44–45.

12 For the possibility of such a phonetic confusion of ו and ב note the following examples. In 1QS 6:23, we read עצתו ליחד ומשפטו (!) ויהי, which seems to reflect ליחד במשפטו. In the *Copper Scroll* (3Q15), the phrase בתכן אצלם/ו appears four times (5:7; 11:1, 9, 12), but in 11:4 ותכן was written instead of בתכן; see Milik, in Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux (eds.), *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 289, 296–97; and John M. Allegro, *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960) 134 n. 3. In 4QpNah 3–4 ii 4, we find וכשלו וגויתם instead of בגויתם but the pesher in line 6 has בגויתם; see Maurya P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979), 183 (גויה there meaning "moral or bodily defects," as in 4Q415 11:5). In 4Q418 9:7, we read אל תתאו in a pun on אביון; see Ben Zion Wacholder and Martin G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls* (4 vols.; Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991), 2:81.

A. The Text of the Apostrophe to Zion (11QPs[a] 22:1–5)

אזכירך לברכה ציון	בכול מודי אני אהבתיך
ברוך לעולמים זכרך	
גדולה תקותך ציון ושלום	ותוחלת ישועתך לבוא
דור ודור ידורו בך	ודורות חסידים תפארתך
המתאוים ליום ישעך	
וישישו ברוב כבודך	
זיז כבודך יינקו	וברחובות תפארתך יעכסו
חסדי נביאיך תזכורי	ובמעשי חסידיך תתפארי
טהר חמס מגוך	שקר ועול נכרתו ממך
יגילו בניך בקרבך	וידידיך אליך נלוו
כמה קוו לישועתך	ויתאבלו עליך תמיך
לוא תובד תקותך ציון	ולוא תשכח תוחלתך
מי זה אבד צדק	או מי זה[a] מלט בעולו
נבחן אדם כדרכו	איש[b] כמעשיו ישתלם
סביב נכרתו צריך ציון	ויתפזרו[c] כול משנאיך[d]
ערבה באף תשבחתך ציון	מעלה לכול[e] תבל
פעמים רבות אזכירך[f] לברכה	בכול לבבי אברכך[g]
צדק עולמים תשיגי[h]	וברכות[i] נכבדים תקבלי
קחי חזון דובר עליך[j]	וחלמות נביאים תתבעך[k]
רומי ורחבי ציון	
שבחי עליון פודך	
תשמח נפשי בכבודך	

Variants in 4QPs[f], usually only orthographic

a מי הוא זנה
b אנוש
c התפזרו (√)
d מסנאיך
e מעל כל
f אזכרך
g ציון בכול מודי אני אהבתיך
h תסיגי
i ברכות
j [13]שמע עליך[נ]
k חלמת נביים תתבעוך

The verbs טהר and נכרתו in verses ט and ס are perfects used as jussives. As in 4QPs[f], we understand the words מעלה לכל in the ע verse of 11QPs[a] as מעל לכל "above all"; this hemistich then, like the previous one, talks about the praises offered by Zion: "(*your praise*) is superior to (*the praise offered*) by all the earth."

13 In 4QPs[f] שמע עליך[נ] seems better than אמר עליך[נ]; contrast 11QPs[a].

The most significant variant between 4QPs[f] and 11QPs[a] is in the second hemistich of the פ verse, in which 4QPs[f] reads:

> בכול מודי אני אהבתיך "with all my might have I loved you,"

while 11QPs[a] has

> בכול לבי אברכך "with all my heart I bless you."

The variant in 4QPs[f] probably derive from Deut 6:5,

> ואהבת את יהוה אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך "And you shall love YHWH your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might."

The scribe of 4QPs[f] seems to have changed the original פ verse and made it almost identical to the א verse of this hymn.

Translation of the Apostrophe to Zion

The following translation of the *Apostrophe to Zion* is essentially that of Sanders; we indicate our own modifications by italicizing.

א. I remember you for blessing, O Zion;
with all my might have I loved you.
ב. May your memory be blessed for ever.
ג. Great is your hope *in/with* prosperity,
and (*great*) your expectation of salvation to come.
ד. Generation after generation will dwell in your *midst*,
and generations of pious ones (*will inhabit*) your glorious beauty:
ה. (*those pious ones*) who Yearn for the day of your salvation
ו. and Rejoice in the greatness of your glory.
ז. On the abundance of your glory they will be suckled,
and in your splendid squares will they play their games.
ח. The pious deeds of your prophets will you remember,
and in the works of your pious ones will you glory.
ט. *Let* violence *be purged* from your midst;
let falsehood and deceit *be cut* off from within you.
י. *Let* your children rejoice in your midst,
and let your beloved ones be joined to you.
כ. How they have hoped for salvation *for/from* (?) you[14]
and mourned for you *always*.
ל. Your hope, O Zion, will not perish,
nor will your longing be forgotten.

14 In the כ and ל lines, it is not clear whether the suffixes represent subject or object genitives.

מ. Whom has righteousness made to perish,
or who has ever been delivered *because of/in* (?) his deceit?
נ. Is not a person tested according to his way?
Is not a man requited according to his works?
ס. All around (you) *let* your enemies *be* cut off, O Zion,
(and) *let* all those who hate you *be* scattered.
ע. *How sweet in God's nostrils is the praise that comes from you, 0 Zion,*
(sweeter) beyond (the praises coming from) all the earth.
פ. Many times will I remember you for blessing;
with all my heart will I bless you.
צ. Unto everlasting righteousness may you attain,
and blessings from *the glorious ones* (the angels?) may you receive.
ק. Accept a vision *spoken* about you;
let dreams of prophets *be interpreted concerning you*.
ר. Be exalted and be spread wide, O Zion.
ש. Praise the Most High your redeemer.
ת. Let my soul rejoice at your glory

This hymn is organized by *inclusio*, whereby the פ verse echoes the א verse, the ג verse is reflected in the ל verse, and the כ verse echoes the ה verse. The מ and נ verses are the only ones in this hymn which do not refer to Jerusalem. By incorporating them into this hymn, the author of the *Apostrophe to Zion* probably reveals that his Jerusalem is now being afflicted by unrighteous people; this hypothesis would explain what the great hope for Zion was, and also why her beloved and pious ones are now mourning for her. Verses ד and ה, "Generation after generation will dwell in your midst, and generations of pious ones (will inhabit) your glorious beauty: (those pious ones) who yearn for the day of your salvation," shed some light on Luke 2:36–38 and on Luke 24:53.[15] In Luke 2 we read, "There was a prophetess, Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Asher; she was of great age, having lived with her husband seven years from her virginity, and as a widow till she was eighty-four. She did not depart from the temple, worshiping with fasting and prayer night and day. And coming up at that very hour she gave thanks to God, and spoke of him to all who yearned for the redemption of Jerusalem." On the basis of our hymn one might consider the possibility that Anna and the people she spoke to belonged to a group of pious ones who dwelt in the temple and yearned for Zion's redemption, a group similar to the pious ones mentioned in the *Apostrophe to Zion* vv. ו–ד.

The lines of the *Apostrophe to Zion* seem to have been monostichs mainly, but, ב, ה, ו, ר, ש and ת are hemistichs in both 11QPs[a] and 4QPs[f]. Some of these six hemistichs are distributed randomly. The author of the *Apostrophe to Zion*

15 See David Flusser, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988), 127.

may not have been consistent; there is no reason to assume that in each of these verses a complete hemistich was lost.

4. The Alphabetical Acrostic in Psalms 9–10

In this section we do not want to discover a new or hitherto unnoticed alphabetical acrostic; we propose, rather, to renew thoroughly, though with only a few economical suggestions, the text and understanding of one that has long been known, namely, Psalms 9–10. Here the alphabetical acrostic can easily be recognized. Restoring it requires only (a) in Psalm 9, the addition of a ד distich and of a second monostich after the י monostich, with the deletion of one of the two monostichs that began with כ and (b) in Psalm 10, rearrangement in vv. 2–10 of the alphabetical acrostic at the מ, נ, ס, פ, ע and צ verses (where the order of the acrostic, now disordered, can be easily restored, e.g., by reading מהלל or מגאות in v. 3, נאץ in v. 5, and סרים in v. 5). True, the presence of four corruptions in the acrostics in a space of only twenty-two distichs indicates perhaps a high frequency of corruption and probably shows that the hyparchetype of the various textual types which we now have was somewhat removed from the original text of Psalms 9–10; but that text itself does not seem to be too irretrievably lost.

The principal problem posed by these "two" psalms is that while the presence of an acrostic in alphabetical order seems to guarantee that Psalms 9 and 10 were redacted as one psalm and that the order of the verses as we have them is correct, the formal structure of these prayers and the current order of the thought there, at best arranged higgledy-piggledy, produce a psalm whose form is unlike any other and which in some parts makes no intelligible sense. Indeed, should one not describe its parts more precisely as back-to-back? To make good sense, should not Psalm 10 *in toto*, with its alphabetical distichs ת-ל its *complaints* about past oppression, and its wishes for future deliverance, have preceded Psalm 9 (again *in toto*) with *its* כ-א acrostic (also in distichs), its thanksgivings for deliverance, and its praises of God the deliverer?

The analysis below will illustrate the thematic departures from the norms of the *complaint*, which should treat of such matters as past or present misfortunes, and of the *thanksgiving* given for past or present deliverance from such misfortunes (such thanksgivings often being combined with hymnic statements, past, present, or perpetual, about God's acts or attributes). Sometimes it cannot be decided whether a statement concerns the present or the past, since *qātal* sentences can be not only statements about the past but alternatively future wishes expressed by using the jussive *qātal*; in other statements, apparently referring to the future, a *yiqtōl* could also be a narrative past tense or a jussive (of petition). Such uses of tenses, unexceptionable in Hebrew, are harder to recognize in isolated monostichs than in longer sequences of verses. In these psalms as a whole,

however, the chaotic mixture of *complaints* about the present or the past and of *thanksgivings* (and praises) for present or past deliverances creates an irremediable and senseless confusion, one that cannot be remedied by such grammatical dodges. But the Procrustean bed of the alphabetical acrostic seems to disallow any attempt at radical surgery or any superficially attractive attempt at reaching a more rational reordering of the components of what was originally one unified psalm (such reordering might tempt us to place Psalm 10 with its *complaint* about the psalmist's past experience *before* the *thanksgivings* for deliverance in Psalm 9). The improvement that would be won in both pieces if we transposed the two (eliminating the incoherence and disorder in them) is easy to see. But can such a metathesis be allowed when the opposite order seems guaranteed by the acrostic?[16]

The commentators have proposed various remedies to this formal disorder, but each usually fails to convince his successors.[17] We can be excused, then, from listing all their analyses. Let us rather demonstrate the formal incoherence of these psalms as they stand, and then present a new hypothesis which may solve the problem.

A. Formal Analysis of Psalms 9 and 10

Psalm 9

Vv. 2–3.[18]	Thanksgiving; statements on God's (past) works of deliverance [א]
Vv. 4–7.	Account of past Deliverance; God has rebuked the enemies forever—their memory has perished [ב, ג (?ד)]. Hymnic elements, among petitions and statements on God's deliverance (past and present).

16 The only larger transposition that might seem comparable, that of whole columns in Sirach, might rather be explained as an *accidental* error by metathesis that occurred in a hyparchetype standing very high in the stemma, one written before the Hebrew, the Syriac, and the LXX (and its daughters) were separated from the tradition of the Old Latin; that error certainly did not result in any better sense.

17 Mitchell Dahood (*Psalms 1: Psalms 1–50* [AB 16; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966], 54) genially noted that "the dispute whether Ps ix is a pure lament or a lament introduced by verses which properly belong to a hymn of thanksgiving is very simply resolved, it would seem, by parsing, with Buttenwieser, the verbs in vss. 5–7 as precative perfects. In that analysis the poem can be seen to be a lament throughout. The opening verses become a promise to thank Yahweh on condition that he put the psalmist's enemies to flight."

18 Verse numbers here follow the MT. Psalms 9 and l0 are both composed predominantly of distichs. The brief characterizations of form given here (e.g., "thanksgiving") we derive from the consensus of scholars whose formal analyses are recorded by Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Psalms 1* (FOTL 14/1; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), 72–76. In Psalm 9 the alternation of 2nd and 3rd person pronouns for God is especially hard to explain.

Vv. 8–13. God is enthroned in judgment forever; he has not forgotten those who seek him, "So praise him for having avenged the afflicted" [ז–ה].

Vv. 14–15. Petition, or statement of deliverance: "Grant [or "He has granted"] me favor because of my [past and present] sufferings, *so that* I may rejoice in *your* deliverance" [ח].[19]

Vv. 16–17. An account of salvation. The (past) destruction of the nations is described, and how God is (or was) made known by it [ט].

Vv. 18–19. Imprecations and petitions (or statements) about future deliverance and judgment; the wicked (*will*) *let them depart* to Sheol, but (?) the hopes of the poor *will* not perish [י–ט].

Vv. 20–21. A petition for the future. Let the nations be judged, may they be in dread; and may they know they that are but mortals [כ].

Thus, after an expression of thanksgiving for God's deliverance in the past (Ps 9:2–3) comes the recounting of that deliverance (vv. 4–7) with the utterance of related praises and of hymns to the Deliverer in vv. 8–13 (such material being often associated with thanksgivings). In vv. 16–17 the account of the deliverance is resumed, and vv. 18–21 consist of several petitions and imprecations for deliverance in the future (a frequent conclusion not inconsistent with the form of a thanksgiving psalm).

Psalm 10

V. 1. Complaint: Why, O YHWH, have you been (or are you now) distant and inactive, hidden in times of past or present trouble [ל]?

Vv. 2–9. Description of the (usually past) acts of the wicked, done against God and the poor [(מ, נ, ס), פ, ע].

Vv. 10–11. Description of the consequent desolation (of the righteous?) [צ].

V. 12. Petition (appropriate in the circumstances): "*Rise* (in the future), O God, to deliver the Poor" [ק].

V. 13. Further complaints by the poor on the (present or past) conduct of the wicked (cf. v. 10).

V. 14. "*See* [or "*You have seen*"] how you *help* [or *will help*] the fatherless" [ר] .

V. 15. Petition or imprecation for God to intervene and destroy the enemy (future) [ש].

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19 Only vv. 14–15 (thanksgivings for deliverance, with further petitions) seem foreign to the matter in vv. 2–13 and in vv. 16–21. It might seem uncertain (cf. the ancient versions) whether חנני (v. 14) is a 3rd sing. narrative verb relating a past deliverance or an imperative petition in the 2nd sing. calling for a future deliverance (as in vv. 16–17); the 2nd person suffixes in v. 15 strongly support the latter interpretation.

V. 16. A hymnic interjection "YHWH is king [or "will reign," or "has reigned"] forever."

Vv. 17–18. Praise, or petition, for YHWH's deliverance: "*You have heard* [or *may you hear*] the desire of the meek, that justice should be done them, and that the fatherless should receive justice" [ת].

In this part of the acrostic (i. e., Psalm 10) we have a large number of verses in the genre of the *psalm of complaint* associated with descriptions of the persecution from which the psalmist suffers (vv. 1–11, 13), together with petitions and imprecations (and further wishes, appropriate to such circumstances), all asking for an end to such troubles, and with other verses containing hymnic phrases praising God for such a delivery (vv. 17–18).

B. A New Hypothesis

Thematically, perhaps vv. 17–18 of Psalm 10 form a transition to the matter in the *following thanksgiving* psalm (Psalm 9). We may not have a complete complaint (Psalm 10) once standing before a *complete thanksgiving* (Psalm 9) that has been subsequently transposed; perhaps instead the concluding lines of the complaint section (Ps 10:17–18) belonged to, or dovetailed with, the thanksgiving (Psalm 9) which, they show, once followed them.[20]

The order of the Phoenician and Hebrew alphabets (and behind these, the Ugaritic), an order attested also by descendants such as the Greek and the Latin, was in fact not the only one known. Neglecting the well-known fluctuation in the order of נ, ס, ע, פ (found sometimes in the OT and also at Quntillat ʿAjrûd), surviving traces are found of differing "alphabets" in Iron Age and postexilic Israel, in Qumran, in Hatra, in Narce, in Etruria (650 BCE), and in southern Italy (two examples, both in Greek), as well as in Herculaneum and Pannonia (in Latin in both places). In some cases there is often a clear bisection into two halves between the letters K and L; in other cases, we sometimes cannot tell if a now-missing כ–א (or A–K) section once stood before the ת–ל (or L–T) part, or whether only L–T was copied. But if a list began with L–M–N (a list thus named *elementum*, as Michael D. Coogan suggests, just as a list beginning with ב–א [or

20 The only material foreign to this mixture of complaint, petition, and hymnic matter in Psalm 10 would be v. 14; but it is perhaps corrupt. The RSV translates "thou dost see (ראתה), yea thou dost note trouble and vexation, *that thou mayest* take it (לתת, or "taking it") into thy hands. The hapless commits (יעזב) himself to thee, thou hast been (היית) the helper of the fatherless!" Here it is not clear whether we have a jussive perfect (ראתה), as in vv. 12–16, or a concluding statement on God's protection and on his deliverance in the past, as in vv. 16–18.

A–B] is called an *alphabeton*),[21] it is most unlikely that the other half, כ-א would never have been written alone, that only the ת-ל half was written. It is surely more likely that after the ל, מ, נ–ת series an כ-א series also followed.[22]

Coogan has made the existence of bipartite groupings of the letters certain; however, the occurrence of an נ–מ–ל *incipit* to a series containing *all* the letters (with the groups כ-א and ת-ל interchanged in order) would stay hypothetical but for the existence of the loanword *elementum*. Our second suggestion, however, that one should reverse the present order of the acrostic in Psalms 9 and 10—thus restoring an original and complete ת-ל, כ-א alphabet there (such as we suspected underlay several other witnesses in antiquity to apparently partial "alphabets")—would at the same time restore formal and intelligible structure to the chaotic disorder of the thought in Psalms 9 and 10, where the complaints, petitions, and thanksgivings come in no special order. The present metathesis of the two parts of the alphabet (consequently altering the order of the two psalms) would have been the result of an over-learned and ill-judged "hyper-correction" of the rare but permissible original order: ת-ל, כ-א into a more easily recognizable order: ת-ל, כ-א, first producing necessarily *one* formally incomprehensible psalm (as in the LXX) and then making that into *two* psalms, as in the MT and the Peshitta.

Can any further support be found for this hypothesis? Since the conjectured transposition of the hypothetically original order, Psalms 10–9, into another, with Psalm 10 following Psalm 9, would be a *conjunction in error* shared by the hyparchetype of all the surviving witnesses of the text—for example, the MT (with the Targum and the *Psalterium juxta Hebraeos*), the Peshitta, and the LXX with its daughter versions—that corruption must have taken place at a very early point in the stemma of the surviving traditions, certainly before the translation of the Psalter in the LXX (a translation which was itself already corrupt by the third or second century BCE). The relative frequency per line of corruptions in the acrostic words (corruptions more frequent here than in most other alphabetic psalms) would also confirm the early date of the corrupt hyparchetype of Psalms 9-10.

In Psalms 9-10 (half of the stemma) there may be other variants which still preserve in part readings whose text, on stemmatic grounds, is demonstrably better. One thinks, for example, of the presentation of Psalms 9-10 in the LXX as one psalm with one acrostic alphabet (a single *titulus* before Psalm 9 [v. 1], with no *titulus* before Psalm 10). Compared with this, the arrangements in

21 Michael D. Coogan ("Alphabets and Elements," *BASOR* 216 [1974]: 61-63) collects the scattered evidence. See a similar bipartite alphabet from Elephantine in André Lemaire and Hélène Lozachmeur, "Deux inscriptions araméennes du Ve siècle avant J.C.," *Semitica* 27 (1977): 99-104.

22 Note that the acrostic concealed in Nahum 1 attests only the series of letters running from א to כ.

the Peshitta (two psalms, each with its own *titulus*) and in the MT (two distinct psalms, Psalm 9 with a *titulus* but Psalm 10 without one) are manifestly late and secondary; they lead to no firm conclusion, however, about the editorial process whereby the psalms in the early books of the Psalter were grouped in their present order. Most of the other variants in Psalms 9–10 can be shown to be better or worse readings only on internal grounds.

The order of Psalms 9–10 illustrates indirectly the widespread, though infrequently attested, convention of dividing the alphabet between ל–ת and א–כ. No variants in the MSS strengthen our proposal that Psalm 9 (*in toto*) should be understood as a thanksgiving for salvation received and that Psalm 10 *(in toto*) should be understood as a complaint and a prayer for deliverance from persecution which *once preceded* Psalm 9. That proposal must depend for its support on *ratio et res ipsa* alone.[23]

23 This article was written while Hanan Eshel was a visiting lecturer in late Second Temple Judaism in the Harvard Divinity School in 1998–1999.

Chapter 15: Psalm 155: An Acrostic Poem on Repentance from the Second Temple Period*

A small number of Syriac manuscripts attest to five psalms that are similar in nature to biblical Psalms, but do not appear in the Masoretic Text. In the oldest of these Syriac manuscripts, the five compositions are found at the end of the biblical book of Psalms, as Pss 151–155.[1] It is generally accepted that they were written in Hebrew during the Second Temple period, and were translated into Syriac in the course of the first millennium CE.

Among the writings found at Qumran are three scrolls (11QPs[a], 4QPs[f], 11QPs[b]) containing biblical Psalms, together with psalms that are not found in MT.[2] A total of eight apocryphal psalms are found in these scrolls. Four of these are "new" psalms, i. e., compositions that are attested only in the scrolls found at Qumran, while the remaining four were previously known, in other languages,

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* [*Ed. note*: This article was co-authored with Shlomit Kendi-Harel. It has been submitted for publication in English in *Revue Biblique* 84 (2015): 34–66, in a volume dedicated to the memory of Prof. John Strugnell, with the following introductory note.] Hanan Eshel would like to note that since he has previously published on the alphabetic psalms with John Strugnell (Hanan Eshel and John Strugnell, "Alphabetic Acrostics in Pre-Tannaitic Hebrew," *CBQ* 62 (2000): 441–58; [repr. in this volume, 208–25]), he believes that Strugnell would have been pleased with the analysis of Psalm 155 that we propose here.

1 The *editio princeps* of the apocryphal Syriac psalms is William Wright, "Some Apocryphal Psalms in Syriac," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 9 (1887): 257–66. For an updated edition, which relies upon ten manuscripts of the Syriac psalms, see Willem Baars, "Apocryphal Psalms," in *The Old Testament in Syriac, According to the Peshitta Version*, Part 4, fascicle 6 (Leiden: Brill, 1972). In eight of these ten manuscripts, the psalms appear between two sections of a theological work entitled "The Book of Discipline" written by the Nestorian Bishop Elijah of al-Anbar (10th century). In the two remaining manuscripts, the psalms appear as part of the biblical text. In the oldest and most important manuscript of these psalms, Manuscript 12t4 (Baghdad, Library of the Chaldean Patriarchate, Manuscript 1113, folios 11a-118b; formerly Mosul, Library of the Chaldean Patriarchate, Manuscript 1113), dated to the twelfth century, the psalms appear at the end of the book of Psalms. In MS Mosul, the psalms appear in a different sequence than in the other manuscripts: Psalm I in the theological composition = Ps 151; Psalm II = Ps 154; Psalm III = Ps 155; Psalm IV = Ps 152; Psalm V = Ps 153. In the other biblical manuscript (19dI), these psalms appear between the sections of the Prophets and Writings, in the same order as found in the theological composition of the monk Elijah.

2 The three Qumran scrolls are listed here in order of the extent of their preservation, from best-preserved to least.

prior to their discovery in Hebrew at Qumran.[3] 11QPs[a], which is the largest of these three scrolls, includes a Hebrew version of three of the five Syriac psalms (Pss 151, 154, and 155). In this article, we analyze Psalm 155, which is attested both in the Syriac manuscripts and in 11QPs[a].[4] In our opinion, this psalm reflects the religious experience of a penitent.[5] Four of the apocryphal psalms that appear in the three Qumran scrolls, including Psalm 155, are alphabetical acrostics.[6]

1. The Hebrew Text of Ps 155 and its Division into Stichs

In 1930, Martin Noth published an article in which he reconstructed the Hebrew text of three of the five Syriac psalms (Pss 152, 154, and 155).[7] Noth did not reconstruct Ps 151, since this psalm was preserved not only in Syriac but also in Greek, in some LXX manuscripts.[8] He did not propose a Hebrew version for

3 The four apocryphal psalms that were known in various translations prior to the discovery of the Qumran scrolls are Pss 151, 154, 155, and the psalm "In Praise of Wisdom" in Ben Sira, chapter 51. These four are found in 11QPs[a]. The four "new" psalms are "Acrostic Hymn to Zion" (which appeared in all three of the scrolls from Qumran mentioned above); "Plea for Deliverance" (in 11QPs[a]and 11QPs[b]); "Hymn to the Creator" (which was preserved only in 11QPs[a]); and the "Eschatological Hymn" (preserved only in 4QPs[f]).

4 For a recent discussion of the similarity between the version of Psalm 155 in 11QPs[a] and the version in the Syriac manuscripts, see James A. Sanders, James H. Charlesworth, and Henry W. Rietz, "Psalm 155," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, Vol. 4A, *Pseudepigraphic and Non-Masoretic Psalms and Prayers* (PTSDSSP 4A; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 179–85.

5 Bilhah Nitzan also categorized Psalm 155 as a "song of repentance of an individual." Cf. Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (transl. J. Chipman. STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 334.

6 On these four psalms, see Eshel and Strugnell, "Alphabetical Acrostics."

7 Martin Noth, "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen," *ZAW* 48 (1930): 1–23. Noth's method for reconstructing these three psalms consisted of searching for the Syriac words elsewhere in the Peshitta (the Syriac translation of the Hebrew Bible), examining which Hebrew words were rendered in translation by each Syriac word, and choosing one of these Hebrew equivalents to place in his reconstruction.

8 Both MT and LXX contain 150 Psalms. In LXX, the psalms that are numbered 9 and 10 in MT appear as a single psalm, as is also the case for MT Pss 114–115. On the other hand, MT Ps 116 and Ps 147 are divided into separate Psalms in LXX, so that both versions have an equivalent total. See Hermann Gunkel, *Introduction to Psalms* (transl. J. D. Nogalski; Macon, Georgia: Mercer University, 1988), 333–34. It appears that Pss 42–43 were originally a single psalm, and were divided at an early stage. Both feature the refrain, "Why so downcast, my soul, why disquieted within me? Have hope in God; I will yet praise Him, my ever-present help, my God" (Ps 42: 6, 12; Ps 43:5). In this early stage, in which Pss 42–43 were one psalm, there would have been room to include an additional psalm in LXX, in order to bring the total to 150. It seems that the psalm that was used for this purpose was the psalm that is labeled today as Psalm 151. Note that this hymn is the last psalm in 11QPs[a].

Ps 153 as he was of the opinion that this psalm did not have a Hebrew original. Noth's assessment of Ps 153 stemmed from the difficulties he encountered in his attempt to retrovert the psalm into Hebrew. He thus conjectured that Ps 153 was composed by a Christian monk who wrote in Syriac, modeling his language on the book of Psalms.[9] In 1956, 11QPs[a] was found in Qumran. As noted above, this scroll contained three of the five Syriac apocryphal psalms, 151, 154, and 155.[10] Comparison of Noth's reconstruction of Psalms 154 and 155 to the text found in 11QPs[a] corroborates many of his suggestions.[11]

In Noth's proposed reconstruction of Ps 155 on the basis of the Syriac manuscripts, he preserved the alphabetic acrostic in five verses—those beginning with the letters *heh* through *tet*.[12] Noth did not address the possibility that the psalm in its entirety was an acrostic. This is his reconstruction, with the letters of the acrostic marked in **bold** font:

1. יהוה קראתיך הקשיבה לי	נשאתי ידי אל עליות קדשך
2. הטה אלי אזנך	ותנה לי את משאלותי
3. בנה נפשי ואל תְּשִׂמָּה	ואל תְּגַל לפני הרשעים
4. צררי השב ממני	(השפט הצדיק)
5. יהוה אל תשפטני כחטאותי	כי לא יצדק לפניך כל בשר
6. **ה**בינני יהוה תורתך	ומשפטיך למדני
7. **ו**ישמעו הרבים מעשיך	והעמים יודו כבודך

9 See Noth, "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen," 20–23. Patrick Skehan thought that Pss 152, 153 were composed in Syriac and did not have an original Hebrew source. Cf. Patrick W. Skehan, "Again the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms," *CBQ* 38 (1976): 143–58. More recently, H. F. van Rooy surveyed scholarly opinions on the question of the original language of Ps 153. He posits that this psalm too was originally composed in Hebrew, and proposed a reconstruction. Cf. Harry F. van Rooy, "The Origin of the Syriac Apocryphal Psalm 153," *JSem* 6 (1994): 192–200.

10 Cave 11 and the *Psalms Scroll* that was found in it were discovered in January or February 1956. The scroll was opened only in November 1961, after Elizabeth Bechtel reimbursed the Jordanian Antiquities Authority for the amount of money that the Jordanians had expended in its acquisition. Sanders published Psalm 151 in 1963: James A. Sanders, "Ps. 151 in 11QPss," *ZAW* 75 (1963): 73–86; and he published Pss 154, 155 in 1964: idem., "Two Non-Canonical Psalms in 11QPs[a]," *ZAW* 76 (1964): 57–75. The scroll in its entirety was published in 1965: idem, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs[a])* (DJD 4; Oxford: Clarendon, 1965). Sanders' popular book on 11QPs[a] appeared in 1967: idem, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca: Cornell University, NY), 1967. The inclusion of Pss 151, 154, and 155 in 11QPs[a] generated much scholarly interest in these compositions. See Jean Magne, "Recherches sur les Psaumes 151, 154 et 155," *RevQ* 8 (1975): 503–7.

11 Because all of the witnesses to Ps 155 are very similar to one another, it is difficult to trace the literary development of the psalm. Recently, van Rooy has argued that the Hebrew version, which served as the Vorlage for the translation of the psalm that appears in MS Mosul, was earlier than the Hebrew version that appears in 11QPs[a]. Cf. Henry F. van Rooy, "Psalm 155: One, Two or Three Texts," *RevQ* 16 (1993): 109–22.

12 Cf. Noth, "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen," 14.

8. **ז**כרני ואל תשכחני		ואל תביאני בקשות
9. **ח**טאות נעורי העבר (מעלי)		ועונותי אל יזכרו לי
10. **ס**הרני (יהוה) מן הצרעת הרעה		ואל תוסף לפשות בי
11. הובש שרשיה ממני		ואל תפרד עלה בי
12. גדול אתה יהוה		(על כן שאלתי מלפניך נמלאה)
13. במי אפגע (?) ויתן לי		ואדם מה יוסיף כחם
14. מלפניך יהוה מבטחי	קראתי אל יהוה ויעני	וירפא את שבר לבי
15. (נמתי וישנתי)	חלמתי וגם נעזרתי	ותסמכני יהוה
16. ויחי לבי ואדעה		כי תצילני יהוה
17. אשמח עתה בבשתם	בטחתי בך ולא אבוש	(תנה כבוד לעולם ועד)
18. הצל את ישראל חסידך		ואת בית יעקב בחירך

As noted above, the Hebrew version of Ps 155 preserved in 11QPs[a] is virtually identical to the version attested in the Syriac manuscripts. Because Noth's reconstruction was so close to the Hebrew of 11QPs[a]—with near verbatim accuracy for large portions of the Psalm—his work was very influential. The editor of 11QPs[a], James Sanders, thus followed Noth in presuming that the beginning of the scroll was not arranged alphabetically. Sanders presumed that the acrostic began only with the letter *heh*. He arranged the stichs of the Hebrew version of Ps 155 in 11QPs[a] as follows:[13]

1. יהוה קראתי אליכה		הקשיבה אלי
2. פרשתי כפי		למען קודשכה
3. הט אוזנכה		ותן לי את שאלתי
4. ובקשתי		אל תמנע ממני
5. בנה נפשי		ואל תמגרה
6. ואל תפרע		לפני רשעים
7. גמולי הרע	ישיב ממני	דין האמת
8. יהוה אל תשפטני כחטאתי		כי לוא יצדק לפניכה כול חי
9. **ה**בינני יהוה בתורתכה		ואת משפטיכה למדני
10. **ו**ישמעו רבים מעשיכה		ועמים יהדרו את כבודכה
11. **ז**כורני ואל תשכחני		ואל תביאני בקשות ממני
12. **ח**טאת נעורי הרחק ממני		ופשעי אל יזכרו לי
13. **ס**הרני יהוה מנגע רע		ואל יוסף לשוב אלי
14. **י**בש שורשיו ממני		ואל ינצו ע[ל]יו בי
15. **כ**בוד אתה יהוה		על כן שאלתי מלפניכה שלמה
16. **ל**מי אזעקה ויתן לי		ובני אדם מה יוסיף אומ[צם]

13 See the literature cited in n. 10. It is interesting that even after Patrick Skehan pointed out that the verses in the beginning of the psalm open with the first letters of the alphabet (see the following note), Sanders continued to maintain his position, simply noting that there was a difference of opinion on this matter. See, e.g., Sanders, Charlesworth, and Rietz, "Psalm 155," 179.

17. **מ**לפ[נ]יכה יהוה מבטחי קראתי יהוה ויעננני	[וירפא את] שבר לבי
18. **נ**מתי [ואי]שנה	חלמתי גם [הקיצותי]
19. [**ס**מכתני יהוה הוכה לבי	ואקרא] יהוה [מפלטי]
20. [**ע**תה אראה בושתם	חסיתי בכה ולוא אבוש]
21. [**פ**דה את ישראל חסידיכה יהוה	ובית יעקוב בחיריכה]

Immediately after the initial publication of the Hebrew version of Ps 155, Patrick Skehan noted that, in contrast to Sanders' assumption, the beginning of the psalm was also arranged alphabetically.[14] According to Skehan, Psalm 155 began with the letter *'aleph,* with the initial divine epithet having been pronounced as *'Adônāy* (to avoid pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton, out of reverence). After the *'aleph*-verse, Skehan re-arranged the division of the stichs, so as to form verses beginning with the letters *beth* to *daleth:*

1. (**א**דני) קראתי אליכה הקשיבה אלי	פרשתי כפי למעון קודשכה
(**א**דני) הט אוזנכה ותן לי את שאלתי	ובקשתי אל תמנע ממני
2. **ב**נה נפשי ואל תמגרה	ואל תפרע לפני רשעים
3. **ג**מולי הרע (ה)שיב ממני	כי לוא יצדק לפניכה כול חי
4. **ד**ין האמת יהוה	אל תשפטני כחטאתי

Skehan's proposal to read the divine name in the opening verse of Psalm 155 is interesting, but difficult to accept. Skehan was likely correct in positing that the psalm featured an *'aleph*-verse as the start of the acrostic, but we suggest that it was the second verse in the psalm that opened with *'aleph,* rather than the superscription. It is unlikely that a Jewish scribe in the Second Temple era would have written the Tetragrammaton in a case where he had the opportunity to use *'Adônāy.*[15] Our alternative proposal is that the opening *'aleph* of the psalm is the *'aleph* of אוזנכה in the words הט אוזנכה in the second verse.[16]

Skehan correctly moved the words דין האמת, which Sanders had placed at the end of line 7, to a new line, thereby creating a verse opening with *daleth.*

14 Patrick W. Skehan, "A Broken Acrostic and Psalm 9," *CBQ* 27 (1965): 1–5.

15 The scribes who copied the Scrolls from Qumran refrained from writing the Tetragrammaton. The scribe who copied 11QPs[a] wrote the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew script rather than in the Jewish script current in his own day, in which he wrote the whole scroll. This scribe twice avoided erasing the Tetragrammaton when he had written it in error, in col. 16 line 7 and in col. 21 line 2. In order to indicate the error, he marked the name with dots, above and below the letters. On the significance of the Tetragrammaton for the scribes who copied the Qumran scrolls, see Hartmut Stegemann, "Religionsgeschichtliche Erwagungen zu den Gottesebezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten," in *Qumran: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. Mathias Delcor; BETL 46; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 200–217. Magne did not accept Skehan's suggestion to read the divine name at the beginning of Ps 153 as *'Adônāy*, but he did not specify the reasons for his reservations. Cf. Jean Magne, "Le Psaume 155," *RevQ* 9 (1977): 103–11.

16 See the discussion in *Section 2*, below.

He moved a stich from the end of Sanders' *daleth*-verse (כי לא יצדק לפניכה כול חי) to the verse beginning with *gimmel*—not in accordance with the order in the scroll—in order to reconstruct a missing second stich in the *gimmel*-verse. His emendation is not necessary, however. It is true that the *gimmel*-verse is the only verse in the psalm to contain a single stich, but such a deviation is not unheard of in psalms, and this fact does not justify dislocating a stich from the order in which it is found in the scroll.

Our proposal for the arrangement of the stichs in the verses of Psalm 155 restores the acrostic even more completely, as follows:[17]

1. יהוה קראתי **אליכה** הקשיבה אלי		פרשתי כפי למעון קודשכה:
2. הט **א**וזנכה ותן לי את שאלתי		**ובקשתי** אל תמנע ממני
3. **ב**נה נפשי ואל תמגרה		ואל תפרע לפני רשעים
4. **ג**מולי הרע **ישוב** ממני		
5. **ד**ין האמת יהוה	אל תשפטני כחטאתי	כי לוא יצדק לפניכה כול חי
6. **ה**בינני יהוה בתורתכה		ואת משפטיכה למדני
7. **ו**ישמעו רבים מעשיכה		ועמים יהדרו את **כבודכה**
8. **ז**כורני ואל תשכחני		ואל תביאני **בקשות** ממני
9. **ח**טאת נעורי הרחק ממני		ופשעי אל יזכרו לי
10. **ט**הרני יהוה מנגע רע		ואל יוסף **לשוב אלי**
11. **יבש** שורשיו ממני		ואל ינצו ע[ל]יו בי
12. **כבוד** אתה יהוה		על כן שאלתי מלפניכה שלמה
13. **ל**מי אזעקה ויתן לי		ובני אדם מה יוסיף אומ[צם]
14. **מ**לפ[נ]יכה יהוה מבטחי	קראתי יהוה ויעננני	[וירפא את]שבר לבי
15. **נ**מתי [ואי]שנה		חלמתי גם [הקיצותי]
16. [**ס**מכתני יהוה	ואקרא] יהוה	[כי הצילני]
17. [**ע**תה אראה **בושתם**		חסיתי בכה ולוא **אבוש**]
18. [**פ**דה את ישראל חסידיכה		ובית יעקוב בחיריכה]

17 Words that mark the framing structure are indicated by underlining and *Leitwörter* are indicated by **bold** font. The framing words were already noted by Pierre Auffret. Cf. Pierre Auffret, "Structure litteraire et interpretation du Psaume 155 de la Grotte XI de Qumran," *RevQ* 9 (1978): 323–56. Our reconstruction contains some minor differences resulting from changes in the text, and we note some additional instances of resonance with *Leitwörter*. Thus, we mark אליכה and אלי in the opening verse and in the *tet*-verse, which highlight the development in the relationship between the psalmist and God in the course of the psalm (as discussed in section 5, below). We note that the opening word of the *yod*-verse, יבש, corresponds to words of the root בו"ש in the *'ayin*-verse (see below, n. 53). And, we have marked the auditory similarity between the word ובקשתי in the *'aleph*-verse to the word בקשות in the *zayin* verse.

Translation:

1. O Lord, I cry unto You, listen to me	I extend my hands to Your holy dwelling.
2. Incline Your ear to grant me my request	and my plea withhold not from me.
3. Build up my soul and do not tear it down	and do not exact punishment in the presence of the wicked
4. May my evil recompense withdraw from me.	
5. O Lord, Judge of Truth,	do not judge me according to my sins for before You no creature can be found righteous
6. Give me understanding, O Lord, of Your law	and teach me Your precepts.
7. Whereby many may hear Your deeds	and peoples may honor Your glory.
8. Remember me and do not forget me	and do not bring me into (trials) too hard for me.
9. The sins of my youth remove from me	and may my offences not be remembered against me.
10. Purify me O Lord from the evil affliction	and let it not turn again upon me.
11. Dry up its roots in me	and let its le[av]es not flourish within me.
12. You are mighty, O Lord	therefore fulfill my request before You!
13. To whom may I cry and he will grant me?	and sons of men what can their strength add?
14. Befo[r]e You O Lord is my trust	I called the Lord and He answered me and He healed my broken heart.
15. I slumbered [and slept]	I dreamt and indeed [woke up].
16. [You have sustained me O Lord	and I called to You] O Lord [since He delivered me].
17. [Now shall I see their shame	I seek refuge in You I will not be ashamed].
18. [Redeem Israel Your pious ones	and the house of Jacob Your chosen ones].

2. Exegetical Comments

The first verse: יהוה קראתי אליכה הקשיבה אלי, פרשתי כפי למעון קודשכה
O Lord, I cry unto You, listen to me; I extend my hands to Your holy dwelling

The first verse is an opening verse, containing an appeal to God. There are two stichs in this verse, in parallel construction. In the first stich, the psalmist calls out to God and asks Him to listen to him. The second stich describes the psalmist as turning toward God by means of lifting his hands heavenward, but it does not feature a direct parallel to the specific request that God listen to the prayer. This request does have a parallel in the next verse, which begins with the words הט אוזנכה, "Incline Your ear."

This opening verse is similar to verses found in biblical Psalms, such as Ps 88:10, "I call to You, O Lord, each day; I stretch out my hands to You"; and Ps 28:2, "Listen to my plea for mercy when I cry out to You, when I lift my hands toward Your inner sanctuary." In this latter verse, as here in Ps 155, there is a parallel between crying out and lifting hands. In both cases, the second stich lacks the request that God heed the prayer; the cry is addressed to God in the first stich and the lifting of hands is directed towards His sanctuary in the second.[18]

Philo's comments on Exod 9:29 shed light on the significance attributed to the spreading out one's hands. Philo quotes the words spoken by Moses upon his departure from Pharoah during the plague of hail, "When I go out of the city, I shall spread out my hands to the Lord." He then offers this explanation:

I will spread open and unfold all my doings to God, calling him to be witness and overseer of each one of them, from whom evil cannot hide itself, but is forced to remove all disguises and be plainly seen *(Legum Allegoriae* III, 43)[19]

Yehoshua Amir observed that in this description, the hand represents deeds. Adapting this interpretation to the opening verse of Ps 155 illuminates this expression, which generally indicates prayer, so that the psalm can be seen to be taking shape as a penitential psalm already at its inception. This opening apparently stands outside the acrostic. It would not be appropriate to emend the verse in order to have it begin with *'aleph,* as in its current state it connects effectively to the following sentence which completes the missing parallelism in this verse.[20]

א-verse: הט **א**וזנכה ותן לי את שאלתי, ובקשתי אל תמנע ממני
Incline Your ear to grant me my request; and my plea withhold not from me

As noted above, we view this as the initial verse of the alphabetic acrostic that structures the psalm, with the *'aleph* of הט אוזנכה. We have considered the possibility that the text of 11QPs[a] reflects a metathesis of the first words of this verse, and that the original reading was אוזנך הט. However, the collocation אוזנך הט is not attested in the Hebrew Bible, whereas הט אוזנך is quite common. In 1965 (the year in which Skehan published his proposal that Ps 155 is an acrostic from the

18 There are additional parallels between our psalm and MT Psalm 28; cf. 28:4, 6–7, and 9.

19 The citation is from Philo, *On the Creation. Allegorical Interpretation of Genesis 2 and 3* (LCL. Transl. F.H. Colson and G.H. Whitaker; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1929), 328–31. See Y. Amir, *Philo of Alexandria's Writings* (vol. 4; Jerusalem, 1997), 95 n. 67 (Hebrew).

20 As noted above, Skehan understood this verse as beginning with the letter *'aleph*, since he was of the opinion that the Tetragrammaton was pronounced *'Adônāy* ("A Broken Acrostic and Psalm 9." See n. 13, above).

start; i. e., that it begins with *'aleph*), Avi Hurvitz wrote that the opening verse of the psalm should not be emended and that the words הט אוזנכה ותן לי should be viewed as part of the previous opening verse. Accordingly, the second verse of the psalm would open the acrostic, and would begin with *'aleph*, with the words את שאלתי.[21] This proposal, however, breaks up the parallelism and the deliberate structure of the first two verses as we presented it above, and leaves the stich that opens with the words ותן לי hanging, suspended between the first verse and the second. In that same note, Hurvitz cited the opinion of Shemaryahu Talmon that the letter *heh* in הט was pronounced by the psalmist like an *'aleph*. It is not impossible that the *haph'el* might have been pronounced as an *'aph'el,* under Aramaic influence. This sort of interchange, between the consonants *'aleph* and *heh* at the beginning of a verse, is common in Samaritan poems with alphabetical structure, from the time of Marka in the fourth century.[22] It is preferable, however, to view the word that actually begins with the letter *'aleph* as initiating the acrostic, which would retain the acrostic visually, and not just aurally. We have indeed found two biblical examples of an acrostic structure in which the letter that is required for the acrostic appears at the beginning of the second word of a verse:

In Ps 25, the *bet* of the acrostic appears as the second word in verse 2, after the word "my God," in "My God, in You I trust; may I not be disappointed" (אלהי בך בטחתי אל אבושה). So too, the word זעמו of the *zayin*-verse (verse 6) in Nah 1 is in second position, "Who can stand before His wrath" (לפני זעמו מי יעמוד).

The *'aleph*-verse of Ps 155 is structured as a chiastic parallel; the first stich contains a positive request, and the second formulates the same request by means of a negative expression.[23]

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21 Avi Hurvitz, "Observations on the Language of the Third Apocryphal Psalm from Qumran," *RevQ* 5 (1965): 225–32, at 226 n. 3.

22 See Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans*. Vol. 3, part 2, *The Recitation of Prayers and Hymns* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1967), 112, 118, 166, 171, 208, 214, 250, 305, 310 (Hebrew). We are grateful to Prof. Joseph Yahalom for bringing these examples to our attention.

23 Most of Hurvitz's article ("Observations on the Language") was devoted to discussion of phrases in Ps 155 that indicate that the psalm was written in Late Biblical Hebrew, i. e., the Hebrew of the early Second Temple period. On the lateness of the word בקשתי, see ibid., 226–27. Uffenheimer identified late conceptual motifs in the psalm. Cf. Benjamin Uffenheimer, "Psalms 152, 153 from Qumran," *Molad* 22 (1964): 338–42 (Hebrew). Note that, despite the title, the psalms treated in this article are the ones that are generally designated Psalms 154 and 155, respectively.

ב-verse: **ב**נה נפשי ואל תמגרה, ואל תפרע לפני רשעים
Build up my soul and do not tear it down; and do not exact punishment in the presence of the wicked

The first stich in this verse places the roots בנה and מגר in opposition. The psalmist asked God to build his soul and not destroy it. The root מגר is attested in Biblical Hebrew only in Ps 89:45, "you have hurled his throne to the ground" (וכסאו לארץ מגרת).[24] The sense there is "you cast down and broke."[25] Here, the psalmist makes metaphorical use of this pair of verbs in his request for the restoration of his soul, the source of life, and healing for his broken heart (mentioned in the *mem*-verse).[26] This request does not have a direct parallel in this verse, but appears twice more, once in the *gimmel*-verse and once in the *ʿayin*-verse.

For the use of the root פרע in a manner similar to that found in this verse, see Prov 8:33 "Heed discipline and become wise; do not spurn it" (וחכמו ואל תפרעו שמעו מוסר);[27] Prov 29:18 "For lack of vision a people lose restraint" (באין חזון יפרע עם). Perhaps the word תמגרה was selected for assonance with the phrase גמולי הרע at the center of the *gimmel*-verse.

ג-verse: **ג**מולי הרע ישוב ממני
May my evil recompense withdraw from me

This verse is the only one in the psalm with just one stich. It is followed by the *daleth*-verse which has three stichs, rather than two, which is the normal pattern in the psalm. (Elsewhere in Ps 155, there are three stichs only in the *mem*-verse, and possibly in the *samekh*-verse). Because of these irregularities, Skehan suggested that the end of the *daleth*-verse ("for before you no creature can be found righteous") had originally been the second stich of the *gimmel*-verse. Emenda-

24 See the discussion of Jonas C. Greenfield, "Two Notes on the Apocryphal Psalms," *Shaʿarei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. Michael Fishbane and Emanuel Tov; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992), 309–14, at 312–14.

25 This verb is also attested in Ez 6:12, in Aramaic, and is common in the Targumim (e.g., to Gen 39:17). It is also found in the *ʿAmidah* prayer (as in the blessing against the *minim*, תעקר ותשבר ותמגר. Cf. Amos Hakham, *The Bible Psalms with the Jerusalem Commentary* [vol. 2; Jerusalem: Mossad Harav Kook, 2003], 335 n. 51 [Hebrew]).

26 Cf. the similar combination in 1QH 10: 9–10, in which the psalmist asks for God's assistance in the land of the wicked: "and You have supported my soul with a potent strength and powerful might. You have maintained my steps in the land of wickedness" (ותסמוך נפשי בחיזוק מתניים ואמוץ כח מעמדי פעמי בגבול רשעה). See Carol Newsom, Hartmut Stegemann, and Eileen Schuller, *Qumran Cave 1.III: IQHodayot[a], with Incorporation of 4QHodayot[a-f] and lQHodayot[b]*. (DJD 40; Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 132, 142.

27 On the possibility that the word תפרע ought to be understood in light of late uses of this root in Rabbinic Hebrew (e.g., עתיד להפרע, מי שפרע), see Hurvitz, "Observations on the Language," 228; Greenfield, "Two Notes on the Apocryphal Psalms," 314.

tion of the text is not called for, however, since most biblical alphabetic acrostics lack uniformity in the number of stichs, and it is not unusual to find verses in alphabetic psalms lacking a stich.[28] It is advisable instead to seek a meaning for the deviation in the structure.[29] We suggest that the psalmist deliberately set up a single independent stich as a link between the preceding stich and the following one, thereby creating a double meaning for the phrase "my evil recompense." This explanation requires that the word we have rendered as "withdraw" be read as ישוב in 11QPs[a], following Qimron, rather than ישיב in accordance with Sanders. Sanders joined the *gimmel*-verse to the initial words of the *daleth*-verse ("Judge of Truth"), reading the word "return" (ישיב) in 11QPs[a]; he translated, "May the Judge of Truth, remove from me the rewards of evil." Qimron, who did not join the two verses, maintained that the correct reading in the scroll is ישוב, which has an intransitive sense.[30] He translated the *gimmel*-verse as "Let the rewards of wickedness be removed from me." The reading ישוב takes the recompense of evil as an independent entity and the subject of the sentence. In this way, the psalmist set up the *gimmel*-verse as a unit unto itself, both syntactically and structurally, as a lone stich, thereby enabling it to be read simultaneously in two ways. Once, as a parallel to the previous stich, "Do not exact punishment," i. e., with the bad recompense as the punishment feared by the psalmist, and which he hopes will be withdrawn from him. This formulation obscures the fact that the source of the painful retribution is God, in asking that it not fall upon him. The expression "my recompense for evil" is grounded in the use of the term גמול in the Hebrew Bible, where there is a "good גמול" and a "bad גמול." See Prov 31:12, "She is (גמלתהו) good to him, never bad." One who is גומל רע, who treats others badly, is a sinner (see, e.g., Ps 7:5; Prov 3:30). Therefore, the request "may my evil treatment withdraw from me" also functions as a parallel to the second stich in the following verse, the *daleth*-verse, "do not judge me according to my sins." The psalmist reveals his sin to us, by means of this parallel, confessing that he had treated others badly, and that this is the sin for which he asks forgiveness. The two senses of the *gimmel*-verse can be synthesized as follows: The psalmist

28 Cf. Eshel and Strugnell, "Alphabetical Acrostics." Even if one were to accept Skehan's proposal, that one of the stichs of the *gimmel*-verse was accidentally moved over to the *daleth*-verse, it would have been better to move the stich "do not judge me according to my sins," which is parallel to "turn away from me my recompense for evil."

29 Following the approach of Meir Weiss, *The Bible from Within: the Method of Total Interpretation* (transl. B. Schwartz, Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984), 22–23, 35–36, 121–29, 132–33. See also, Reuven R. Kimelman, "'*Ashre*': Psalm 145 and the Liturgy," *Proceedings of the Rabbinical Assembly of America* 54 (1992): 97–128, at 107–8.

30 Elisha Qimron, "Some Remarks on Apocryphal Psalm 155 (11QPs[a] Column 24)," *JSP* 10 (1992): 57–59. The word גמולי is to be read as a singular noun with first person possessive suffix, and not as a plural noun, as it appears in the English translations of Sanders and Qimron, and in the French translation of Auffret, "Structure Litteraire."

asks God not to punish him, i. e., not to treat him badly according to his deeds, although the psalmist himself used to treat others badly.

The use of the root שו"ב in this verse is apparently based upon Deut 13:18: "in order that the Lord may turn (ישוב) from His blazing anger and show you compassion." The *gimmel*-verse is also to be compared to Ps 103:10: "He has not dealt with us according to our sins, nor has he requited us (גמל עלינו) according to our iniquities."

ד-verse: **ד**ין האמת יהוה, אל תשפטני כחטאתי, כי לוא יצדק לפניכה כול חי
O Lord, Judge of Truth, do not judge me according to my sins for before you no creature can be found righteous

The initial word pair in this verse is to be taken as a divine epithet.[31] The psalmist then addresses God, the true judge, with a plea that He not judge the psalmist according to his sins with the strict measure of justice, but rather with lenience. He justifies his request with the statement "for before You no creature can be found righteous"; nobody could be judged by absolute truth and emerge with a verdict of innocence.

The expression "before You" poses an antithetical parallel to the term used in the *beth*-verse concerning the psalmist's fear of retribution being exacted "before the wicked."

Ps 25:8 praises God for leading sinners to repentance rather than punishing them, pointing them back to the proper path, "Good and Upright is the Lord; therefore He instructs sinners in the way." Our verse expresses a request for such treatment, and the psalmist thereby ties his request in the *daleth*-verse ("Do not judge me according to my sins"), to the request in the *heh*-verse ("Give me understanding, O Lord, of Your law and teach me Your precepts"). The negative request in the *daleth*-verse finds its positive parallel in the *heh*-verse, joining the two verses in preparation for their natural continuation in the *waw*-verse.

ה-verse: **ה**בינני יהוה בתורתכה, ואת משפטיכה למדני
Give me understanding, O Lord, of Your law; and teach me Your precepts

In this verse the psalmist asks God to help him learn His laws.[32] This request might seem a bit out of place since in most of the verses in Ps 155 the psalmist asks God to forgive him, not to punish him, and not to put him to the test.

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31 All previous studies have taken the words דין האמת as a divine epithet, translating the phrase as "Judge of Truth." We follow this reading, but it must be noted that the expected orthography for the word "judge" at Qumran would be דיין, with two *yod*s.

32 On the relatively late date of the use of the *hiph'il* בין with prepositional *bet*, see Hurvitz, "Observations on the Language," 227.

In fact, following from our comments on the previous verse, the request for instruction is entirely in keeping with the psalmist's other requests, since knowledge of God's precepts will provide a means for him to be saved from his sins. This view is found in Ps 25:4–5, "Let me know Your paths, O Lord; teach me Your ways; guide me in Your true way and teach me for You are my God, my deliverer; it is You I look to at all times"; and Ps 86:11–13, "Teach me Your way, O Lord; I will walk in Your truth; let my heart be undivided in reverence for Your name…,You have saved me from the depths of Sheol."

The form הבינני is attested in the Hebrew Bible only in Ps 119, a relatively late psalm.[33] The word appears six times in this psalm, including "Give me understanding that I may observe Your teaching" (vs. 34); "Give me understanding that I may learn Your commandments" (vs. 73). The root בי"ן appears ten times altogether in Psalm 119, calling attention to its function as a *Leitwort.* The uniqueness of the form of this word in Ps. 119, and the significance of its function in the psalm probably indicate that the author of Psalm 155 intended to echo this biblical psalm.

ו-verse: **ו**ישמעו רבים מעשיכה, ועמים יהדרו את כבודכה
Whereby many may hear Your deeds; and peoples may honor Your glory

The universal orientation of this verse differs from the more individual focus of the personal requests found throughout the psalm. Its relevance may be understood in light of our interpretation of the *daleth-* and *heh-* verses. God's ability to return sinners to His path is given expression precisely in His role as a judge of truth (without any reference to his goodness, grace, or mercy anywhere in the psalm), whereby He spares them from their punishments, an act worthy of widespread recognition and appreciation.[34] According to this understanding, the *waw* at the opening of the verse serves also as a conjunctive *waw* for the two verses that precede it. The use of the verb יהדרו in the sense of glorification is late; it is attested in Aramaic in the book of Daniel.[35]

33 On the unique character of Ps 119, see Yehoshua Amir, "Psalms 119 als Zeugnis eines protorabbinischen Judentums," in idem, *Studien zum antiken Judentum* (Beitrage zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums 2; Frankfurt: P. Lang, 1985), 1–34.

34 Honoring God is effected not only through words of praise and glory and sacrifice, but also by good deeds, and by the sinner's confession of his sins, as can be seen in Josh 7:19: "Then Joshua said to Achan, 'My son, pay honor (שים נא כבוד) to the Lord, and make confession to Him…'"; and see the note of Trent C. Butler, *Joshua* (WBC 7; Waco, Texas: Word Books, 1983), 85.

35 See Hurvitz, "Observations on the Language," 230–31.

ז-verse: **ז**כורני ואל תשכחני, ואל תביאני בקשות ממני
Remember me and do not forget me; and do not bring me into (trials) too hard for me

In the *zayin*-verse, the psalmist returns to his personal requests. The first stich also returns to the earlier pattern of full parallelism, with a request couched in both positive and negative formulation. The second stich ostensibly stands alone, but exhibits striking assonance with the words in the second stich of the *'aleph*-verse, "and my plea withhold not from me" (בקשתי אל תמנע ממני), which seems to be a deliberate device to connect the verses, by means of inverting the order of the words that are echoed. The second stich in the *zayin*-verse is elliptic: "do not bring me into [trials] too hard for me."[36] This verse stands in contrast to other verses in Psalms in which the psalmists express certainty that they can withstand trials successfully, such as Ps 26:2, "Probe me, O Lord, and try me; test my heart and mind"; Ps 17:3, "You have visited me at night, probed my mind, You have tested me and found nothing amiss"; Ps 139: 23 "Examine me, O God, and know my mind; probe me and know my thoughts."[37]

ח-verse: **ח**טאת נעורי הרחק ממני, ופשעי אל יזכרו לי
The sins of my youth remove from me; and may my offences not be remembered against me

This verse stands alone and comprises a complete direct parallelism, with both positive and negative formulations, but it is also linked to the previous sentence by means of the root זכ"ר. The link itself is expressed both positively and negatively: previously, the psalmist had asked God to remember him, and here he asks that He not remember his sins. Similarly, the psalmist's request, "the sins of my youth remove from me," in positive formulation, stands against its chiastic parallel, "do not judge me according to my sins," in the *daleth*-verse.

36 For a similar verse see Job 14:3 "Will you go to law (תביא במשפט) with me?" We would like to thank Dr. Rivka Bliboim for this reference. On the view in the Hebrew Bible that God subjects humans to trials in order to test their responses, see Jacob Licht, "*Testing*" *in the Hebrew Scriptures and in Judaism of the Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1973), 13–29, 42–47 (Hebrew). See also, Cornelis Houtman, "Theodicy in the Pentateuch," in *Theodicy in the World of the Bible* (ed. Antti Laato and Johannes C. de Moor; Leiden, 2003), 155–67.

37 A similar perspective is found in the Lord's Prayer, which includes an appeal not to be led into temptation; see Mt 6:13; Luke 11:4.

ט and י verses: **ט**הרני יהוה מנגע רע, ואל יוסף לשוב אלי. יבש שורשיו ממני ואל ינצו ע[ל]יו בי
Purify me O Lord from the evil affliction; and let it not turn again upon me. Dry up its roots in me; and let its le[av]es not flourish within me

The affliction in these verses is best understood as a spiritual affliction, rather than a physical ailment such as leprosy. The rest of the psalm does not contain any hint of physical suffering or illnesses, known to us from other psalms. Rather, the reference here is specifically to the soul (see the *beth*-verse) or the heart (see the *mem*-verse), perhaps on the model of I Kgs 8:38, "In any prayer or supplication offered by any person among all Your people Israel—each of whom knows his own affliction (נגע לבבו) —when he spreads his palms toward this House." The word נגע appears frequently in the sense of tribulation in the Qumran corpus, especially in the *Hodayot*.[38] The word also occurs in Psalms, but seems to refer to physical affliction, such as Ps 39:11, "take away Your plague (נגעך) from me, I perish from Your blows"; Ps 73:13–14, "It was for nothing that I kept my heart pure and washed my hands in innocence, seeing that I have been constantly afflicted (ואהי נגוע), that each morning brings new punishments." It seems that at times the distinction between the two types of afflictions is deliberately blurred, since spiritual and physical pain are often intertwined.

There is a clear parallel between our verse, "…evil affliction; and let it not turn again (לשוב) upon me," and the *gimmel*-verse, "May my recompense evil withdraw (ישוב) from me." Perhaps the intent is to identify the retribution and the affliction, and to repeat the request with greater force: not only does the psalmist ask for the immediate removal of both, but also for the prevention of future encroachment by them.[39]

כ-verse: **כ**בוד אתה יהוה, על כן שאלתי מלפניכה שלמה
You are mighty, O Lord; therefore fulfill my request before You!

Some of the Syriac manuscripts have כבירא rather than כבוד, as here in the *Psalms Scroll*. Sanders noted that the alternative reading is similar to Job 36:5, "See, God is mighty (כביר); He is not contemptuous; He is mighty (כביר) in strength and mind." For the reading in 11QPs[a], Sanders pointed to Ps 3:4 "But You, O Lord, are a shield about me, my Glory (כבודי), He who holds my head high."[40] Qimron discussed the fact that the word כבוד must be understood as an adjective, rather than as a noun meaning honor, as it has mistakenly been rendered by some.

38 See Stegemann, Schuller, and Newsom, *DJD* 40:372.

39 On the similarity between the verses *heh* through *yod* of Psalm 155, esp. *tet* and *yod,* to other Jewish apotropaic prayers, see David Flusser, "Qumran and Jewish Apotropaic Prayers," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 194–205 (= idem, *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* [Jerusalem: Magnes, 1988], 214–25).

40 See Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll,* 73.

Specifically, כבוד here is a passive participle, meaning "mighty." Qimron pointed to five examples for the use of כבוד as a middle passive in Qumran Hebrew.[41]

With respect to the second stich of the verse, Qimron noted that the word שלמה is to be read as a lengthened imperative (i. e., "please pay.") The *kaph*-verse is thus to be understood as follows: "You are mighty, O Lord; therefore please fulfill the request that I have brought before You."[42] Perhaps in the stage during which the Hebrew psalm was copied, one of the copyists did not understand the meaning of the word כבוד as a passive participle. This scribe, perhaps motivated by sensitivity to the acrostic, would have sought an alternative adjective beginning with the letter *kaph* that would suit God, and changed the beginning of the verse from כבוד to כביר.[43]

ל-verse: [צם]ומ אצעקה ויתן לי, ובני אדם מה יוסיף **ל**מי
To whom may I cry and he will grant me? and sons of men what can their strength add?

The first stich of this verse is to be understood as an ellipsis: "To whom (besides You) may I cry and he will grant me (my request)?" This formulation is strengthened by means of the rhetorical question—to whom may I cry?—to which the answer is negative: there is no point turning to human beings. Afterward, in the *mem*-verse, the response is formulated positively. A similar idea appears in Ps 118:6–9: "The Lord is on my side, I have no fear; what can man do to me? … It is better to take refuge in the Lord than to trust in mortals." The riddle of the missing object in the sentence "and he will grant me" may be hinting at the basis of the parallel in the *'aleph*-verse: "and grant me my request," but the solution is actually found in the *kaph*-verse just preceding this one: "therefore fulfill my request before You."

The word אומץ in the sense of power is attested five other times in the scrolls from Qumran, including occurrences in the *War Scroll* and the *Thanksgiving Scroll* from Cave 1.[44]

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41 Qimron, "Some Remarks on Apocryphal Psalm 155," 58–59.

42 Cf. ibid., 59. It would seem that the use of the root של"ם rather than מל"א or נת"ן is late, and is indicative of Aramaic influence, as is the emphasis on the fact that the request was brought before God. See Hurvitz, "Observations on the Language," 228–30.

43 In 1QIsa[a], there are two instances in which the copyist changed כביר to כבוד. Since the word כביר is not used in Rabbinic Hebrew, Kutscher suggested that it was not known to the copyist of 1QIsa[a]. Cf. E. Y. Kutscher, *The Language and Linguistic Background of the Isaiah Scroll (1 Q Isa[a])* (STDJ 6; Leiden: Brill, 1974), 246. If our suggestion is correct about the different versions of the first word of this verse, then perhaps the scribe who changed the verse to the version found in the Syriac manuscripts had difficulty understanding the word כבוד as a passive participle; whereas the word כביר was familiar to him.

44 Martin G. Abegg, James E. Bowley, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:16.

The expression in the second stich, "and sons of men what can the[ir str]ength do?" is parallel to the second stich in the *tet*-verse, in which the subject was the affliction. There, the psalmist asked, "and let it not turn again upon me." In both cases, the dependence upon God is clear: the strength of human beings cannot help, but only trust in God; the affliction will not return, if God purifies him.

מ-verse: מלפ[נ]יכה יהוה מבטחי, קראתי יהוה ויענני, [וירפא את] שבר לבי
Befo[r]e You O Lord is my trust; I called the Lord and He answered me; and He healed my broken heart

The verse opens with the word מלפניכה, in response to the question in the preceding *lamed*-verse ("To whom"), as noted above, and creates a link to the parallels in the *kaph*- and *daleth*- verses. The psalmist's conclusion that he may put his trust only in God has brought about the desired outcomes, and the psalmist issues a declaration that the Lord has responded to his appeal. The words of the verse, "I called the Lord and He answered me" form a clear connection to the opening verse, "O Lord, I cried unto You," repeating the words, and reversing their order. This use of the device of "inclusio" serves to shape the psalm as a complete unit and emphasizes the completion of the process, from God's vantage point. The following verses represent the completion of the process from the human being point of view.

נ-verse: נמתי [ואי]שנה, חלמתי גם [הקיצותי]
I slumbered [*and slept*]; *I dreamt and indeed* [*woke up*]

In the first stich of this verse, the psalmist revealed that when he was troubled, he sought refuge in sleep and dreaming.[45] In the second stich—he dreamed and also woke up.[46] The *nun*- and *samekh*- verses are similar to Ps 3:6: "I lie down and sleep and wake again, for the Lord sustains me." The sleeping, and subse-

45 For the non-positive connotations of dreams in the Hebrew Bible generally, and in Ps 126:1 specifically, see John Strugnell, "A Note on Ps. 126:1," *JTS* 7 (1956): 239–43. This understanding is found in the Aramaic Targum of Ps 126:1, היך מרעייא דאיתסיו, i. e., like diseases that were cured. The reading in 11QPs[a] is היינו כחלומים. See Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*, 25.

46 For the motif of sleep in times of trouble, see, e.g., 1Kgs 19:5; Jonah 3:13; and the similarity of the words of this verse to Jer 31:25, at the end of a prophecy of restoration, "At this I awoke and looked about, and my sleep had been pleasant to me." For a summary discussion of the exegetical difficulties of this verse, and for a description of the nature of the dream in our psalm, see Ruth Fidler, *"Dreams Speak Falsely"? Dream Theophanies in the Bible: Their Place in Ancient Israelite Faith and Traditions* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2005), 23–25, 333–35 (Hebrew).

quent waking, express the change in the condition of the psalmist, from his position as a sinner pleading in desperation to his God—to that of a person who has been heard, and healed of his broken heart, and has returned to shelter in the shadow of the Lord.

ס-verse: [כי הצילני] יהוה, ואקרא [סמכתני יהוה,]
[*You have sustained me O Lord; and I called to You*] *O Lord;* [*since He delivered me*]

The *nun*-verse is the last verse preserved in 11QPs[a]. The only word preserved from the *samekh*-verse is the Tetragrammaton. The verse has been reconstructed on the basis of the Syriac manuscripts. In most of the Syriac manuscripts, the text reads סמכתני מריא, ואקבל מטל דפציני מריא[47] but an alternative version is preserved in a marginal gloss in MS Mosul, the oldest and most important of the Syriac manuscripts, [...] סגפו לבי.[48] It is possible that the words that are attested in the margin in MS Mosul reflect a variant for the beginning of the *samekh*-verse, in which the psalmist expressed the pain in his heart, corresponding to the *mem*-verse.[49] The *Hodayot Scroll* (10:9–10) features the sentence, "and You have supported my soul with a potent strength and powerful might." ותסמוך נפשי בחזוק מותנים ואמוץ כוח. We suggest reconstructing the second stich of the *samekh*-verse slightly differently than Sanders' proposal of [ואקרא] [מפלטי] יהוה. In the Syriac manuscripts, the word מטל occurs, which means "because." It is thus preferable to restore [כי הצילני] יהוה [ואקרא].[50] If this restoration is correct, this stich would appear to be based upon two verses from the song of David that is found in 2 Sam and Ps 18: "All praise! I called on the Lord and was delivered from my enemies" (מהלל אקרא יהוה ומאיבי אושע; 2 Sam 22:4; Ps 18:4); "In my anguish I called on the Lord" (בצר לי אקרא יהוה; 2 Sam 22:7; Ps 18:7). The crying out in Psalm 155, as in David's song, will bring about the psalmist's salvation

47 Sanders translated the word ואקבל as "to cry out, to complain," like the meaning of the root קב"ל in Hebrew. He thus proposed reconstructing ואקרא for this word in the Hebrew. See Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll,* 71. ואזעק would also be plausible, but ואקרא is preferable, as it is a *Leitwort* in the final stanza of the psalm.

48 See Skehan, "Again the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms," 157; Baars, "Apocryphal Psalms," 10.

49 The root סג"פ is not attested in Biblical Hebrew, but is used in Rabbinic Hebrew, e.g., *b. Ta'an.* 22b. Sanders restored הוכה לבי, since he did not think that the phrase סגף לבי was an alternative opening for the verse. If we are justified in our proposal that this is an alternative opening, then its meaning may be, "God has caused me affliction, pain, and suffering," except that the content of this stanza, including the *samekh*-verse, is written in a positive tone, as a conclusion for the process undergone by the psalmist.

50 Alternatively, [כי דליתני] might be considered, on the basis of Ps 30:2.

from his enemies, and he will be witness to their disgrace (in the *ʿayin*-verse).[51] If Sanders was correct in restoring the word ואקרא in the second stich of this verse, then the nature of this crying out to God is different than the preceding occurrences, in that this is a prayer of thanksgiving.

ע-verse [**ע**תה אראה בושתם, חסיתי בכה ולוא אבוש]
[*Now shall I see their shame; I seek refuge in You, and I will not be ashamed*]

This verse contains a double opposition: between the first and second stichs in the *ʿayin*-verse, and between the first stich of the *ʿayin*-verse and the second stich of the *beth*-verse. The latter antithesis reveals the identity of the implied object in the pronominal suffix בושתם; they are "the wicked" named in the *beth*-verse. The psalmist who asked not to be punished in front of the wicked will now see their disgrace. Moreover, the second stich states that one who trusts in God will not be disgraced, in contrast to the wicked who will be.[52] There need not be an identical sense to both words of the root בו"ש in this verse. The psalmist says of the wicked that he will now see their disgrace, i. e., their downfall or failure (a condition that engenders disgrace), but of himself he says that he will not יבוש. It is possible that he expresses his hope that he will no longer stumble, and will be protected from disgrace (in contrast to his state in the opening of the psalm). Alternatively, he could be expressing his hope that now that his request was granted and he has returned to shelter in the shadow of God, he will not be abandoned again and will not experience disappointment, as in Ps 25:3, "O Let none who look to You be disappointed (יבשו); let the faithless be disappointed (יבשו), empty-handed."[53]

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51 The scribe who copied 11QPs[a] wrote the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew rather than in the Jewish script. The final remnants of Psalm 155 that are preserved in line 17 of column 24 are of the Tetragrammaton in paleo-Hebrew. See Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll,* 45, Pl. 15. The divine name usually appears in 11QPs[a] without prepositions. Since the word אל does not appear in this stich in the Syriac manuscripts, it is preferable to restore the stich as [ואקרא] [כי הצילני] יהוה rather than ואקרא אל יהוה or ליהוה. In 11QPs[a], in Psalm 151, "to the Lord" is written with the attached prepositional *lamed*, ליהוה. In this word, the letter *lamed* is written in the Jewish script whereas the divine name is written in paleo-Hebrew. Cf. ibid., 49, Pl. 17. Therefore it may be plausible after all to restore יהוה[ואקרא ל] in the second stich of the *samekh*-verse. It is preferable, however, to restore the form without the preposition, in keeping with the other two occurrences in Psalm 155, in the opening verse יהוה קראתי, and in the *mem*-verse, קראתי יהוה.

52 Skehan proposed reconstructing "Now I shall see their shame" [עתה אראה בבושתם]. See Skehan, "Again the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms," 157.

53 See also, inter alia, Ps 22:5–6; 25:20; Isa 49:23. For a survey of the various meanings of the root בו"ש, see Victor M. Matthews, *Honor and Shame in the World of the Bible* (Semeia 68; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996); Yael Avrahami, "בוש in the Psalms—Shame or Disappointment?" *JSOT* 34,3 (2010): 295–313.

פ-verse: [פדה את ישראל חסידיכה, ובית יעקוב בחיריכה]
[*Redeem Israel Your pious ones; and the house of Jacob Your chosen ones*]

This verse is the concluding verse of the psalm, and it features a national request that is strikingly different from the personal tone of the rest of the psalm. Other psalms of a personal nature also contain this sort of conclusion, as we discuss below.

3. The End of Psalm 155

The last word preserved in Psalm 155 in the version found in 11QPs[a] is the verse beginning with the letter *nun*. In the Syriac manuscripts, there are three additional verses, and the psalm concludes with a verse ending with the letter *peh*. From the length of the columns in 11QPs[a], we may determine that there is room to restore the three verses that appear in the Syriac manuscripts (the verses for *samekh* through *peh*), but there would not have been space for another five verses (i. e., for the letters *sade* through *taw,* to complete the alphabet).[54] Thus, in both the Hebrew version in 11QPs[a] and in the Syriac manuscripts, Psalm 155 concluded with the *peh*-verse. One might have conjectured that a five-verse unit was lost from a version that preceded both 11QPs[a] and the Syriac manuscripts,[55] but Skehan has convincingly argued that "The prayer, God's response, and the consequent grateful praise of the poet have all been expressed; the form is complete."[56] Skehan thus concludes that Ps 155 was preserved in its complete form, i. e., that it had not contained five additional verses following the current text. On the basis of this conclusion, Skehan noted that Psalm 155 proves that during the Second Temple era, Hebrew alphabetic psalms were composed in which not all letters of the alphabet were represented.

The *peh*-verse that concludes Psalm 155 is similar to closing verses in four biblical Psalms, Pss. 25, 34, 44, and 130. Psalms 25 and 34 are acrostic. Psalm 25 is an alphabetic individual lament in which, following the *taw*- verse, the clos-

54 See the cautious discussion of Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll,* 74; and the more decisive determination in Sanders, Charlesworth, and Rietz, "Psalm 155," 179.

55 If we were to accept this conjecture, it would offer strong proof that the origin of the Syriac Psalms lies in Qumran. On this suggestion, see James A. Sanders, "*Variorum* in the Psalms Scroll (11QPs[a])," *HTR* 59 (1966): 83–94, at 92; John Strugnell, "Notes on the Text and Transmission of the Apocryphal Psalms, 151, 154 (=Syr. II) and 155 (= Syr III)," *HTR* 59 (1966): 257–81, at 257–58; 278; Skehan, "Again the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms," 155; A. S. van der Woude, "Die fünf syrischen Psalmen," *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistich-romischer Zeit* 4.2 (ed. Werner G. Kümmel; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1974), 34.

56 Skehan, "A Broken Acrostic and Psalm 9," 4–5.

ing verse (25:22) reads "O God, **r**edeem Israel from all its distress" (**פ**דה אלהים את ישראל מכל צרותיו).[57]

Psalm 34 is an individual thanksgiving hymn, which is also in alphabetical order, and also features an additional verse after the *taw*-verse of the acrostic, which begins with the letter *peh:* "The Lord **r**edeems the life of His servants; all who take refuge in Him shall not be ruined" (**פ**ודה יהוה נפש עבדיו ולא יאשמו כל החסים בו; vs. 23).

Psalm 44 is a psalm of community request or complaint, which closes with the plea, "Arise and help us, **r**edeem us, as befits Your faithfulness" (ו**פ**דנו למען חסדיך; vs. 27).

Psalm 130 which opens with two requests—a plea for forgiveness and for closeness to God—closes with two verses asking God to redeem Israel. The concluding verse is "It is He who will **r**edeem Israel from all their iniquities" (והוא **יפ**דה את ישראל מכל עונותיו; vs. 8).

In light of these parallels, and especially the fact that Psalms 25 and 34 are acrostic psalms with added final verses beginning with words of the root פד"ה, it seems that the *peh*-verse in Psalm 155 was indeed intended to close the psalm. Apparently, the psalmist's personal experience of redemption from the sins inspired him to call for general redemption for the people of Israel. The psalmist, who felt that he was no longer held captive to his transgressions, asked that the nation as a whole also be freed from the reign of sin. We conclude that the psalmist who composed Psalm 155 started off writing an alphabetic psalm. From the *'aleph*-verse through the *'ayin*-verse he recorded his requests to God, the fact that God responded favorably to these requests, and his gratitude for the divine response. Upon reaching the letter *peh,* he used the root פד"ה in order to close his psalm in accordance with the convention found in the conclusions of other biblical psalms.

57 See Victor A. Hurowitz, "An Often Overlooked Alphabetic Acrostic in Proverbs 24: 1–22," *RB* 107 (2000): 526–40, esp. 533–34.

4. The Structure of Psalm 155

We divide Psalm 155 into five stanzas:[58]

1st stanza:
Opening and *'aleph* verse: address to God with a general request
beth and *gimmel* verses: detailed content of the request

2nd stanza:
daleth and *heh* verses: request for mercy and its rationale
waw verse: glory to God

3rd stanza:
zayin and *het* verse: request for atonement from sin
tet and *yod* verse: request for purification from affliction

4th stanza:
kaph verse: glory to God
lamed and *mem* verses: trust in God as the key to healing and redemption

5th stanza:
nun through *'ayin* verses: the salvation of the psalmist Conclusion: request for national redemption

The first stanza, which consists of the first four verses, begins with a general address to God. This opening communicates a strong desire for God to manifest

58 Uffenheimer ("Psalms 152, 153 from Qumran," 338–39) suggested dividing the psalm into four stanzas: the first stanza—from the opening through the *gimmel*-verse; the second stanza—from the *daleth*-verse through the *yod*-verse; the third stanza—from the *kaph*-verse through the *mem*-verse; the fourth stanza—from the *nun*-verse through the final verse. Auffret ("Structure litteraire,") followed Skehan in dividing the psalm into three parts, but for different reasons. Auffret ended the first section with the letter *heh,* and the second section with the letter *kaph;* his third section is from the *lamed*-verse to the end of the psalm. Auffret saw the *kaph*- verse as summarizing the psalm, especially the second stich, "therefore fulfill my request before You" (על כן שאלתי מלפניך שלמה). Auffret did not read this sentence as a plea, in the imperative, but rather as an announcement that the psalmist's request had been heard and accepted, that it was fulfilled (שְׁלַמָּה). He translated שְׁלַמָּה as "est accomplie." After this determination, however, Auffret realized that the subsequent *lamed*-verse contradicts this reading, and he could not resolve this difficulty. He thus concluded that the essence of the psalm lay in the first two sections, up until the *kaph.* In his approach, Auffret gave much weight not only to the words of each stich, but also to the letters that opened each stich, and he saw this as a definitive consideration in the structural division of the psalm and in its literary analysis. We do not accept this premise.

Himself and attend to the supplication, a sense that is given expression by means of the change from first person (the psalmist) to second person (God). This is followed by the psalmist's request that he not be punished, especially not in front of the wicked. At the center of this stanza is the psalmist. The stanza ends with the phrase "withdraw from me" (ישוב ממני).

The second stanza opens with the address, "O Lord, Judge of Truth," which is a striking departure from the abundance of verbal sentences in the psalm. This is followed by two stichs, also of a verbal structure, causally related to the initial sentence, but without any parallel to it or to each other. The brevity of the statement, without any parallel, suits a law or command, and thereby indicates that it is not subject to dispute. At the center of the verse lie the words "judge," "law," and "justice." This section ends with a call to acknowledge the greatness of God, as part of glorifying God. These words place the greatness of God at the center of the unit, which dwarves the human being and places him as not standing a chance in divine judgment. Nevertheless, by means of the glorification of God, and because of His greatness, the psalmist does hope for personal salvation. This stanza concludes with the word כבודכה.

In the third stanza, the psalmist as sinner stands in the center of the unit. It includes a request to be purified of his sins, and to be rid of the evil that has attached to him. In this unit, the personal tone of the psalmist is salient, and functions as a sort of confession (though without itemization of his sins). This unit is characterized by an abundance of first person pronominal suffixes. The suffix appears four times in each verse in the *zayin* and *het* verses, and twice in each of the *tet* and *yod* verses.[59] The stanza concludes with a request concerning the affliction, employing two different words with similar sounds—לשוב, יבש.

The fourth stanza begins with a nominal sentence: "You are mighty, O Lord" (כבוד אתה יהוה), a syntactic parallel to the opening of the second unit. Here too, the second stich is tied to the first by a causal conjunction, and here too the stichs of the verse are not parallel to each other, and the language indicates an undisputed statement. In the second unit, the psalmist declares that his chances of being spared punishment on the terms of the "Judge of Truth" are slim; here, when he turns to כבוד יהוה, his hopes for repentance are stirred and he puts his faith in God for a response. At the center of this unit is God, and the understanding that trust in God will save the individual from personal spiritual crisis. The unit concludes with the psalmist's affirmation that his request was heeded. The words שאלתי, ויתן לי, קראתי are interwoven throughout the stanza, forming an inclusio with the opening of the psalm. These words repeat in reverse order to the sequence in which they appeared in the opening. We thus return to the opening request of the psalm, the appeal to God to answer the psalmist, from

59 See Auffret, "Structure Litteraire," 330–31, on the letters *zayin* through *yod*.

the stance of recognition that God has indeed responded favorably. As noted above, this stanza opens with the word כבוד and closes with the word קראתי, corresponding to the opening of the psalm.

The final stanza returns to the focus upon the individual, but it introduces us now to a new man. He has slept and wakened, and his changed state is highlighted in the summarizing verse of the psalm, the *ʿayin* verse. The stanza concludes with two verbs, once in each stich, from the root אבוש, בו"ש: בושתם. If Sanders' reconstruction of יהוה [ואקרא] in the *samekh* verse is correct, then this final stanza of the psalm creates an inclusio with its opening. The *peh*-verse closes the psalm. In this verse, the psalmist turns to God, on the basis of his own experience of personal redemption, with a prayer for national redemption.

5. Psalm 155: Characteristics and Concerns

The psalm has a complete circular framework, wherein the final stanza attests to the favorable response granted to the request presented in the initial stanza. The last unit repeats the request that appeared at the beginning, as a resumptive repetition, and only afterward does it emerge that the request was in fact granted. In keeping with this structure, the phrase, "grant me my request" (ותן לי את שאלתי), which appeared in the beginning of the psalm in the first stich of the *ʾaleph*-verse, "Incline Your ear to grant my request," recurs in the end of the first section in the second part of the *kaph* verse, "therefore fulfill my request before You" (על כן שאלתי מלפניכה שלמה), and in the first part of the *lamed*-verse, "To whom may I cry and he will grant me?" This request is a repetition, in a positive formulation, of the appeal in the *ʾaleph*-verse, "and my plea withhold not from me." The verb קראתי, which appears in the beginning of the first verse ("O Lord, I cry unto You"; יהוה קראתי אליכה), recurs twice in the last section: "I called the Lord and He answered me" (קראתי יהוה ויענני) in the *mem*-verse, and again in the *samekh*-verse (restored), יהוה [ואקרא]. In this manner, the psalm completes the personal process of the psalmist in his return to God.

Similarly, the words לפניכה and מלפניכה in the *daleth, kaph,* and *mem* verses stand in opposition to the word לפני in the *beth*-verse, in a reversal of function: at first, in the *beth*-verse, the object of the preposition is the wicked, whereas in the other cases it is God. The *ʿayin*-verse, "[Now shall I see their shame; I seek refuge in You, and I will not be ashamed]," stands in opposition to the request that appears in the second stich of the *beth*-verse, "and do not exact punishment in the presence of the wicked." The closing points to the end of the progress that is attested in the psalm (from the perspective of the psalmist), which reflects a reverse process to that which the wicked undergo: in the beginning of the psalm, the psalmist turns to God in his despair, asking that He heed his request and not punish him but rather atone for his sins; at the end, he expresses his trust and

he rejoices that his request was granted. In the beginning of the psalm, there is a sense that the wicked enjoy a superior status to the psalmist, as he requested of God, "and do not exact punishment in the presence of the wicked" (in the *beth*-verse), and at the end, their status is "now shall I see their shame."

Throughout the psalm, antithesis is highlighted in various ways: by means of verbs which express an action and its opposite, and by means of a command and its negation. The particle (ו)אל occurs nine times in the first three sections of the psalm, almost always in the second stich of the verses; see the verses beginning with *'aleph, beth, daleth*, *zayin, het, tet,* and *yod.* The particle ואל appears only twice in the beginning of verses (in the *bet* and *zayin* verses). It must be noted that the particle does not appear at all in the last two sections of the psalm, after the psalmist has described his main request.

Antithesis is also emphasized by the psalm's structure: there is an opening unit with the individual at its center, laying his request before God, and it concludes with the plea, "May my recompense for evil be turned away (ישוב) from me." In the following unit, God is at the center. It opens with the words "O Lord, Judge of Truth" and ends with the words "and peoples may honor Your glory." The third unit returns to presenting the individual's request for atonement; at its center are the words "sin, offence, affliction, evil" (חטא, פשע, ונגע רע) and it repeats the plea concerning the affliction, "let it not turn again (לשוב) upon me" and "dry up" (יבש) its roots in me." These words tie this unit to the end of the first stanza. The fourth unit opens with the words "You are mighty (כבוד), O Lord," tying this to the end of the second stanza, "and peoples may honor Your glory (כבודכה)." The fifth unit summarizes before the closing, "[Now shall I see their shame (בושתם); I seek refuge in You, and I will not be ashamed (אבוש)." This seems to be the climax of the psalmist's presentation of the relationship between the individual and God as an antithesis, spanning the two extremes of distance and closeness. He creates a diametric opposition between exalted honor and lowly disgrace, presenting God in His loftiness and man in his lowliness. If we isolate the *Leitwörter* from the text, we find a central thread running throughout the psalm:

בו"ש, בו"ש	–	כבוד	–	שו"ב, יב"ש	–	כבוד	–	שו"ב

The first stanza: the individual is at the center; the conclusion uses the word ישוב.

The second stanza: God is at the center; the conclusion features כבודכה.

The third stanza: the individual is at the center; the conclusion uses the words לשוב and יבש. Here, the word יבש suits the alphabetic structure of the psalm, and it thus is placed at the beginning of the verse rather than at its end.

The fourth stanza: God is at the center, and it opens with the word כבוד. This time the word כבוד functions as the opening of the stanza, for the obvious reason of integrating the letter in its appropriate position in the acrostic, as was the case with יבש in the *yod* verse. This emphasizes the tie to the second stanza, which ended with the word כבודכה.

The fifth stanza: the individual is at the center, and the conclusion features אבוש ,בושתם.

The closing verse breaks the rules of the psalm in terms of both the alphabetic structure and the content, and it extends outside the sequential framework of the psalm.

The path of the central thread of the psalm can be sketched as follows:
The psalm thus has five stanzas. The second and fourth units are connected by means of the word כבוד; the first, third, and fifth units are united by the roots שו"ב, יב"ש, בו"ש. The number of lines per stanza also aligns accordingly: 4-3-4-3-4. This structure places the third unit at the core of the psalm, with respect to both content and form. The running thread of the psalm also places the third unit at the center by means of the use of two different, but similar-sounding, roots. Each root forms a connection to a different stanza in the psalm: the root שו"ב ties to the first stanza and the root יב"ש links to the final stanza which contains the root בו"ש.[60] The psalmist may have intended a deliberate play on the roots, from the aspects of both sound and sense, as follows: The individual who is lowly in his ways pleads for the withering (ייבש) of the roots of his affliction, which represented his wickedness, and seeks to return to God. The integration of the form and content of the psalm may be summarized as follows: The sinning individual who comes to realization of his sins asks to have his retribution turned away from him. He feels humiliated before God and before the wicked,

60 These verbs appear in construct in many biblical verses, e.g., Jer 8:4–5, 12; 17:13, 18; Ps 6:11; 70:3–4. Noteworthy among these cases are the pivotal verses in Psalm 71:
"I seek refuge in You, O Lord, may I never be disappointed (אבושה) (vs. 1);
"Let my accusers perish (יבשו) in frustration" (vs. 13);
"You will revive me again (תשוב), and again (תשוב) raise me up from the depths of the earth" (vs. 20);
"…how those who sought my ruin were frustrated (בשו) and disgraced" (vs. 24).
Also the three verses that conclude the *yod*-verses in Ps 119 (vss. 78–80):
"Let the insolent be dismayed (יבשו), for they have wronged me without cause; I will study Your precepts. May those who fear You, those who know Your decrees, turn again (ישובו) to me. May I wholeheartedly follow Your laws so that I do not come to grief (אבוש)." On the connection between the roots בו"ש and יב"ש, see BDB, s.v. בו"ש, p. 102 and יב"ש, p. 386. See also Ronald A. Simkins, "Return to Yahweh: Honor and Shame in Joel," *Semeia* 68 (1996): 41–54, esp. 41, 46–47.

whose wickedness may perhaps have led to his recognition of his sins (first stanza); he wishes to give honor to God, i. e., to praise Him (second stanza) and to ask for forgiveness (third stanza) in order to return and seek refuge under the wings of the Divine Presence (fourth stanza). At the end of the psalm, we are impressed by the fact that God has granted his prayer, and that the individual who has slept has wakened and recuperated, and his broken heart has healed. Now he will not be humiliated (יבוש) again, but will see the disgrace of the wicked, and maybe even the withering of the roots of his affliction.

Besides the *Leitwörter* in the psalm, there are a striking number of verbs designating the actions that are being requested of God in the penitent's plea for help in returning to God. On this background, the passivity of the psalmist stands out. For example, the word ממני occurs five times in the first three sections of the psalm: in the *'aleph, gimmel, zayin, het,* and *yod* verses. The name of God, in contrast, is mentioned nine times (including one restored occurrence). This situation not only attests to the helplessness and despair of the psalmist, but also presents the individual as the object of the actions of God, who is the leader and director. The matter calls to mind an initiation process, such as the initiation of priests in the priestly service, when they are washed, and dressed, sprinkled upon and anointed (Exod 40: 12–15). In an initiation process, one passes from one condition to another, whether of role or status. It seems that a change of this sort is described in the final verses of Psalm 155.

Conclusion

Psalm 155 is an acrostic poem composed in the Second Temple era.[61] This psalm is not aesthetically inferior to other psalms that were composed in the beginning of the Second Temple period, which were included in the biblical book of Psalms.[62] We have drawn repeated comparisons between Psalm 155 and Masoretic Psalms, with respect to content and ideas, as well as style and language, which demonstrate that the composer was immersed in the same spiritual world as that of his predecessors, and that he was familiar with the literary tools they employed. Reading Psalm 155, one encounters the spiritual turmoil experienced

61 For the evidence that psalm 155 was authored in the Second Temple period, on the basis of both language and content, see the articles of Hurvitz ("Observations on the Language") and Uffenheimer ("Psalms 152, 153 from Qumran"). See also Skehan's arguments for dating the composition of the psalm to the second century BCE ("A Broken Acrostic and Psalm 9," 5). In our opinion, there is no reason to assign such a late date to the psalm.

62 Primarily, Psalms 103, 117, 119, 124, 125, 133, 144, and 145. The language of these psalms, Late Biblical Hebrew, indicates that they were composed in the Second Temple period. See Avi Hurvitz, *The Transition Period in Biblical Hebrew: A Study in Post-Exilic Hebrew and Its Implications for the Dating of Psalms* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1972) (Hebrew).

by the psalmist, and the crisis of his anticipation of retribution for his past sins, on account of which he turned and appealed to God for forgiveness and aid. In contrast to composers of biblical psalms, the psalmist asks God not to set him in difficult trials, since, in his estimation, he could not withstand them. This composer, despite his proficiency in the book of Psalms, asks God to help him understand His teaching, and thereby to save him from his distress. The sharp transitions between the stanzas, between the individual and God, emphasize the polar differences between the place of man, who is lowly in his deeds and status, and that of God to whom glory is given as part of the atonement process. This functions as a literary representation of the process by means of which the supplicant moved from his desperate condition at the beginning of the psalm to become a person filled with expectations and hope in turning to God, and ultimately to the granting of his request at the end of the psalm. The psalmist's trust in God, glorification of God, praise, and desire to return to the proper path, help him to escape from the crisis, to cast off his sins, and to return to his God. The content and structure of Psalm 155 point to an identification of the psalm as a description of an experience of repentance.

Beyond Qumran

Chapter 16: Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls*

The Samaritan Pentateuch (henceforth SP) features approximately six thousand textual variants of the Masoretic Text (MT). Rabbinic sources,[1] as well as the writings of the Church Fathers, mainly Origen,[2] and Jerome,[3] mention several of these differences. The first manuscripts from the Samaritan community in Damascus reached Europe in the seventeenth century, and scholarly research on the SP subsequently developed.[4] Today we know of over 150 manuscripts of the SP. The earliest ones date to the ninth century CE and the latest to present times. A significant number of these manuscripts were copied between 1474–1485.[5]

The Samaritans highly esteem the Abisha Scroll. Although according the colophon of the scroll itself the text was written in the thirteenth year of the entrance of the tribes to Canaan, it is undoubtedly composed of fragments from several scrolls written between the twelfth and fourteenth century CE.[6] When the SP was rediscovered in the seventeenth century, biblical scholars realized that the SP was identical to the Septuagint (LXX) as regards approximately one-third of the differences between the SP and MT. They consequently concluded that both the SP and LXX originated in a common Hebrew source, which is preferable to the MT.

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1 See, for example, *Sifre Deut.* 11:30; *y. Sotah* 7:3 (21c); *b. Sotah* 33b.

2 In the notes on the Hexapla to Num 13:1; see Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum* (Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1871–1875) I/I:239, Num 21:13, p. 250; Prolegomena, I/II:LXXXII–LXXXIII.

3 Prol. gal on Gal 3:10. The latest Greek reference to it is found in George Syncellus (around 800 CE) in his *Chronographia*, 83.

4 John Macdonald, *The Theology of the Samaritans* (London: SCM Press, 1969), 12.

5 See Robert T. Anderson, "Samaritan Pentateuch: General Account," in *The Samaritans* (ed. Alan D. Crown; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1989), 390–96.

6 Alan D. Crown, "The Abisha Scroll of the Samaritans," *BJRL* 58 (1975): 36–65.

1. The Nature of the Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch

In 1815 Wilhelm Gesenius published a study of the origin of the SP. In this work Gesenius categorized the differences between the SP and the MT and demonstrated that the majority were generated by a Samaritan edition of the MT, engendered either by linguistic-stylistic objectives or by religious principles, in order to adapt it to the needs of the Samaritan community.[7] In the light of Gesenius' study, Bible scholars negated the importance of the textual differences documented in the SP.[8] However, Paul Kahle's study, published one hundred years after Gesenius' book, questioned the existence of a single ancient text of the Bible (*Urtext*). Kahle claimed that several Hebrew versions of the Bible were prevalent among Jews during the Second Temple period.[9] Kahle's investigation engendered a reexamination of the SP, with the assumption that this text-type preserves the style of a text common during the Second Temple period. The biblical scrolls found at Qumran confirmed Kahle's theory and following the publication of the scrolls resembling the SP version,[10] scholarly research of the SP increased.

The variants between the SP and MT can be divided into intentional and unintentional variants,[11] in other words, differences embodying some significant value and those without. The latter category includes variations in spelling, form, and grammar, and they should be viewed as synonymous versions of the MT. Such an interchange of words or idioms is evidently not unique to the SP. Exchanging a word with a synonym as well as spelling differences were common customs when transcribing a text, a phenomenon that is documented in the manuscripts of the MT itself.[12]

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7 Wilhelm Gesenius, *De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine, Indole et auctorite* (Halle: Rengerianae, 1815).

8 See, for example, Samuel Kohn, "Samareitikon und Septuaginta," *MGWJ* 38 (1894): 1–7, 49–67, at 61; Zacharias Frankel, *Über den Einfluss der Palästinischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1851), 231–44.

9 Paul Kahle, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Pentateuchtextes," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 88 (1915): 390–439 [= idem, Opera Minora (Leiden: Brill, 1956) 3–37].

10 Frank M. Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert," *HTR* 57 (1964): 281–299, at 288.

11 Ze'ev Ben-Hayyim, *The Literary and Oral Tradition of Hebrew and Aramaic Amongst the Samaritans.* Vol. V, *Grammar of the Pentateuch* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1977), 2–3 (Hebrew). [Cf. idem, *A Grammar of Samaritan Hebrew* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2000)].

12 See Raphael Weiss, *Studies in the Text and Language of the Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1981), 75–114 (Hebrew).

Differences encompassing the intentional variants can be divided into sectarian and non-sectarian variants.[13] The latter are mostly exegetical variants, which can be divided into several categories, the most of important of which is harmonistic editing. Other variants included interchanging idioms, rare forms of ordinary idioms,[14] grammatical correspondence—in particular adapting the predicate to the object in terms of gender and number[15] as well as exegetical emendations designed to resolve specific textual problems. The following passages illustrate some of these changes:[16]

Gen 2:2
MT: ויכל אלהים ביום השביעי
SP: ויכל אלהים ביום הששי

Exod 13:6
MT: שבעת ימים תאכל מצת
SP, LXX: ששת ימים תאכל מצות

Exodus 24:7
MT: נעשה ונשמע
SP: נשמע ונעשה

These changes were designed to eliminate difficulties and assist the reader in understanding the Bible. In Gen 2:2 the emendation clarified that God completed the work of creation on Friday, and not on the Sabbath. In Exodus 13 the purpose was to eliminate any overlap between the expression "the day of Passover" and "the Festival of Unleavened Bread."[17] In Exodus 24 it was in order to make the text conform to a logical sequence.[18]

As previously mentioned, most of the non-sectarian exegetical changes in the SP are harmonizations. This textual phenomenon includes changes, additions,

13 Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 84–85.

14 Weiss, *Studies in the Text*, 115–31; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 70–71.

15 Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 90–91.

16 MT is based on Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia and SP is based on Abraham Tal, *The Samaritan Pentateuch, Edited According to MS 6 (C) of the Shekhem Synagogue* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1994).

17 The confusion between "the day of Passover" and "the festival of Unleavened Bread" can be found in Exod 12:15, where MT and SP read: שבעת ימים מצות תאכלו, while in Deut 16:8 we find ששת ימים תאכל מצות; See Hillel saying in *y. Pesaḥ* 6:1 (33a): "One verse says 'Six days you shall eat unleavened bread" (Deut 16:8). And another verse says 'Seven days you shall eat unleavened bread' (Exod 12:15). How is this possible? Six [days you shall eat] from the new grain [which is permitted after bringing the first sheaf of new grain on the second day] and seven you shall eat from the old grain [which may be consumed also on the first day of the festival, when the new grain is still prohibited]" (= *Mekhilta Bo* 8:17; *Sifra Emor* 12:5; *Sifre Deut* 134).

18 J.E.H. Thomson, *The Samaritans: Their Testimony to the Religion of Israel* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1919), 306–12.

or deletions, as well as a change in the word sequence in order to resolve contradictions, discrepancies, and unevenness in the biblical text. Likewise, in certain cases a text was enriched with details from a parallel biblical description even though there appeared to be no discrepancies. Such a change was made when some connection existed between two texts—for example, collections of laws or parallel descriptions. The harmonization was usually intentional although slight changes may have been unintentional.[19] The harmonizations can be classified into several categories:

1. Changing the text in order to avoid any differences among parallel biblical texts (for example, the Decalogue).
2. The addition of a source to a biblical passage. For example, elements from Deuteronomy were sometimes added to Exodus or Numbers since Deuteronomy repeats descriptions from previous books of the Pentateuch. Such a phenomenon can be termed the completion of details in a "poor" text based upon a "rich" description.
3. A further addition is a depiction of the implementation of a certain commandment in order to emphasize its performance.[20]

The following sectarian changes in the SP reflect Samaritan beliefs: the SP states that the commandment in Deut 27:4 to establish twelve stones and an altar occurred on Mt. Gerizim, while according to the MT it transpired on Mt. Ebal; the SP adds an additional commandment to the Decalogue cited in Exodus and Deuteronomy — the building of an altar on Mt. Gerizim;[21] and the future form of the verb יבחר that occurs twenty-one times in Deuteronomy is altered to the past tense—בחר. Deuteronomy does not explicitly mention Jerusalem since the city was only sanctified in Davidic times. Consequently, the expression יבחר (will choose) in the MT came to signify Jerusalem in Jewish tradition. According to Samaritan belief, however, Mt. Gerizim had been the chosen place since the time of the Patriarchs, and therefore the SP systematically changed the expression from the future form to the past. The same factor brought about the emendation in Exod 20:(21) 24:[22]

MT: בכל המקום אשר אזכיר את שמי אבוא אליך וברכתיך
SP: במקום אשר אזכרתי (!) את שמי שמה אבוא אליך וברכתיך

19 Weiss, *Studies in the Text*, 132–33; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 85–89.

20 See Emanuel Tov, "The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts," *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3–29; Esther Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}—A Text that has Undergone Harmonistic Editing," *HUCA* 62 (1991): 117–54, at 120–21.

21 The Samaritans take the first commandment אנכי יהוה as part of the introduction to the Decalogue. Thus, adding their commandment does not increase the accepted number of ten commandments.

22 Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 94–95.

2. The Connection between the Qumran Biblical Scrolls and the Samaritan Pentateuch

Up until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls it was impossible to determine the date of the SP's compilation. The collection of biblical scrolls unearthed at Qumran includes some scrolls that resemble the text of the SP. The book of Exodus (4QPaleoExod^{m}), written in paleo-Hebrew script, was the first scroll identified as containing a text close to that of the SP.[23] Frank Moore Cross noted that the scroll of the book of Numbers (4QNum^{b}) resembles the Hebrew background to the SP, although it also has additions that also exist in the LXX.[24] Cross later identified a scroll with parts of the book of Deuteronomy (4QDeut^{n}), which is close to the SP. The scroll was finally published in 1995 by Sidnie White Crawford.[25]

In 1968, John M. Allegro published the first volume of texts from Cave 4,[26] including two texts with biblical passages. Allegro labeled the first text, 4Q158, *4QBiblical Paraphrase* and the second, 4Q175, was designated *4QTestimonia*. In 1970 John Strugnell and Raphael Weiss proved that the biblical fragments cited in 4Q158 and 4QTest were taken from a biblical text similar to the SP.[27] In 1977 Menahem Cohen pointed out that the wording of a *mezuzah* uncovered in Cave 8 in Qumran and published in 1962 also resembles the SP.[28] Likewise, harmonistic additions resembling the SP also appear in 4Q364, which is known as the *Reworked Pentateuch*.[29] The common additions to 4Q364 and the SP constitute the completion of details in a "poor" text based upon a "rich" text. Thus Genesis 30:36 augments the description of Jacob's dream with the account of

23 See Patrick W. Skehan, "Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumrân," JBL 74 (1955): 182–87; Judith E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QPaleoEx^{m} and the Samaritan Tradition* (HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); Patrick W. Skehan, Eugen Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, "4QPaleoEx^{m}," *Qumran Cave 4:IV* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), 53–130.

24 Frank Moore Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1958), 138–39.

25 Sidnie White Crawford, "4QDeut^{n}," in Eugene Ulrich et. Al (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4: IX* (DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 117–28; see E. Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}."

26 John M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4, I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968).

27 Raphael Weiss, in his review of J.M. Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan V Qumran Cave 4,I <4Q158–4Q186>*, *Qiryat Sefer* 44 (1970): 61 (Hebrew); John Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan," *RevQ* 7 (1970): 168–75, 225–29.

28 Menahem Cohen, "The Orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch, its Place in the History of Orthography and its Relation with the MT," *Beth Mikra* 21 (1976): 361–39 (Hebrew).

29 Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White [Crawford], "4QReworked Pentateuch^{b}," *Qumran Cave 4:VIII* (DJD 13; ed. James C. VanderKam, Emanuel Tov et. al; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 197–254.

that dream in Genesis 36:11–13.[30] These are named Pre-Samaritan Texts or Proto-Samaritan Texts.[31] All the common variants documented in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the SP include non-sectarian differences. Sectarian changes are not documented in the scrolls under discussion. For example, the tenth commandment that appears in the SP and the commandment to build an altar on top of Mt. Gerizim are missing in 4QPaleoEx^{m}, 4Q158, and 4QDeut^{n}. Scholarly research has consequently deduced that these scrolls did not belong to the Samaritans; rather, they adopted a biblical version similar to these scrolls when the SP was compiled.[32]

Inasmuch as harmonistic editing constitutes the principal feature of these texts, the prevalent name for these texts, "Pre-Samaritan Texts" or "Proto-Samaritan Texts," is inappropriate.[33]

Conscious of this problem, Cross referred to the SP and the above scrolls as "Palestinian" in type.[34] He proposed a threefold division for the Second Temple period biblical text-types wherein the MT represents the family of biblical texts characteristic of Babylon; the LXX represents the family of biblical texts characteristic of Egypt; and the SP represents the family of biblical texts characteristic of Palestine.[35] Nonetheless, this division is schematic and imprecise since: 1. The Nash papyrus unearthed in Egypt evidently documents a harmonistic text-type dating to the Hasmonean period;[36] 2. The SP endeavored to resolve the textual difficulties extant in the MT. Thus, the scribes who edited the harmonistic text presumably had a biblical text very similar to the MT in front of them. We can consequently conclude that the SP and MT were prevalent in the same region—evidently Palestine. Textual findings from Qumran also testify to the fact that all three families of texts were common in Palestine. It is there-

30 Tov and White [Crawford], "4QReworked Pentateuch," 210–11.

31 Emanuel Tov, "Proto-Samaritan Texts and the Samaritan Pentateuch," in Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans*, 397–407.

32 We cannot accept Baillet's opinion that these scrolls found at Qumran are Samaritan in origin; see Maurice Baillet, "Le texte Samaritain de l'Exode dans les manuscrits de Qumrân," in *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (ed. André Caquot and Marc Philonenko; Paris: Librarie Adrien Maisonneuve, 1971), 363–81, due to the fact that none of these scrolls contain any of the Samaritan additions and changes. Having the longest and best preserved scroll among this group, 4QPaleoExod^{m}, written in the paleo-Hebrew script is, to our mind, a mere coincidence; see Esther Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing in the Pentateuch in the Second Temple Period," (MA thesis, the Hebrew University, 1999), 136 (Hebrew). The Samaritans started using the paleo-Hebrew script only in the third century CE; see discussion below.

33 Tov, "Proto-Samaritan Texts," 405; idem, *Textual Criticism*, 80–82.

34 Frank Moore Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. Frank Moore Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 306–20, at 308–10.

35 Cross, "The History of the Biblical Text," 281–99.

36 Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}," 123.

fore preferable to label the texts that underwent harmonistic revision as "harmonistic texts."[37]

Cross pointed out that, "Thanks to the discovery and study of the Qumran scrolls, we are able to place the Samaritan Pentateuch in the history of the Hebrew biblical texts. It proves to be a late form of an old Palestinian tradition … The Samaritan Pentateuch text broke off very late in the development of the Palestinian (Proto-Samaritan) text … The Samaritan text-type thus is a late and full exemplar of a common Palestinian tradition in use both in Jerusalem and Samaria in Hasmonean times."[38] This hypothesis formed the basis for James D. Purvis' doctoral thesis, written under Cross' supervision. In his thesis, Purvis dated both the Samaritan Pentateuch and the origin of the Samaritan sect as a separate community to the Hasmonean period. His rationale was as follows: 1. The Samaritan script developed from the paleo-Hebrew script of the Hasmonean period. It did not develop from the Hebrew script of the Persian or Hellenistic period preceding the Hasmoneans, nor from the Hebrew script of the Roman period, but from the paleo-Hebrew script of the Hasmonean period.[39] 2. The orthography of the SP is in *plene* Hebrew spelling, which is characteristic of the Hasmonean period and not of the preceding periods or the later Rabbinic period.[40] 3. The SP belongs to one of three textual witnesses prevalent during the Hasmonean period, which are documented in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[41]

3. The Dating of the Samaritan Script

Purvis claims that the Samaritan script developed from the Hasmonean paleo-Hebrew script. When his investigation was published (1968), the earliest Samaritan inscription known was from Emmaus, which Purvis attributed to the first century CE due to the paleographical similarity with coins from the Great Revolt. However the publication of Jewish and Samaritan inscriptions written in paleo-Hebrew script following the publication of Purvis' work shed new light upon the issue of the stage of Hebrew writing from which Samaritan script developed. Three Hebrew inscriptions discovered on Mt. Gerizim, which antedate the Emmaus inscription by over one hundred years, were recently published.[42]

37 Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}," 120.

38 Frank Moore Cross, "Samaria and Jerusalem in the Era of the Restoration," in idem, *From Epic to Canon* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 173–202.

39 James D. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 18–52.

40 Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, 52–69.

41 Purvis, ibid., 69–87.

42 Joseph Naveh and Yitzhak Magen, "Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions of the Second-Century BCE at Mount Gerizim," *'Atiqot* 32 (1997): 9*–17*. [See now Yitzhak Magen,

In view of this information, we must reexamine the origins of the "Samaritan script."

We shall launch our discussion with the four Samaritan inscriptions uncovered at Emmaus,[43] with which Purvis was acquainted. The first inscription was discovered in 1881. It was engraved upon an Ionic column and consists of a bilingual inscription in Greek and Hebrew. The Greek reads EIS ΘEOS and the Hebrew ברוך שמו לעולם. The three other inscriptions unearthed at the site are longer and consist of passages from the book of Exodus.[44] The first inscription was usually attributed to the first century CE due to paleographic considerations.[45] Nonetheless, as Pummer has recently noted, dating a Samaritan inscription based solely upon paleographic considerations is difficult and usually impossible since the stone's hardness, the stonecutter's artistic ability, and local epigraphic traditions engendered significant epigraphic variations. Pummer therefore concluded that one must rely principally upon historical information rather than paleographic considerations in order to date Samaritan inscriptions.[46]

Inasmuch as the first inscription from Emmaus engraved upon an Ionic column was discovered near a church, some scholars have claimed that it belonged to a Samaritan synagogue. These scholars hypothesized that the three other inscriptions uncovered at Emmaus also originated in the same Samaritan synagogue.[47] Current historical and archaeological data confirm that Emmaus was a Jewish settlement up until the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.[48] A comparison of the letters appearing in the first inscription from Emmaus with the letters in the other inscriptions reveals significant paleographical differences. It should be noted that only a relatively small number of first century CE synagogues have been discovered in Palestine up until the present, and no bilingual inscriptions

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Haggai Misgav, and Levana Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations.* Vol. 1, *The Aramaic, Hebrew, and Samaritan Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology—Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, and Israel Antiquities Authority, 2004), 253–59].

43 See James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect* (Philadelphia: J.C. Winston Co., 1907), Pl. 4–6.

44 Reinhard Pummer, "Inscriptions," in Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans*, 190–94, at 192–93.

45 Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, 23.

46 Pummer, "Inscriptions," 191.

47 On the inscriptions found in Emmaus and their possible link with the Samaritan synagogue found there, see Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, 275–87; Ze'ev Safrai, "Samaritan Synagogues in the Roman-Byzantine Period," *Cathedra* 4 (1997): 100–101 (Hebrew); Pummer, "Inscriptions," 192. But see Joseph Naveh, "Did Ancient Samaritan Inscriptions Belong to Synagogues?" in *Ancient Synagogues in Israel* (ed. Rachel Hachlili; BAR International Series 499; Oxford: BAR International, 1989), 61–63.

48 L.H. Vincent, and F.M. Abel, *Emmäus, sa Basilique et son histoire* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1932); Mordechai Gichon, "(EQED, ḤORVAT," in Ephraim Stern (ed.), *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 416–17.

have been uncovered within them.[49] Accordingly, although the Ionic column upon which the inscription was engraved indubitably predates the other inscriptions, we cannot accept the hypothesis that this inscription was engraved in the first century CE. It was more probably engraved following the Bar Kokhba Revolt, when the Samaritans settled in Emmaus.[50] If the four inscriptions from Emmaus originated in one Samaritan synagogue built at the site then we must assume that the first inscription was written in the second century CE—prior to the development of the Samaritan script characteristic of the third century and prior to the other inscriptions. However, since the Samaritan inscriptions were apparently used as *mezuzot*,[51] we can therefore assume that the inscriptions belonged to various individual houses. There are no grounds to assume that the four inscriptions belonged to the same synagogue, with the first one preceding the three others. An analysis of the first Emmaus inscription shows that its script is no more similar to the script on the coins of the Great Revolt than it is to the script on the coins of the Bar Kokhba Revolt.[52]

Epigraphic findings published in the last two decades of the twentieth century establish that the paleo-Hebrew script documented in inscriptions originating from the region of Samaria or attributed to the Samaritans, such as the *bulla* of "[…]YHW son of [San]ballat, governor of Samaria," discovered at Wadi ed-Daliyeh,[53] inscriptions from Mt. Gerizim, and the first inscription from Emmaus, does not differ from the paleo-Hebrew script documented in Jewish inscriptions from the same period. The writing on the *bulla* from Wadi ed-Daliyeh is identical to the writing on Jewish *bullae* published by Avigad.[54] The inscription from Emmaus resembles those on Jewish coins from the First Re-

49 Lee I. Levine, "The Second Temple Synagogue: The Formative Years," in *The Synagogue in Late Antiquity* (ed. Lee I. Levine; Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1987), 7–31.

50 Gedaliah Alon, *The Jews in Their Land in the Talmudic Age (70–640 C. E.)* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1984), 2:742–46.

51 Naveh, "Ancient Samaritan Inscriptions."

52 As opposed to Purvis, The *Samaritan Pentateuch*, 22–28. The *bet* and the *resh* in the first Emmaus inscription are similar to the Bar-Kokhba coins; the *waw* and the *kaph* are similar to the Great Revolt coins; but the *shin* is similar to the Bar-Kokhba ones. Having no clear distinction in the form of the *mem*, *lamed,* and *'ayin* between the script of the Great Revolt coins and that of the Bar-Kokhba coins, one cannot determine clearly whether the script of the first Emmaus inscription reflects a development of the script used at the end of the Second Temple period, rather than the script used during the Bar-Kokhba Revolt. As is well known, dating these inscriptions should be based on the later forms of the letters.

53 Frank Moore Cross, "The Papyri and Their Historical Implications," in *Discoveries in the Wadi ed-Daliyeh* (ed. Paul W. Lapp and Nancy L. Lapp; AASOR 41; Cambridge, MA: ASOR, 1974), 17–29, at 18.

54 Nahman Avigad, *Bullae and Seals from a Post-Exilic Judean Archive* (Qedem 4; Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1976).

volt and the Bar Kokhba Revolt.[55] On the other hand, the Samaritan script documented in Samaritan inscriptions starting from the third century CE, as well as in the manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, is a development of the paleo-Hebrew script used among Jews during the first century CE. The origins of the Samaritan script can be discerned in two scrolls found at Qumran. Inasmuch as the first scroll, 1QPaleoLev,[56] is written in paleo-Hebrew script it is difficult to determine its precise date. Scholars have proposed dating it to the Hasmonean period.[57] It is easier to establish an exact date for the second scroll, 4QIsa^{c}, whose writing bears a greater resemblance to the Samaritan script. This scroll is written in the Jewish script, which developed from the Aramaic script, although the Divine names are written in paleo-Hebrew script.[58] Following the publication of Purvis' book, a transcription of the paleo-Hebrew letters interwoven within 4QIsa^{c} was published.[59] Paleographic considerations, based upon the Jewish script,[60] enable us to readily date the scroll to the end of the Second Temple period.

The Abba inscription uncovered in the Giv'at ha-Mivtar neighborhood of Jerusalem provides the Jewish inscription in paleo-Hebrew script most similar to the Samaritan script. The inscription was discovered in 1970 on the wall of a side room, wherein one sole niche had been hewn. An ossuary was found in the main room of this cave. In light of the cave's archaeological findings, the tomb can be unequivocally dated to the first century CE.[61] The inscription itself comprises seven lines, with red chiseled letters. The letters in the second and fifth lines were not colored, except for their background. The inscription's language is Aramaic and up until the present time it furnishes the only example of the use of paleo-Hebrew script in an Aramaic inscription from the Second Temple period. Saul Lieberman has identified the Abba inscription as Samaritan due to its similarity with the Samaritan script and since the Samaritans used Samaritan script for Aramaic and Arabic texts in later periods.[62] Eliezer Samson Rosen-

55 Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, 23.

56 Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, "Lévitique et Autres Fragments en Écriture 'Phénicienne," in *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 51–54, Pl. 8.

57 Richard S. Hanson, "Paleo-Hebrew Scripts in the Hasmonean Age," *BASOR* 175 (1964): 26–42, at 41.

58 Patrick W. Skehan, "The Text of Isaias at Qumrân," *CBQ* 17 (1955): 158–163, at 162; Dennis Green, "4QIs^{c}: A Rabbinic Production of Isaiah Found at Qumran," *JJS* 53 (2002): 120–45.

59 Mark D. McLean, "The Use and Development of Paleo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1982), Pl. 5.

60 Skehan, "The Text of Isaiah," 162.

61 Vassilios Tzaferis, "The 'ABBA' Burial Cave in Jerusalem," *'Atiqot* 7 (1974): 61–64 (Hebrew).

62 Saul Lieberman, "Notes on the Giv'at ha-Mivtar Inscription," *P'raqim Yearbook of the Schocken Institute for Jewish Research 2* (1974): 375–80 (Hebrew).

thal, who published the inscription, deliberated as to whether this is a Jewish or Samaritan inscription. He concluded that Abba was Jewish since the inscription does not contain any definitive signs of Samaritan writing; moreover, the Abba inscription significantly predates other known Samaritan inscriptions. Abba was born in Jerusalem and called his birthplace Jerusalem, whereas the Samaritans scrupulously avoided using this name. He brought the remains of Mattathias son of Judah from Babylon and buried them in Jerusalem. Abba consequently appears to be Jewish.[63] Epigraphic findings from the Second Temple period attributed to Samaritans and written in Aramaic substantiate the Jewishness of the Abba inscription even more than the Samaritan inscriptions from this period written in paleo-Hebrew. The legends imprinted on the coins of the city of Samaria in the fourth century BCE were written in Aramaic script; all the documents discovered in Wadi ed-Daliyeh were written in Aramaic script; and only the single *bulla* noted above ("[…]YHW son of [San]ballat, governor of Samaria,") was stamped with a seal written in Hebrew script. Over sixty fragments of Samaritan inscriptions written in Aramaic script were uncovered on Mt. Gerizim, as opposed to only six inscriptions written in paleo-Hebrew script.[64] The first century CE tomb inscriptions unearthed at Kefar 'Illar (ten kilometers east of Tul Karem) and at Jatt are perhaps Samaritan inscriptions. This confirms Samaritan use of a Jewish script, developed from Aramaic, during the Second Temple period.[65]

Likewise, there is more evidence indicating that Jews employed the paleo-Hebrew script during the Hellenistic period than there is regarding its use by the Samaritans. Jews used paleo-Hebrew script for stamping coins, administrative stamps (such as the "Jerusalem" stamp), writing scrolls (found at Qumran

63 Eliezer Samson [A.S.] Rosenthal, "The Giv'at ha-Mivtar Inscription," *P'raqim Yearbook of the Schocken Institute for Jewish Research* 2 (1974): 335–73, at 335–36; 372–73 (Hebrew); idem, "The Giv'at ha-Mivtar Inscription," *IEJ* 23 (1973): 72–81, at 80. Based on his discussion of the script, Naveh came to the conclusion that it is a Jewish inscription; see Joseph Naveh, "An Aramaic Tomb Inscription Written in Paleo-Hebrew Script," *IEJ* 23 (1973): 82–91, at 91; idem, *Early History of the Alphabet* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1987) 120–21. Although the Abba inscription seems to be of Jewish origin, based on the research of Patricia Smith, "The Human Skeletal Remains from the Abba Cave," *IEJ* 27 (1977): 121–24; and of Tal Ilan, "The Greek Names of the Hasmoneans," *JQR* 78 (1987): 1–20, at 12–13, it is difficult to accept Grintz's opinion, identifying Mattathius son of Judah with Antigonus Mattathius, son of Aristobulus II; see Yehoshua M. Grintz, "The Giv'at Hamivtar Inscription: A Historical Interpretation," *Sinai* 75 (1974) 20–23 (Hebrew).

64 Naveh and Magen, "Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions."

65 On the inscription found at the entrance to a tomb-cave at 'Illar, see Benjamin Mazar, "A Hebrew Inscription from 'Illar," *BIES* 18 (1954): 154–57 (Hebrew). On the Jatt inscription, see Yosef Porath, Yehuda Neeman, and Aviva Boshnino, "Jatt," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel 1988/89* 7–8 (1988–89): 83–84. For the possibility of such inscriptions being Samaritan in origin, see: Joseph Naveh, "Scripts and Inscriptions in Ancient Samaria," *IEJ* 48 (1998): 94–95.

and Masada), inscriptions (a column's fragment of a marble slab found near the Temple Mount in Jerusalem and the Abba inscription), on ossuaries (found at Mt. Scopus), on sarcophagi (discovered at Masada), as well as column fragments and tags (at Masada) during the Second Temple period. These finds confirm that Jews utilized the paleo-Hebrew script during the Second Temple period for official purposes (on seals, coins, and perhaps even in an inscription from the Temple Mount), religious needs (the scrolls), and even in daily life.[66] Therefore the use of the paleo-Hebrew script during the Second Temple period does not prove that an inscription was Samaritan.

The inscriptions mentioned above substantiate the widespread use of the paleo-Hebrew script among Jews during the Second Temple period. Based upon the writing in 4QIsa^{c} and the Abba inscription, which were unknown to Purvis, we can ascertain that the Samaritans adopted the paleo-Hebrew script used by the Jews at the end of the Second Temple period, as suggested by Cross and Naveh, following the discovery of the Abba inscription.[67] The paleo-Hebrew script evolved into a script characteristic of the Samaritans following the Bar Kokhba Revolt. Starting from the third century CE, there is documentation of a "Samaritan script," which developed from the Hebrew script of the end of the Second Temple period. Accordingly, the Samaritan script does not provide any confirmation for the evolution of the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Samaritan sect during the Hasmonean period.

4. The Dating of the Samaritan Version of the Pentateuch in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls

We shall now address Purvis' other hypotheses relating to the date of the SP's formation. As regards Purvis' second premise, although most of the orthography of the SP is more full than in the MT, certain grammatical categories in the MT are more complete than in the SP.[68] Hence, the SP's orthography does not verify its development during the Hasmonean period.

When Purvis composed his book, only a sparse number of harmonistic scrolls had been published and he therefore utilized Cross' data on the SP's textual character (Purvis' third rationale).[69] In view of the publication of four ad-

66 Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet*, 119–23.

67 Cross, "Samaria and Jerusalem," 201; Naveh, "Scripts and Inscriptions in Ancient Samaria," 91–100.

68 Menachem Cohen, "The Orthography of the Samaritan Pentateuch," *Beth Mikra* 21 (1976): 54–70 (Hebrew).

69 Cross had the rights of publication of most of the harmonistic scrolls, still unpublished in 1968.

ditional harmonistic scrolls from Qumran during the past decade: 4QDeut[n],[70] 4QNum[b],[71] 4QPaleoExod[m],[72] and 4Q364,[73] the hypotheses that prompted Cross' conclusion concerning the SP's formation during the Hasmonean period can now be more precisely examined.

In 1991 Esther Eshel identified additional Second Temple period texts that had undergone harmonistic editing: 4QDeut[j], 4QDeut[k1],[74] the Nash papyrus uncovered in Egypt,[75] and a collection of five sheets of *tefillin* and *mezuzot* discovered at Qumran (4QPhyl J, 4QPhyl G, 4QMez A, 8QPhyl, XQPhyl 3).[76] Therefore, we now have fifteen Second Temple period texts with harmonistic editing, similar in character to the harmonistic editing in the SP.[77] Most of the texts are fragments from the book of Deuteronomy, as well as one long scroll, several fragmentary sections containing the harmonistic version of the book of Exodus, and one scroll of the book of Numbers with harmonistic editing. In 4Q364 there is a passage from the harmonistic version of the book of Genesis. No evidence of Second Temple period text types of the book of Leviticus with harmonistic editing has yet been found.

The following table was formulated in order to examine when the Samaritan version of the Pentateuch developed. It contains paleographic data establishing the time period for the transcription of Second Temple period text types with harmonistic editing.

70 White Crawford, "4QDeut[n]"; Eshel, "4QDeut[n]."

71 Nathan R. Jastram, "4QNum[b]," in Eugene Ulrich and Frank Moore Cross (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4, VII: Genesis to Numbers* (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 205–67.

72 Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, "4QPaleoExod[m]."

73 Tov and White [Crawford], "4QReworked Pentateuch[b]."

74 Julie A. Duncan, "4QDeut[j], 4QDeut[k1]," in Eugene Ulrich et al. (eds), *Qumran Cave 4:IX* (DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 75–98; Frank Moore Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 174–81.

75 William F. Albright, "A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabaean Age: The Nash Papyrus," *JBL* 56 (1937): 145–76.

76 For the publication of the *tefillin* and *mezuzot* found in Cave 4, see Józef T. Milik, *Qumrân grotte 4.II: Tefillin, Mezuzot et Targums (4Q128–4Q157)* (DJD 6; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977); and of Cave 8, see Maurice Baillet, Józef T. Milik, and Roland de Vaux, *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962). Another *tefillin* found in Qumran was published by Yigael Yadin, "Tefillin (Phylacteries) from Qumran (XQPhyl 1–4)," *EI* 9 (1969): 60–83 (Hebrew).

77 Eshel, "4QDeut[n]," 121–23.

Second Temple Period Text Types with Harmonistic Editing

Version	*Date of Transcription*	*Reference*
1. 4QPaleoExod[m]	End of the second century or the first half of the first century BCE	McLean, "The Use and Development," 66–78
2. 4Num[b]	Early Herodian, 30 BCE–20 CE	Jastram, DJD 12:211; Cross "Development of the Jewish Scripts," 138, line 5
3. 4QDeut[n]	Early Herodian, c.30–1 BCE	White-Crawford, DJD 14:117
4. 4QDeut[j]	Late Herodian, c. 50 CE	Duncan, DJD 14:77
5. 4QDeut[kl]	Early Herodian	Duncan, DJD 14:94
6. 4Q158	Late Hasmonean or Early Herodian	Strugnell, "Notes," 168
7. 4QTest	End of the second century BCE	Cross, "Development of the Jewish Scripts," 198, n.116; Eshel, "Historical Background."
8. 4Q364	End of the Hasmonean period	Tov and White, DJD 13:201
9. Nash Papyrus	Hasmonean period	Albright, "A Biblical Fragment."
10. 4QMez A	Second or first century BCE	Milik, DJD 6:80
11. 4QPhyl G	Undated	Milik, DJD 6:58
12. 4QPhyl J	Undated	Milik, DJD 6:64
13. 8QMez	Herodian	Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux, DJD 3:158
14. 8QPhyl	First century CE	Baillet, Milik and de Vaux, DJD 3:149
15. XQPhyl 3	First half of the first century CE	Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran*, 69

These harmonistic texts contain additions and emendations of the text's sequence in order to resolve internal contradictions or add details taken from a parallel biblical description. This was not only true for individual cases; it entailed a systematic process.[78] The scribes who augmented and changed the texts in question believed that inconsistencies in the Pentateuch somehow diminish the text's sanctity. The harmonistic version of the Ten Commandments expresses the desire to reject the traditional justification that "'Remember' and

78 Eshel, "4QDeut[n]," 121.

'Observe' were spoken in a single utterance" (*b. Roš Haš.* 27a), which nullified human limitations for all things associated with Divine speech. On the other hand, like the Sages, the editors of the harmonistic version also believed that the two versions of the Ten Commandments, in Exodus and in Deuteronomy, faithfully reported the words of God at Mt. Sinai. An analysis of the harmonistic texts in our possession illustrates the exegetical problems confronting Jewish sages during the Second Temple period. For example, 4QPaleoExod^{m} also documents the transformation of "we will do and we will hearken"[78a] in Exod 24:7 to "we will hearken and we will do" as in the SP. A comparison between the MT and text types with harmonistic editing shows that the difficulties the harmonistic editors attempted to resolve also existed in the MT. The harmonistic editors' version was consequently probably close to the version known today as the MT.[79] Significantly, the SP is the only version with comprehensive harmonistic editing in all five books of the Pentateuch.

Second Temple period harmonistic text types reflect an awareness of the variants among the descriptions of events in the Bible and not differences among collections of laws.[80] The exegetical changes in law compilations in the SP are not documented in Second Temple period text types, for example:

Exod 21:29
MT, 4QPaleoExod^{m}: השור יסקל
SP: הבהמה תסקל

Exod 21:31
MT, 4QPaleoExod^{m}: או בן יגח
SP: או בן יכה

In these two cases the law was expanded in the SP in order to clarify that not only an ox but also any animal causing injury must be stoned. Consequently, the topic is not only damages caused by an ox but by other animals as well. Some scholars have claimed that these legal expansions were due to the inadequacy of the Samaritan oral law.[81] The correspondence between the changes in the SP and in Jewish law has already been examined.[82] For example, in certain cases the word "ox" in the MT was changed to "animal" in the SP (Exod 21:28, 29, 32). In other cases, when the "ox" or "ass" were mentioned, the SP added the words "or any animal" (Exod 21:28, 32, 35; 22:3; 23:4 and Deut 22:1, 4). The generalization

78a [*Eds.*: This traditional literal translation reflects the order of the words that are transposed; this is not clear in the idiomatic rendering of NJPS, "we will faithfully do!"].

79 Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing," 6.

80 Tov, "Proto-Samaritan Texts."

81 Weiss, *Studies in the Text*, 160, 190–205.

82 David Daube, "Zur frühtalmudischen Rechtspraxis," *ZAW* 50 (1932): 148–59.

"or any animal" is only mentioned once in the MT (Exod 22:9). These changes in the SP were interpreted as a comprehensive judicial expansion similar to the rabbinic ruling that when the Bible mentions damages from an ox it signifies any animal (*Mekhilta derabi Yishmael*, *Mishpatim*, Horowitz Rabin edition, p. 280). However, in regard to paying four and five times the cost, which according to Jewish law is only valid for an ox and sheep (*b. B.Qam* 7a), the SP left the original phrase "ox or sheep" (Exod 21:37) and did not add "or any animal."[83]

One such change is documented in the harmonistic texts—4Q158 and apparently 4QPaleoExod^{m} as well.[84] In 4Q158, the text corresponding to Exod 22:4 reads:

> כי יבעה[איש שדה או כרם ושלח את בעירו ובער בשדה אחר שלם ישלם משדהו כת]בואתו אם כול השדה יבעה מיטיב שדהו ומיטב כרמו י[שלם].

The SP resembles 4Q158 except for the following change in the second word of the verse: it is written כי יבעה at the beginning of 4Q158 while the SP version has כי יבעיר. The MT reads: כי יבער איש שדה או כרם ושלח את בעירה ובער בשדה אחר מיטב שדהו ומיטב כרמו ישלם. This verse presents two exegetical problems: 1. What does the word יבער signify? 2. What is the law—is one obligated to make restitution for any impairment to the field or only if the entire field is damaged? The objective of the emendation documented in 4Q158 and the SP was to establish that the owner of the animal must make restitution only if the entire field is destroyed. If only part of the field is destroyed then the owner must give compensation from his field for the amount of grain damaged.[85] The root בע"ר can be interpreted either as the kindling of a fire or the consumption of grain by an animal (see Isa 5:5). The Sages viewed this verse as the judicial basis for compensation on account of animal grazing and thus the expression was interpreted to mean grazing. The LXX, the Peshiṭta, and all the Aramaic translations also translated it in this manner. However the Targum Neofiti, as well as an Targum fragment from the Geniza,[86] translated it as follows: ארום יקד גבר ("if a man sets a fire"); in other words, it signifies kindling a fire. The emendation from יבעיר to יבעה documented in the SP and 4Q158 is based upon the Aramaic root בע"ה

83 Weiss, *Studies in the Text*, 160–63.

84 In 4QPaleoExod^{m} the verse of Exod 22:4 did not survive, but there is enough space for reconstructing the Samaritan variant, found also in 4Q158, while the MT has a shorter version.

85 Aryeh Toeg, "Exodus XII, 4: The Text and the Law in the Light of the Ancient Sources," *Tarbiz* 39 (1970): 223–31 (Hebrew).

86 Based on the publication of an Aramaic *Targum* fragment found in the Geniza, reading: ארום יבקר גבר בחקל או כרם וישלח ית יקידתה ויוקד בחקלא דאחרן בית שפר חקלא ובית שפר כרמא ישלם. This issue was intensively investigated by Jehiel J. Weinberg, Meḥkarim batalmud (Berlin: Bet ha-midrash le-rabanim, 1937–1938) 68–82 (Hebrew). For additional bibliography, see Toeg, "Exodus XII," 4.

which can signify either grazing or grain. The emendation of this verse appears once in the SP and twice in 4Q158. Its objective was to establish that the subject is damages due to animal grazing and not from kindling a fire as the translator of the fragment from the Geniza as well as the author of the Targum Neofiti had interpreted it.[87] In this case, 4Q158 documents a more comprehensive exegetical editing than the SP.

In light of 4Q158's version of Exod 22:4, it is doubtful whether the absence of a Samaritan oral law engendered the few halakhic additions in the SP. Such a change is more fully documented in one of the Second Temple period text types than in the SP, which indicates that Jews may have appended the additions and halakhic changes to the SP during the end of the Second Temple period. The fact that other halakhic additions were not preserved in the harmonistic scrolls uncovered at Qumran is probably purely coincidental. Therefore it cannot be assumed that these additions postdate the adoption of the harmonistic version or that the Samaritans added them. The above hypothesis explains the various cases Daube and Weiss compiled wherein halakhic additions in the SP reflect a halakhah similar to one documented in rabbinic sources.

The comparison between the SP and harmonistic texts from the Second Temple period reveals that certain Second Temple period texts underwent a more comprehensive harmonistic editing than the SP. This point can be proved by investigating the harmonistic version of Deuteronomy 5, documented in eight texts with harmonistic editing (the SP, 4QDeut^{n}, the Nash Papyrus, 4QPhyl G, 4QPhyl J, 4QMez A, 8QPhyl, and XQPhyl 3); the version of Deuteronomy 11 documented in four text types with harmonistic editing (the SP, 4QDeut^{j}, 4QDeut^{kl}, and 8QMez); as well as by the harmonistic version of Exodus 20 documented in four text types (the SP, 4QPaleoExod^{m}, 4QTest, and 4Q158).

Text types preserving the harmonistic version of Deuteronomy 5 are divided into three groups. The first group contains texts with limited harmonistic editing in order to bring the version of the Ten Commandments in Deuteronomy closer to that in Exodus. In this editing, the commandment concerning the Sabbath resembles the MT in Deuteronomy. This group includes the SP, XQPhyl 3, and 4QPhyl J. The changes documented in these text types are as follows:

Deut 5:8
MT: כל תמונה
SP, XQPhyl 3, 4QPhyl J: וכ(ו)ל תמונה

Deut 5:9
MT: ועל שלשים
SP, XQPhyl 3: על של(י)שים
Harmonization to Exod 20:5.

87 Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing," 106–8.

Deut 5:14
MT: לא תעשה כל מלאכה
SP, 4QPhyl J: לא תעשה בו כל מלאכה
The same reading is found in SP to Exod 20:10, based on harmonization to Exod 35:2.

Deut 5:18–21
MT: ולא תנאף\תגנב\תענה\תחמד\תתאוה
SP, XQPhyl 3: לא תנאף\תגנב\תענה\תחמד\תחמד\
Harmonization to Exod 20:14–17.

Deut 5:20
MT, SP: עד שוא
XQPhyl 3: עד שקר
Harmonization to Exod 20:16.

Deut 5:21
MT: ולא תתאוה בית רעך
SP, XQPhyl 3, 4QPhyl J: לא תחמ(ו)ד בית רעך
Harmonization to Exod 20:17. The MT reads: בית … אשת, while in SP the sequence is: אשת … בית, as harmonization to the verse.

XQPhyl 3 ends with Deut 5:21 but SP and 4QPhyl J have further harmonizations:

Deut 5:22
MT: הענן והערפל
SP, 4QPhyl J: ח(ו)שך ענן וערפל
Harmonization to Deut 4:11 and to 5:23.

Deut 5:27
4QDeut^{j}: [כול אשר יאמר יהוה אלהינו אליכ[ה
MT: כל אשר יאמר יהוה אלהינו
This harmonization, found also in 4QPhyl J and 4QPhyl H, is harmonization to the next verse, 5:28.

The first ten emendations detailed above change the version in Deuteronomy 5, based upon Exodus 20. These changes are also documented in the subsequent text types, surveyed below.[88] It therefore appears that this does not reflect incidental change but rather systematic harmonistic editing.

The second group preserves a harmonistic version of the Ten Commandments in Deuteronomy. It includes text types with all of the changes in the first group, as well as an almost complete harmonization of the commandment concerning the Sabbath. This group includes the Nash Papyrus, 8QPhyl, 4QMez A,

88 Most of the variants documented in the Second Temple sources which we identified in this group, are also found in SP, other than the harmonization found in Deut 5:20.

and 4QPhyl G. This group of text types omits the rationale of the bondage in Egypt for keeping the Sabbath, which appears in Deut 5:14. Rather, it gives the rationale of the Creation, which appears in Exod 20:11.

Deut 5:14–15
MT and SP:... למען ינוח עבדך ... וזכרת כי עבד היית
Nash Papyrus, 8QPhyl, 4QMez A, and 4QPhyl G:
כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את השמים ואת הארץ את הים וכל אשר בם וינח ביום השביעי על כן ברך יהוה את יום השבת ויקדשו

The third harmonistic version of the Ten Commandments in Deuteronomy is documented in 4QDeut^{n}. All the emendations documented in the above text types appear in this scroll; however, two explanations are given for the commandment concerning the Sabbath. The first reason— the enslavement in Egypt—is also found in the MT version of Deuteronomy. The second reason given also appears in the MT of Exodus—the Sabbath as a remembrance of the Creation. This harmonistic version is also documented in the Vatican manuscript of the LXX.[89]

The SP version of the Ten Commandments consequently reflects limited harmonistic editing, as opposed to the scrolls discovered in Qumran and the Nash Papyrus uncovered in Egypt, which reflect more comprehensive harmonistic editing than the SP. We can summarize the differences among the three different stages of editing in the following table:

Exod 20:8–11	Deut 5:12–15		
MT, SP	MT, SP	LXX	4QDeut^{n}
זכור (שמור) את יום השבת לקדש(ה)ו	שמור את יום השבת לקדש(ה)ו כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך	שמור את יום השבת לקדשו כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך	שמור את יום השבת לקדשו כאשר צוך יהוה אלהיך
ששת ימים תעבד ועשית כל מלאכתך ויום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלהיך לא תעשה (בו) כל מלאכה אתה ובנך ובתך עבדך ואמתך (שורך וחמרך) (ו)בהמתך וגרך אשר בשעריך	ששת ימים תעבד ועשית כל מלאכתך ויום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלהיך לא תעשה (בו) כל מלאכה אתה ובנך ובתך (ו)עבדך ואמתך (ו)שורך וחמרך וכל בהמתך וגרך אשר בשעריך	ששת ימים תעבוד ועשית את כל מלאכתך וביום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלוהיך לא תעשה בו כל מלאכה אתה ובנך ובתך עבדך ואמתך ושורך וחמורך וכל בהמתך וגרך אשר בשעריך	ששת ימים תעבוד ועשית את כול מלאכתך וביום השביעי שבת ליהוה אלוהיך לוא תעשה בו כל מלאכה אתה בנך בתך עבדך ואמתך שורך וחמורך ובהמתך גריך אשר בשעריך

89 Eshel, "4QDeut^{n}," 146.

Exod 20:8–11	Deut 5:12–15		
MT, SP	MT, SP	LXX	4QDeut[n]
		Codex Vaticanus	
כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את השמים ואת הארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בם		כי ששת ימים עשה יהוה את השמים ואת הארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בם	
	למען ינוח עבדך ואמתך כמוך	למען ינוח עבדך ואמתך כמוך	למען ינוח עבדך ואמתך כמוך
	וזכרת כי עבד היית בארץ מצרים וי(ו)צ(י)אך יהוה אלהיך משם ביד חזקה ובזר(ו)ע נטויה על כן צוך יהוה אלהיך לעשות את יום השבת	וזכרת כי עבד היית בארץ מצרים ויצאיך יהוה אלוהיך משם ביד חזקה ובזרוע נטויה על כן צוך יהוה אלהיך לשמור את יום השבת לקודשו	וזכרתה כי עבד היית בארץ מצרים ויציאך יהוה אלוהיך משם ביד חזקה ובזרוע נטויה על כן צוך יהוה אלוהיך לשמור את יום השבת לקדשו

The harmonistic version of Deuteronomy 11, documented in four text types, furnishes a similar account. All three scrolls unearthed at Qumran reflect a more comprehensive harmonistic editing of this chapter than that documented in the SP. We will illustrate this with the version of Deuteronomy 11:8. The MT and SP read as follows for this verse:

> ושמרתם את כל המצוה אשר אנכי מצוך (SP—מצוה אתכם) היום למען תחזקו ובאתם וירשתם את הארץ אשר אתם עברים (SP—באים) שמה לרשתה.

On the other hand, 4QDeut[j], 4QDeut[kl], and 8QMez contain three harmonistic additions for this verse, which supplement details based upon parallels of this passage. The three additions are documented in 4QDeut[kl]. The first was preserved in 4QDeut[j] and the two others were reconstructed therein; however, only the first two additions are documented in 8QMez. The additions are as follows:

1. The commandment החוקים והמשפטים (the laws and the rules)—based upon Deut 7:11.
2. So that you may thrive ורביתם (and increase)—based upon Deut 8:1.
3. That you are crossing הירדן (the Jordan) to possess—based upon Deut 30:18; 31:13.

Since these harmonistic additions are not documented in the SP, the harmonistic version documented in 4QDeut[j], 4QDeut[kl], and 8QMez is apparently more comprehensive than the SP.[90]

90 Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing," 117–18.

A segment was added to the SP version of Exodus 20, following verse 21. The beginning was extracted from Deut 5:22–26 and the end from Deut 18:18–19. It is also documented in 4QPaleoExod^{m}, 4QTest, and 4Q158. The segment is composed of four harmonistic additions that supplement details in a "poor" text on the basis of a "rich" text. The first addition documents the rationale for the Israelites' request that Moses will act as an intermediary between them and God. The MT of Exodus also hints at this rationale but does not explicitly mention it. It appears in the MT of Deut 5:25: למה נמות כי תאכלנו האש הגדולה הזאת. The second addition consists of God's reaction to the request not to hear His words directly. This addition is extracted from Deut 5:28–29. The MT of Exodus does not mention God's reaction to the Israelites' request although it is cited in the SP and other harmonistic versions, based upon Deuteronomy. The third part of this addition deals with the issue of a true and false prophet. The MT of Deut 18:15–16 reads: נביא מקרבך מאחיך כמני יקים לך יהוה אלהיך ככל אשר שאלת מעם יהוה אלהיך בחרב ביום הקהל. Therefore this addition was added on to Exodus 20, since בחרב ביום הקהל was mentioned. Thus a section based upon the SP Deut 18:18–19 was added to 4QPaleoExod^{m} and 4QTest, after Exod 20:21. Following the text discussing a true and false prophet, God's command to Moses appears in the SP—to tell the Israelites to return to their tents—while Moses is commanded to remain and hear the laws dealing with the sanctified sites and altars. This addition is taken from the MT of Deut 5:27–28.

In 4Q158 the editor preceded the Ten Commandments with the people's request to hear God's words through Moses. This request was added to the SP of Exod 20:21, in other words, following the Ten Commandments. Consequently, the request that Moses mediate between God and the Israelites appears in the SP after the Revelation at Mt. Sinai while in 4Q158 it precedes the Ten Commandments. In this manner, the harmonistic editor of the version documented in 4Q158 attempted to reconcile the texts of Exodus and Deuteronomy regarding who uttered the Ten Commandments. (Exod 20:1 declares that God spoke all these words while Deut 5:1–5 states that Moses uttered the Ten Commandments).

In the addition to Deuteronomy, documented in 4QPaleoExod^{m} and 4QTest and in the SP as well, the following sentence was added to 4Q158, based upon Deut 5:28; 5:30: [...] להמה נביא [ר]אמו את קול דברי [ועתה כשומעכה...]. This sentence is not documented in other text types with harmonistic editing.

The preamble ויאמר יהוה אל משה is another harmonistic version that exists only in 4Q158. It was added between the section discussing true and false prophets and the command for the Israelites to return to their tents. This formula appears at the end of the large harmonistic addition to Exod 20:21 and does not appear in the SP.

The harmonizations added to 4Q158 in order to make the command correspond to the action—relating that the Israelites did indeed return to their tents while Moses did indeed remain with God—are not documented in the SP.

Another change in 4Q158 is documented in a version of Exod 20:17:

MT, SP לא תחמד בית רעך (ו)לא תחמד אשת רעך
4Q158 לוא תחמוד אשת ר[עכה לא תחמד בית רעך]

This is a harmonization of Deut 5:12. In the SP and 4QPhyl G Deuteronomy was adapted to the version in Exodus while in 4Q158 the version in Exodus was adapted to Deuteronomy.

The harmonistic version documented in 4Q158 is therefore clearly different and more comprehensive than the SP. It can solve significant difficulties in the biblical version, which are encountered in the SP.[91] The aforementioned halakhic changes common to both the 4Q158 and the SP versions reveal that 4Q158 documents a more comprehensive editing than the SP.

In light of the above analysis, we can conclude that the harmonistic editing reflected in 4QPaleoEx[m], 8QPhyl, XQPhyl 3, 4QNum[b], 4QTest, 4Q364, and 4QPhyl J—has the same scope as that of the SP and most of the harmonistic changes documented in these scrolls also exist in the SP. However 4QDeut[n], 4QDeut[j], 4QDeut[kl], 4Q158, the Nash Papyrus, 8QPhyl, 4QMez A, 4QPhyl G, and 8QMez have a more comprehensive editing than what is documented in the SP.

In our opinion, this distinction had a crucial impact upon the issue of the SP's chronological development. The scrolls pertaining to the second group reflect a more comprehensive harmonistic editing than the SP, and were written in either late Hasmonean or Herodian script. On the other hand, scrolls featuring harmonistic editing, with the same additions and scope as the SP, were dated to the end of the second century BCE or the beginning of the first century BCE.

No scrolls incorporating the entire Pentateuch were uncovered at Qumran.[92] It consequently seems to have been uncommon to possess large scrolls with the entire Pentateuch during the Second Temple period; rather, individual books written on scrolls were the norm.[93] The Samaritans appear to have deliberately chosen five scrolls with harmonistic editing for their authoritative version of the Bible. It is improbable that other Jewish groups in Palestine possessed only harmonistic texts and that the Samaritans decided to adopt their scrolls in particular.[94] The findings at Qumran reflected a very broad textual pluralism in regard to the various versions of the Bible. Yadin's publication of a phylactery compartment with three of the original parchment sheets illustrates this pluralism. One parchment sheet (XQPhyl 3) contains a harmonistic version while the

91 Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing," 84–91.

92 Emanuel Tov, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39 (1988): 5–37.

93 Menahem Haran, "Archives, Libraries, and the Order of the Biblical Books," *JANESCU* 22 (1993): 51–61, at 52.

94 Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing," 6.

other two (XQPhyl 2, XQPhyl 1) embody a pre-Masoretic version.[95] This finding reinforces the hypothesis that the Samaritans' acquisition of harmonistic texts was not accidental—their selection of scrolls with harmonistic editing was intentional. The harmonistic version corresponded to the Samaritan outlook and in their opinion it could resolve the inconsistencies in the Bible. The harmonistic version was therefore chosen as the basis for the normative version of the Samaritan sect.[96]

We must now ask why the Samaritans did not choose a harmonistic version with more comprehensive editing than the one documented in the SP; why did they not select a version that solves additional difficulties extant in the biblical text? The answer to this question is essentially chronological. The Samaritans adopted scrolls with harmonistic editing that were prevalent when the authoritative version of their Pentateuch was established. This transpired during a period when Jewish scribes continued to refine the harmonistic version. Those scrolls with more comprehensive editing than the SP appear to reflect a version whose editing was concluded after the Samaritan adoption of the scrolls, which formed the basis for the SP. Once the SP was formulated, it was transcribed with great precision and no additional changes were made,[97] including harmonistic additions proposed by Jewish scribes.

4QTest, which includes sections from Exodus (the harmonistic version), Leviticus, and Deuteronomy, as well as *Pesher Joshua* 6:26, plays an important role in establishing the date for the SP's formation. In this scroll, which was copied at the end of the second century BCE or the beginning of the first century BCE, the citation of Exodus appears in a harmonistic version, which has the same amount of editing as the SP version.[98] This fact authenticates the editing, acceptance, and prevalence of this version in the second century BCE. Consequently, the discovery of texts with more comprehensive editing than the SP, which are written in Hasmonean and Herodian script, as well as the harmonistic section in 4QTest, prove that the primary version of the SP was created during the second century BCE.

This discussion of the SP cannot be concluded without exploring the issue of when sectarian changes were added to the SP (which are not documented in the Qumran scrolls). It can be presumed that these sectarian additions were carried out prior to the destruction of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim in 111 BCE. A recently published fragmentary Hebrew inscription uncovered in the sacred Samaritan site on Mt. Gerizim, may possibly support this hypothesis.[99] The

95 Eshel, "Harmonistic Editing," 116.

96 As opposed to Tov, "Proto-Samaritan Texts," 405–407.

97 Tov, "Proto-Samaritan Texts," 401.

98 Hanan Eshel, "The Historical Background of the Pesher Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RevQ* 15 (1992): 409–20.

99 Naveh and Magen, "Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions," *15, Inscription A.

third line of this inscription reads: [...]ר בח[...], and we may speculate that it can be completed as: [אש]ר בח[ר] This perhaps represents one of the sectarian changes cited in Deuteronomy.[100] Even if one does not accept this reconstruction, it can be assumed that the Samaritans chose the harmonistic Jewish version of the Pentateuch prevalent prior to the Hasmonean period. The Samaritans acquired this version during the period preceding the deterioration of Jewish-Samaritan relations due to the establishment of the Hasmonean state. Samaritan scribes who lived near the temple on Mt. Gerizim during the second century BCE probably added sectarian additions to this version.

The Jewish version of the Pentateuch adopted by the Samaritans in the second century BCE consequently formed the nucleus of the SP. Similarly to Jewish scribes of the same period, the Samaritans also believed in the need to resolve the internal contradictions in the Bible. They therefore chose the harmonistic version of five scrolls as the basis for their version. Once these scrolls were selected, the Samaritans did not revise their version, although some Jewish scribes added more harmonizations and solved other difficulties extant in the Bible. Sectarian changes establishing Mt. Gerizim as the primary sacred site were added to the Jewish version used by the Samaritan scribes. The SP consequently confirms a connection between Jews and Samaritans during the second century BCE. As a result of these relations, the Jewish harmonistic version, which forms the basis of the SP, reached the Samaritans. The sectarian additions to this version demonstrate an explicit religious ideology sanctifying Mt. Gerizim and challenging Jerusalem's holiness. During the second century BCE, Jewish harmonistic scrolls probably reached the Samaritans and the sectarian additions were made to the SP.

100 For a discussion concerning this possibility, see Hanan Eshel, "The Samaritans in the Persian and Hellenistic Periods: The Origins of Samaritanism" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University, 1994), 86 (Hebrew).

Chapter 17: *Megillat Taʿanit* in Light of Holidays Found in *Jubilees* and in the *Temple Scroll**

Megillat Taʿanit is one of the earliest documents preserved in the rabbinic corpus. It lists thirty-five holidays, most of which were established to commemorate events that occurred in the time of the Second Temple.[1] Most scholars believe that *Megillat Taʿanit* was composed within the circles of the Sages of the Second Temple era,[2] although Meir Bar-Ilan has argued that it was most likely not a Pharisaic composition at all, but rather the product of an author who belonged to priestly circles.[3] In this note, I would like to call attention to a fact that has hitherto escaped notice in scholarship: that two of the holidays listed in *Megillat Taʿanit* occur on dates that were designated in the book of *Jubilees* and in the *Temple Scroll* as festivals of biblical character.[4] Since the authors of *Megillat Taʿanit* would certainly not have initiated a new commemorative event on a pre-existing biblical holiday, this supports the conclusion that *Megillat Taʿanit* reflects the worldview of groups that adhered to a lunar calendar, in contrast to the solar calendar used in *Jubilees* and in the *Temple Scroll*.

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1 Vered Noam, *Megillat Taʿanit: Versions, Interpretation, History* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003) (Hebrew).

2 See, e.g., Hugo D. Mantel, "Megillat Taʿanit and the Sects," *Studies in the History of the Jewish People and the Land of Israel* [Memorial Zvi Avneri] (ed. Akiva Gilboa et al.; Haifa: University of Haifa, 1970), 51–70 (Hebrew); idem, *The Men of the Great Synagogue* (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1983), 213–23 (Hebrew); Noam, *Megillat Taʿanit*, 333–352, and the extensive bibliography cited therein.

3 Meir Bar-Ilan, "The Character and Source of Megillat Taʿanit," *Sinai* 98 (1986): 114–37 (Hebrew).

4 On the calendar used by the community of Qumran, see Shemaryahu Talmon, "Calendar Controversy in Ancient Judaism: The Case of the 'Community of the Renewed Covenant,'" in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 379–95; Jonathan Ben-Dov and Wayne Horowitz, "The 364-Day Year in Mesopotamia and Qumran," *Meghillot* 1 (2003): 3–26 (Hebrew). [See also, chapters 2, 11, and 13 in the current volume].

The festival of Shavuot is mentioned frequently in writings of the Second Temple period.[5] Thus, for example, in the book of Tobit, Tobit sent his son Tobias to find a guest from among the Israelite exiles to Nineveh, to join him in celebrating the festive Shavuot meal (Tob 2:1–2). The book of *Jubilees* opens with the declaration: "During the first year of the Israelites' exodus from Egypt, in the third month — on the sixteenth of the month — the Lord said to Moses: 'Come up to me on the mountain. I will give you the two stone tablets of the law and the commandments which I have written so that you may teach them'" (*Jub.* 1:1).[6] This verse indicates that, according to *Jubilees*, the Torah was given on the 16th day of Sivan. *Jubilees* 6 states that the covenant of the rainbow was established with Noah on the festival of Shavuot:

> Noah and his sons swore an oath not to consume any blood that was in any animate being. During this month he made a covenant before the Lord God forever throughout all the history of the earth. For this reason he told you, too, to make a covenant — accompanied by an oath — with the Israelites during this month on the mountain and to sprinkle blood on them because of all the words of the covenant which the Lord was making with them for all times …(*Jub.* 6:10–11)

The text continues (vs. 17): "For this reason it has been ordained and written on the heavenly tablets that they should celebrate the festival of *shevuot* during this month — once a year — to renew the covenant each and every year." Again, chapter 15 relates: "During the fifth year of the fourth week of this jubilee — in the third month, in the middle of the month — Abram celebrated the festival of the firstfruits of the wheat harvest" (*Jub.* 15:1). It was during this festival that God promised Abraham and Sarah a son, and *Jub.* 16:13 records the birth of Isaac the following year, on this day: "She became pregnant and gave birth to a son in the third month; in the middle of the month, on the day that the Lord had told Abraham — on the festival of the firstfruits of the harvest — Isaac was born." Chapter 22 of *Jubilees* relates that "in the first week in the forty-fourth jubilee, during the second year — it is the year in which Abraham died — Isaac and Ishmael came from the well of the oath to their father Abraham to celebrate the festival of weeks (this is the festival of the firstfruits of the harvest). Abraham was happy that his two sons had come" (*Jub.* 22:1). During that celebration, Abraham blessed Jacob; that night, Jacob slept in his grandfather's bed, and Abraham died. Chapter 29 records that the covenant between Jacob of Laban was made on this date: "On the fifteenth of those days [= the third month,

5 On the Shavuot festival in *Jubilees* and in the Qumran corpus, see Werner Eiss, "Das Wochenfest im Jubiläenbuch und im antiken Judentum," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. Matthias Albani, Jörg Frey, and Armin Lange; Texte und Studien zum Antiken Judentum 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 165–78.

6 The citations of *Jubilees* follow James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 510–11, Scriptores Aethiopici 87–88; Leuven: Peeters, 1989).

i. e., Sivan] Jacob prepared a banquet for Laban and all who had come with him. That day Jacob swore to Laban and Laban to Jacob that neither would commit an offense against the other on the mountain of Gilead with bad intentions" (*Jub.* 29:7). Finally, in chapter 44 of *Jubilees*, we read that before Jacob descended to Egypt to see his son Joseph, he too observed this festival:

> He celebrated the harvest festival — the first-fruits of grain — with old grain because in all the land of Canaan there was not even a handful of seed. .. On the sixteenth [of the third month] the Lord appeared to him and said to him: "… Do not be afraid to go down to Egypt"… Israel set out from the well of the oath on the sixteenth day of this third month and went to the territory of Egypt (*Jub.* 44:4–8).

It is clear from these citations that in the calendar followed by the author of *Jubilees*, Shavuot was celebrated in mid-Sivan, on the fifteenth or sixteenth of the month, and was considered a suitable time for ceremonial oaths and for the renewal of covenants. Moreover, we see that when *Jubilees* was written, Shavuot was already identified as the festival of the giving of the Torah.

According to the *Temple Scroll*, the festival of Shavuot, which is the festival of the First-fruits of Wheat, falls on the fifteenth of the third month (11QT[a] cols. 18–19).[7] This is also explicitly stated in one of the Scrolls written in cryptic script (4Q324d 1 3–4): "On the fifteenth of the month is the Festival of We[ek]s and Fir[st Frui]ts on o[ne] day."[8] From these texts, it emerges that according to the sectarian calendar the "fifty days" of Lev 23:15 were counted from the Sabbath after the seven days of the festival of Unleavened Bread.[9] Thus, in the calendar used by the Qumran community and in the calendar underlying *Jubilees*, Shavuot was always in the middle of the third month. It is furthermore clear, on the basis of two copies of the *Damascus Document* from Cave 4 (4Q266 11

7 See Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 1:99–122; Table 3 on p. 118.

8 See the discussion of Talmon and Ben–Dov in Shemaryahu Talmon, Jonathan Ben-Dov and Uwe Glessmer, *Qumran Cave 4:XVI: Calendrical Texts* (DJD 21; Oxford Clarendon, 2001), 5–6.

9 The practice of the Sages, to begin counting the fifty days from the 16th of Nisan appears to have been based upon the interpretation of the word "sabbath" in Lev 23:15 (in the expression "on the morrow of the Sabbath") not as the seventh day of the week, but rather as the first day of the Passover festival, in accordance with the Akkadian concept "*sabattu*," which referred to "the day of rest of the god's heart." In Mesopotamia this day was celebrated on the fifteenth day of each month. On the association between the biblical concept of *shabbat* and the Babylonian *sabbatu*, and the possibility of explaining the Sages' understanding of the "morrow of the Sabbath" on the basis of the Babylonian concept, see Jeffrey H. Tigay, "Sabbath" in *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1976), 7: col. 512 (Hebrew). [In English, see, inter alia, Michael A. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985), 148–51].

17–18 and 4Q270 7 ii 11–12),[10] that the annual covenant ceremony of the Qumran Community, took place on the festival of Shavuot. This ceremony is laid out in detail in the beginning of the *Community Rule* (1QS 1:16–2:17), which states that "year by year, all the days of Belial's dominion" (1QS 2:19) all who pass into the covenant before God participate in blessing all the members of the lot of God and cursing all the members of the lot of Belial, and swear to act "according to all that He has commanded and not to backslide because of any fear, terror or persecution."[11]

Megillat Taʿanit mentions a holiday that was established on the fifteenth and sixteenth of Sivan in commemoration of an event in which "the men of Bethshean and 'the Valley' (בקעתא) were exiled." Noam noted that modern scholars are in agreement regarding the nature of this holiday. Ever since Graetz and Derenbourg, it has been universally accepted that it refers to the capture of Bethshean and the Jezreel valley by John Hyrcanus' sons, Aristobulus and Antigonus, following their victory over Antiochus Cyzicenus (Josephus, *War* 1.64–66; *Ant*. 13.275–283).[12] Archaeological excavations conducted at Tel Itztaba, which is Hellenistic Bethshean, have uncovered striking evidence of this conquest and destruction.[13] The Hasmonean conquest of Bethshean can be dated to 108/107 BCE.[14] Those who associate the festival listed in *Megillat Taʿanit* with the conquest of Bethshean by Aristobulus and Antigonus maintain that these

10 Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4:XIII: The Damascus Document* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 76–78, 166: "[those who live in] camps shall convene on the third month and curse those who stray from the Law to the right [or to the left]" (4Q266 11 17–18; 4Q270 7 ii 11–12).

11 For the description of the annual ceremony in 1QS, see Elisha Qimron and James H. Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Rule of the Community and Related Documents.* Vol. 1, *The Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1995), 8–11.

12 See the literature cited by Noam, *Megillat Taʿanit*, 196, notes 3–4. Noam observes that the only scholar who did not accept this identification, P. Cassel, suggested in the nineteenth century that the Hasmonean who conquered Bethshean was not Jonathan son of Mattathias but rather his brother Simon. This is based on an emendation in 1Macc 13:43, changing "Gezer" into "Bethshean," which may not be warranted (Paulus Cassel, *Messianische Stellen des Alten Testaments. Angehängt sind Anmerkungen über Megillath Taanith* [Kritische Sendschreiben Über die Probebibel 2; Berlin: F. Schulze, 1885], 2:98–99).

13 Rachel Bar-Nathan and Gabriel Mazor, "Beth-Shean during the Hellenistic Period," *Qadmoniot* 27 (2005): 87–91, at 91 (Hebrew).

14 On the archaeological evidence concerning the dating of John Hyrcanus' conquest, see Dan Barag, "New Evidence on the Foreign Policy of John Hyrcanus I," *Israel Numismatic Journal* 12 (1993): 1–12; Gerald Finkielsztejn, "More Evidence on John Hyrcanus I's Conquests: Lead Weights and Rhodian Amphora Stamps," *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archeological Society* 16 (1998): 33–63. On some of the problems in this description by Josephus Flavius, see Bezalel Bar-Kochva, "The Conquest of Samaria by John Hyrcanus," *Cathedra* 106 (2003): 7–34.

sons of John Hyrcanus issued an ultimatum to the people of Bethshean, offering them two options: to convert, or to be exiled from their city.[15] Since the residents chose exile, a holiday was established to commemorate the date on which the men of Bethshean and the Beqaa were exiled.[16] This festival was established on the very same date that Shavuot was celebrated according to the sectarian calendar, and thus indicates that the author of *Megillat Ta'anit* did not follow that calendar.

The *Temple Scroll* refers to two additional festivals of First-fruits, besides the festival of the First-fruits of Wheat, which is Shavuot. The festival of the First-fruits of the New Wine was celebrated fifty days after Shavuot, and the festival of the First-fruits of Oil was celebrated fifty days after the festival of the First-fruits of the New Wine (11QT[a] cols. 19–23). According to the festival calendar outlined in the *Temple Scroll*, the festival of the First-fruits of Oil was celebrated each year on the twenty-second day of the sixth month, i. e., on the 22nd of Elul.[17]

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15 See, e.g., Gideon Fuks, *Scythopolis—A Greek City in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1983), 63 (Hebrew). It should be noted that according to Josephus' description, John Hyrcanus offered this choice only to the Idumeans (*Ant.* 13.257–58). While there are scholars who contend that his son Aristobulus offered it to the Itureans, this is not clear in Josephus. See *Ant.* 13.319, and the detailed discussion of Aryeh Kasher, *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs: Relations of the Jews in Eretz-Israel with the Nations of the Frontier and the Desert during the Hellenistic Roman Era* (TSAJ 18; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1988), 46–85.

16 For a number of reasons, it is difficult to accept the premise that the holiday was established to commemorate the events of 108/7 BCE. Instead, it seems to me that we ought to consider the possibility that the holiday commemorates the events of 163 BCE. The books of the Maccabees (1 Macc 5 and 2 Macc 12) describe the military campaigns waged by Judah Maccabee in 163 BCE. These descriptions include an account of the rescue of the Jewish communities dwelling in Transjordan. Thus: "Setting out from there, they hastened to Scythopolis, which is seventy-five miles from Jerusalem. But when the Jews who lived there bore witness to the goodwill that the people of Scythopolis had shown them and their kind treatment of them in times of misfortune, they thanked them and exhorted them to be well disposed to their race in the future also. Then they went up to Jerusalem, as the festival of weeks was close at hand. After the festival called Pentecost, they hurried against Gorgias, the governor of Idumea (2 Macc 12:29–32 [NRSV])." The parallel in 1Maccabees states: "Then they crossed the Jordan into the large plain before Bethshean. Judah kept rallying the laggards and encouraging the people all the way until they came to the land of Judah. So they went up to Mount Zion with joy and gladness, and offered burnt offerings, because they had returned in safety; not one of them had fallen (1 Macc 5:52–54 [NRSV])." We ought to consider a possible connection between the specification in Maccabees that Judah Maccabee and his men hurried to return to Jerusalem in order to celebrate Shavuot (which, in the sectarian calendar, occurred on the fifteenth or sixteenth of Sivan), and the statement in *Megillat Ta'anit* that the men of Bethshean and the Beqaa were exiled on the fifteenth and sixteenth of Sivan. If these two descriptions are related, then it is possible that the holiday in *Megillat Ta'anit* was established to honor the safe arrival in Jerusalem of Jews who had been rescued by Judah Maccabee.

17 See Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1:122–24. Talmon and Ben-Dov noted that this festival appears in three additional scrolls (DJD 21:7).

Megillat Taʿanit records a holiday on the twenty-second of Elul, which was established because "they resumed slaying the wicked" (תבו לקטלא משמדיא). Noam discussed the various proposals that scholars of *Megillat Taʿanit* have put forth regarding the nature of this holiday. These may be divided into two groups. Some scholars date the event that underlies this passage in *Megillat Taʿanit* to the Hasmonean era, such as Simon's purging of Jerusalem from the Hellenizers' defilement of the city (1Macc 14:14). Others associate the holiday with an event in the Roman period, apparently in the beginning of the Revolt that led to the Destruction.[18] Whichever explanation is accepted, the date of this holiday marking the resumption of the killing of apostates was set on the same date as the sectarian calendar's Festival of the First-fruits of Oil.

We cannot ascertain whether *Megillat Taʿanit* attests to any deliberate polemic intent in the establishment of these two holidays on dates that correspond to days designated as festivals of a biblical character in *Jubilee*s and the *Temple Scroll*. Even if we suppose that the identity of these festival dates was due to chance alone, it demonstrates that the *Megillat Taʿanit* was composed by an author who followed a lunar calendar rather than the solar calendar followed by groups such as the Qumran Community.[19]

18 Noam, *Megillat Taʿanit*, 232.

19 I would like to suggest that *Megillat Taʿanit* attests to considerable Roman influence on Judea. In the first century CE, Rome celebrated 159 festival days each year, most of which were established—like the festivals in *Megillat Taʿanit*—to commemorate victories on the battlefield. See Jérôme Carcopino, *Daily Life in Ancient Rome: The People and the City at the Height of the Empire* (London: Routledge, 1941; repr. 1956, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin), 204–8.

Chapter 18: Some Notes Concerning High Priests in the First Century CE*

Archaeological excavations conducted in Jerusalem and in the Judean Desert have unearthed a number of epigraphic remains that shed light on the high priesthood at the end of the Second Temple era. In this article, I put forth some proposals related to these initial archaeological finds.

In Josephus' list of high priests at the end of his *Antiquities*, he did not record the high priests who served in the Temple in the first century CE. The assemblage of epigraphic remains pertaining to high priests is therefore important for purposes of comparison with the list of high priests that has been pieced together by scholars of the Second Temple era. In recent years there has been much discussion of the question: what data can we use for correlating and identifying people mentioned in epigraphic documents with figures known from historical sources? The assemblage of first century CE epigraphic finds pertaining to high priests sharpens the problematics of this question.

1. High Priestly Families at the End of the Second Temple Era

In his excavations of Jerusalem's Upper City, Nahman Avigad uncovered a building destroyed in 70 CE which he named "the Burnt House." A stone weight found in this building bears the inscription, "of the son of Kathros"[1] Avigad related this weight to a sarcastic lament cited in rabbinic writings:[2]

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* [Ed. *note*: This article was originally published in Hebrew in *Tarbiz* 64, 4 (1999): 495–504, with an incipit "In memory of Prof. Nahman Avigad," and the following note of acknowledgment.] This article emerged from a course on the first century CE which I taught at the Harvard Divinity School in 1999. I would like to thank the school staff for their hospitality and for the accommodating research environment. I would also like to thank Renana Zer-Kavod for her assistance in drafting this article.

1 Nahman Avigad, "Excavations in the Jewish Quarter of the Old City of Jerusalem, 1969/70 (Preliminary Report)," *IEJ* 20 (1970): 1–8, 129–40, at 6–7; idem, *Discovering Jerusalem: Recent Archaeological Excavations in the Upper City* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 128–31. [See now, CIIP no. 674 in *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae*. Vol. 1, Jerusalem. Part 1: 1–704 (ed. Hannah Cotton et al.; Berlin: De Gruyter), 666–67].

2 This poem is found in a baraita in *b. Pesahim* 57a and in the Tosefta, *t. Menahot* 13:21 (ed. Zuckermandel, 533; Neusner, *The Tosefta: Translated from the Hebrew with a New Intro-*

Woe is me because of the house of Boethus, woe is me because of their clubs;
Woe is me because of the house of Hanin, woe is me because of their whispering;
Woe is me because of the house of Kathros, woe is me because of their pen;
Woe is me because of the house of Ishmael the son of Phiabi, woe is me because of their fists;
For they are high priests, and their sons are [Temple] treasurers,
and their sons-in-law are trustees, and their servants beat the people with staves."[3]

Josephus' account contributes to our understanding of this lament. At the end of the *Antiquities*, Josephus lists the high priests who had served in the Temple (*Ant.* 20.224–51). When he reached the time of Herod, he stopped enumerating specific names and only noted that a total of 28 high priests served in the Temple from Herod's time until the Destruction (*Ant.* 20.250). Scholars of the Second Temple period have observed that in the course of Josephus' detailed descriptions of the period, 28 high priests are in fact mentioned.[4] Recently, David Flusser has analyzed two Hebrew lists of the high priests that served in the Second Temple.[5] Although these have been preserved only in late manuscripts, comparison with Josephus' narrative account shows that the compilers of these lists had reliable information about the first century CE.[6]

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duction [2 vols.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson], 2:1467–68). We have cited the text according to the printed edition in the Talmud. The following variants appear in the Tosefta: Elhanan instead of Hanin; "the house of their whispering" instead of "their whispering"; there are five houses named in the Tosefta instead of four; the house of Elisha precedes the house of Ishmael the son of Phiabi; and the house of Kathros or Kadros precedes the house of Elhanan.

3 This sarcastic ditty has been discussed by most scholars who have studied the high priestly families in the late Second Temple era. See, inter alia, E. Mary Smallwood, "High Priests and Politics in Roman Palestine," *JTS* N.S. 13 (1962): 14–34, at 28; Joachim Jeremias, *Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus* (London: S.C.M. Press, 1969), 195–96; Menahem Stern, "Herod's Policies and Jewish Society at the End of the Second Temple Period," *Tarbiz* 35 (1966): 235–53, at 251 (Hebrew) [= idem, *Studies in Jewish History: The Second Temple Period* (ed. Moshe Amit, Isaiah Gafni, and Moshe David Herr; Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 1991), 195 (Hebrew)].

4 The reconstructed list of high priests from the time of Herod to the destruction of the Temple appears in Smallwood, "High Priests," 31–32; Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 337–38; and Emil Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ* (3 vols.; rev. and ed. by Geza Vermes, Fergus Millar, and Matthew Black; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1979), 2:228–232. Throughout this article, when a parenthetical number follows the name of a high priest, it indicates the ordinal position of that high priest within this reconstructed list.

5 See David Flusser, "An Ancient Hebrew List of Second Temple High Priests," in idem, *Judaism of the Second Temple Period*. Vol. 2, *The Jewish Sages and Their Literature* (transl. Azzan Yadin; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2009), 343–49.

6 These lists are additional examples of medieval Jewish compositions that have preserved rather precise details from lost Second Temple works. On this phenomenon, see Martha Himmelfarb, "R. Moses the Preacher and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs," *AJS Review* 9 (1984): 55–78; eadem, "Some Echoes of Jubilees in Medieval Hebrew Literature," in

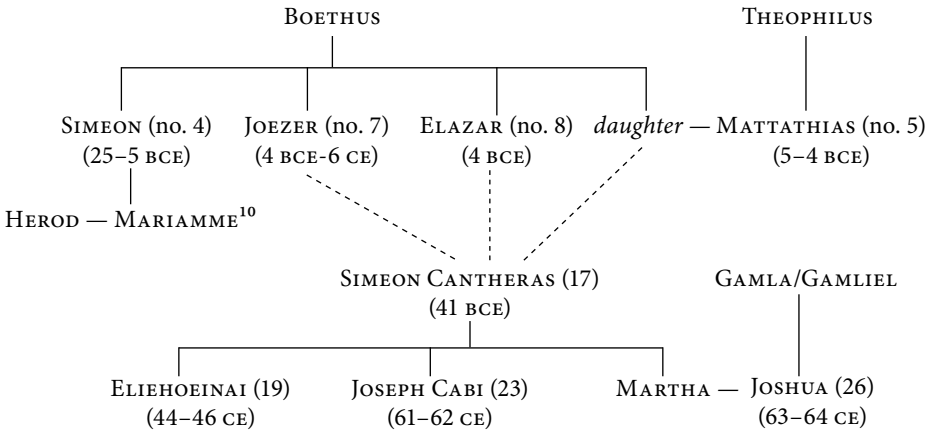
On the basis of Josephus' account, reconstructions have been proposed for the lineage of the two most important high priestly families, the house of Boethus and the house of Hanan (חנין/חנן), both of which are mentioned in the lament quoted above.[7] The family relationships within the house of Ishmael son of Phiabi and the nature of the house of Kathros are less clear.[8] The "house of Boethus" has been reconstructed by Mary Smallwood as follows:[9]

Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of the Jewish Pseudepigrapha (ed. John C. Reeves, Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), 115–41; Israel M. Ta-Shma, "The Library of the Ashkenazi Sages in the 11th-12th Centuries," *Kiryat Sefer* 60 (1985): 298–309, at 301 (Hebrew); Michael E. Stone, "The Genealogy of Bilhah," *DSD* 3 (1996): 20–36, and the literature cited there.

7 According to Jeremias, at least twenty-two of the high priests from the Herodian period came from four high priestly families: Boethus, Hanan, Kimchit, and Phiabi. See Jeremias, *Jerusalem*, 194–96. Smallwood enumerated 21 high priests from these four families (Smallwood, "High Priests," 31–32). On these four high priestly families, see also, Stern, "Herod's Policies," 245–51. The Jerusalem Talmud records a tradition concerning Kimchit, a mother of high priests; "Kimchit had seven sons and all of them served as high priests" (*y. Meg* 1:11 [72a]). According to Jeremias, three high priests were appointed from the house of Kimchit: Simeon son of Kimchit (13) who served from 17 to 19 CE, Joseph son of Commodius (20) who served from 46–47 CE, and Joseph Cabi son of Simeon (23), who was high priest in 61–62 CE. It is not clear, however, whether Joseph Cabi was of the house of Kimchit or of the house of Boethus. See Smallwood, ibid., 32.

8 Three high priests were appointed from the house of Phiabi: Joshua son of Phiabi (3), who served as high priest until 22 BCE, Ishmael son of Phiabi (11) who served in 15 CE, and Ishmael son of Phiabi (22), who was a son or grandson of his namesake, high priest number 11, and who served from 49–59 CE. See Daniel R. Schwartz, "Ishmael ben Phiabi and the Chronology of Provincia Judaea," in idem, *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (WUNT 60; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1992), 218–42. An ostracon "tag" bearing the inscription "daughter of Katra" (בת קתרא; number 405) was found in the excavations at Masada. Naveh associated this with the house of Kathros. See Yigael Yadin and Joseph Naveh, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions," in idem, *Masada I* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1989), 1–68, at 22, Pl. 23. The fact that three of the four known high priestly families (Boethus, Hanan, and Ishmael son of Phiabi) were mentioned in the sarcastic song points to the possibility that Kimchit was the mother of the high priests from the "house of Kathros." Most scholars share the view that the following high priests were of the house of Kathros: Joseph Caiaphas (14), who married the daughter of Hanan son of Sheth, Simeon Cantheras (17) and Eliehoeinai (19). See Stern, "Herod's Policies," 251; Daniel R. Schwartz, "Simon Cantheras and the Boethus Family," (Appendix 3) in idem, *Agrippa I: The Last King of Judaea* (TSAJ 23; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1990), 185–89. Ben Zion Rosenfeld, "The Settlement of Two Families of High Priests During the Second Temple Period," in *Historical-Geographical Studies in the Settlement of Eretz-Israel,* (ed. Yossi Katz, Yehoshua Ben-Arieh, and Yehoshua Kaniel; 2 vols.; Jerusalem, Yad Ben-Zvi, 1991), 2:206–18, at 212–15 (Hebrew).

9 Smallwood, "High Priests," 32–34. Cf. Schwartz, "Simon Cantheras and the Boethus Family." According to Schwartz, Joseph Caiaphas (14), Simeon (17) and Eliehoeinai (19) were the sons of Mattathias son of Theophilus (5).



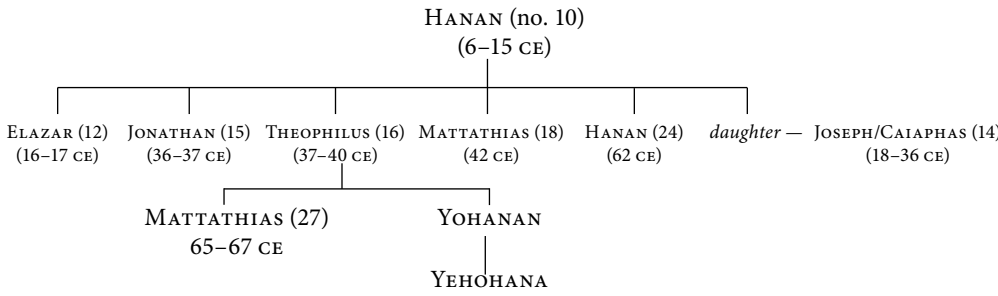
In 1986, Dan Barag and David Flusser published an ossuary bearing the inscription: "Yehohanah the daughter of Yohanan the son of Theophilus the high priest" (יהוחנה ברת יהוחנן בר תפלוס הכהן הגדל).[11] The script on the ossuary is written in an elegant formal script.[12] Yehohanah was of the "house of Hanan," hence Barag and Flusser reconstructed the family relationships in this line as follows:[13]

10 Herod and the Jerusalemite Mariamme, the daughter of Simeon son of Boethus the high priest (4), married in the year 25 bce and divorced in 5 bce. This marriage produced a son named Herod, who was the first husband of Herodias the daughter of Aristobulus, son of Mariamme the Hasmonean. Herodias later married Herod Antipas.

11 Dan Barag and David Flusser, "The Ossuary of Yehohanah, Granddaughter of the High Priest Theophilus," *IEJ* 36 (1986): 39–44. [See now CIIP, 1/1, no. 534]. Menahem Stern ("Herod's Policies," 250), thought that Joshua son of Seë (Σεέ) was also of the house of Hanan.

12 The inscription on the ossuary of Yehohanah was written in an elegant formal script and states explicitly that the granddaughter of a high priest is buried in it. It therefore appears unlikely that the "Joseph son of Caiaphas" who was buried in an ossuary found near the modern promenade of Armon Hanatziv in Jerusalem should be identified with the high priest of that name (no. 14), who served in 18–36 ce. The inscription on the latter ossuary is in a sloppy cursive script, not befitting a person of high stature, and neither this ossuary nor the others found in the family tomb mention that the figure was a high priest. On the finds from this tomb, see Zvi Greenhut, "The 'Caiaphas' Tomb in North Talpiyot Jerusalem," *'Atiqot* 21 (1992): 63–71; idem, "Burial Cave of the Caiaphas Family," *BAR,* 18/5 (1992): 28–36; idem, "A Burial Cave of the Caiaphas Family in North Talpiot in Jerusalem; *Qadmoniot* 25 (1993): 111–14 (Hebrew); Ronny Reich, "Ossuary Inscriptions from the 'Caiaphas' Tomb," *'Atiqot* 21 (1992): 72–77; idem, "Caiaphas' Name Inscribed on Bone Boxes," *BAR* 18/5 (1992), 38–44. [See now, CIIP, 1/1, no. 461].

13 Barag and David Flusser, "The Ossuary of Yehohanah," 42.



2. A Judean Desert Document Dated by Years of Service of the High Priest

The financial documents included in the so-called "Seiyal Collection" were recently published.[14] This collection consists of documents that were bought by the Jordanian Antiquities Authority from Bedouin, who claimed that they were discovered in Nahal Se'elim.[15] The volume devoted to the documents of the "Seiyal Collection" contains an appendix with 19 financial documents, which, at the time of their purchase from the Bedouin had been recorded as documents from Qumran Cave 4.[16] The editors of this volume believed that all of these financial documents recorded as having originated in Qumran Cave 4 were actually found in Nahal Hever.[17] Ada Yardeni, who edited the group of documents

14 Hannah M. Cotton and Ada Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites* (DJD 27; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997).

15 I have argued that the documents in the "Seiyal Collection" were actually recovered from a number of different caves, and not only Nahal Hever, *pace* Cotton and Yardeni. See Hanan Eshel and David Amit, *The Bar-Kokhba Refuge Caves* (Tel Aviv: Israel Exploration Society, 1998), 52–62 (Hebrew). [In English, see now, Hanan Eshel, "A Survey of the Refuge Caves and Their Legal Documents," in *Halakhah in Light of Epigraphy* (ed. Albert I. Baumgarten et al.; JAJSup 3; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 103–53, at 138–40].

16 Cotton and Yardeni, DJD 27:283–317. Most of the documents in this group are written in Aramaic, other than 4Q343, which is a letter written in Nabatean; 4Q361, which is a Greek document; and 4Q348, discussed below, which is probably written in Hebrew.

17 Cotton and Yardeni, DJD 27:6, 283. They rely upon the fact that one of the documents from this group (4Q347) is part of XHev/Se 32 and upon Carbon-14 analysis, which shows that 4Q344, and apparently also 4Q342, date to after the destruction of the Temple. We should refrain from extrapolating from these three documents, which clearly do not come from Qumran, to 4Q348, which we discuss below. Note that at least two financial documents were in fact likely to have been found at Qumran, as they are written on the backs of literary works that are typical of the Qumran corpus: 4Q350 is a Greek financial document, written on the verso of 4Q460, a pseudepigraphic composition; and 4Q355 is a list of monetary sums, written on the verso of 4Q324, a text listing the priestly *mishmarot* (watches) along with historical figures.

under discussion, read the following in one of the "tied documents" (4Q348): "[…]*os* high priest" (וס כוהן גדול[…]).[18] The fragmentary remains of this deed contain a list of personal names. Because of the reference to the high priest and the characteristically priestly names included in the list, Yardeni suggested that this deed concerned matters related to priests and the priesthood. One of the men listed in the document is "Simeon from the Beam Market" (שמעון משוק הקורות).[19] The words "[…]*os* high priest" (וס כוהן גדול[…]) appear in the first line of the open section of the document, and seem to be part of the date formula for the deed.[20] Yardeni noted that only the final *samekh* of the high priest's name is clearly preserved, while "the three preceding letters, formed as short vertical strokes, could be read as *waw*, *yod*, *resh* or *daleth*," and these are preceded by a two-letter ligature. The name at the beginning of the deed may be read as Commodius, reconstructing: "[Joseph the son of Comm]odius the high priest." A high priest by this name was indeed appointed by Herod of Chalcis in 46 CE (no. 20). It would seem that the document under discussion was written in 46 or 47 CE, during the priesthood of Joseph son of Commodius.

If we are correct in reconstructing the name of the high priest in the date-formula of this document, this could offer proof of a more general practice of dating documents according to the terms of the high priests. Presumably, this practice would have been adopted by Jews who wished to avoid dating their documents by the years of the Roman emperors.[21] It is possible, therefore, that in circles close to the Temple, years were counted according to the years of service of the high priests. Perhaps the list of the high priests was thus used by these groups for their financial record-keeping. Although it is not impossible that this document was brought to the cave in which it was found at the end of the Bar

18 Cotton and Yardeni, DJD 27:300–303. This deed is written in a script identified by Yardeni as Herodian cursive calligraphic.

19 Jerusalem's wood market is mentioned by Josephus, *War* 2.530, where he records that at the onset of the Great Revolt this market, together with the New City, was set on fire by Cestius Gallus. It appears that this market was located in the north of Jerusalem, in an area surrounded by the Third Wall. See Jonathan J. Price, *Jerusalem under Siege* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 363.

20 I would like to thank my friend Haggai Misgav for calling my attention to the fact that this is a dating formula.

21 To date, only one Aramaic document with an explicit Second Temple date formula has been published. This document, found at Wadi Murabbaʿat (Mur 18), is dated by the years of the Roman emperor's rule: "the second year of the Emperor Nero" (שנת תרתין לנירון קיסר), i. e., 56 CE. See Jósef T. Milik, "Textes Hebreux et Arameens," in Pierre Benoit, Jósef T. Milik and Roland de Vaux (eds.), *Les Grottes de Murabbaʿât* (DJD 2; Oxford: Clarendon, 1960), 100–104. The suggestion that there were circles who refrained from dating contracts according to years of imperial rulers is based upon a mishna (*m. Gittin* 8:5) concerning the status of a contract that contains a dating formula according to "an unworthy kingdom." The Babylonian Talmud (*b. Gittin* 80a) explains: "What is an 'unworthy kingdom'? The Roman empire."

Kokhba Revolt,[22] it is more likely that it found its way to the Judean Desert caves earlier, during the Second Temple period. Therefore, it is likely that the document was found in Qumran Cave 4,[23] or in one of the Wadi Murabbaʿat caves that served as a place of refuge towards the end of the Revolt in 70 CE.[24]

3. High Priests as Vouchsafers of Purity and the Seal of Eliani

In one of the largest casemate rooms at Masada, in the southwest section of the wall (locus 1237), a pitcher bearing an inscription mentioning the high priest was found. This casemate, which was originally approximately 27 meters long, was sub-divided into four small living quarters during the course of the Great Revolt. Yigael Yadin referred to this inscription in his preliminary publication of

22 The Second Temple period documents that were brought to the "refuge caves" in 135 CE, at the end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, all pertained to purchases of real estate, since leases, loans, and marriage contracts from Temple times were no longer relevant sixty-five years after the Destruction. Since 4Q348 could have dealt with a house or land sale, which would still have been relevant in 135 BCE, we cannot dismiss the possibility that this document was found in Nahal Hever. For an example of a relatively early deed of sale of real estate that was brought to a refuge cave in this period at the end of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, see Ada Yardeni, "'A Deed of Sale from the Judaean Desert: Nahal Se'elim 9,'" *Tarbiz* 63, 3 (1994), 299–320 (Hebrew). [See now, Cotton and Yardeni, "XHev/Se papDeed of Sale D ar," in DJD 27:38–51. This document is dated to the Herodian period and was brought to the "Sela Cave" (Cave of the Tetradrachm) in upper Nahal Hever in 135 BCE. See David Amit and Hanan Eshel, "Finds from the Bar-Kokhba Period in the Cave of the Sela," in idem, *The Bar-Kokhba Refuge Caves*, 200–201].

23 Since the document is dated according to the term of the high priest, and since it seems to be written in Hebrew, we cannot dismiss the possibility that it was found in Qumran Cave 4 (see above, n. 17). On the Hebrew writing on a document found at Qumran in 1996, see Frank M. Cross and Esther Eshel, "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumran," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 17–28, at 26–28.

24 The caves of Wadi Murabbaʿat were used as havens by refugees from Jerusalem and its environs (Tzuba and Kesalon) at the end of the Great Revolt. That is how the Second Temple loan document (Mur 18; see n. 21 above) came there. See Hanan Eshel, Magen Broshi, and Timothy A. Jull, "Documents From Wadi Muraʿabat and the Status of Jerusalem During the War," in Eshel and Amit, *The Bar-Kokhba Refuge Caves*, 233–39. If the "Beam Market" is the same Jerusalem wood market mentioned by Josephus (see above, n. 19), then this could strengthen the possibility that this document was found in Wadi Murabbaʿat. Although the document mentioning the "high priest" is very fragmentary, its structure is similar to Second Temple documents from Wadi Murabbaʿat that feature lists of people who served as a court, before whom the documents were signed. See Haggai Misgav, "Jewish Courts of Law as Reflected in Documents from the Dead Sea," *Cathedra* 82 (1997): 17–24 (Hebrew). Since both the Wadi Murabbaʿat caves and Qumran Cave 4 were discovered by Bedouin in 1952, this could have led to some confusion, with documents from Wadi Murabbaʿat being erroneously recorded as Qumran finds.

the first excavation season at Masada. He read the inscription as "the high priest Aqaviah" (כהנא רבא עקביא).[25] Since there is no known high priest by the name of Aqaviah, Yadin thought it referred to a member of one of the high priestly families.[26] He supposed that the inscription indicated the ownership of the pitcher and, therefore, that Aqaviah lived in the casemate in which it was found. With the full publication of the Masada inscriptions, we may now reconstruct more completely: "Ha[nani]ah the high priest, Aqaviah his son" (ה[נני]ח כהנא רבא עקביא בריה).[27]

Joseph Naveh suggested that Hananiah, the high priest mentioned in the inscription, is Hananiah son of Nedebaeus (high priest 21), who served in the years 47–59 CE.[28] Jars found at Masada bear inscriptions designating the names of the owners, and inscriptions certifying the purity of the jars' contents. Naveh understood the inscription "Ha[nani]ah the high priest" as such a certification of purity, as in another inscription from Masada: "… this line… all are suitable for

25 Yigael Yadin, "Masada: The First Excavation Season 1963–1964," *Yediot* 29 (1965): 5–133, at 95, 124 (Hebrew).

26 On the possibility that the term "high priest" designated a certain class and not only the individuals who served as high priests, see Stern, "Herod's Policies," 249.

27 See Yadin and Naveh, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca," 37–38; Joseph Naveh, *On Sherd and Papyrus—Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from the Second Temple, Mishnaic and Talmudic Periods* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 80 (Hebrew).

28 The following details are known about Hananiah the son of Nedebaeus: He was appointed high priest by Herod of Chalcis (*Ant.* 20.103). During Claudius' reign, Hananiah was involved in conflict with the Samaritans (*Ant.* 20.131). The book of Acts (23.2; 24:1) describes conflict between Hananiah and Paul. At the beginning of the Great Revolt, on the festival of the Bringing of the Wood, the rebels burnt Hananiah's palace. Hananiah and his brother Hezekiah were saved at the last minute (*War* 2.429). They were nevertheless murdered by Menahem son of Judah the Galilean early in the Revolt, before Menahem captured Masada (*War* 2.441–442). Prior to the discovery of the Masada document, we had no information about Aqaviah the son of Hananiah. Josephus does mention three (or possibly even four) of his brothers: Hananiah, together with his son Hanan, the deputy high priest ("*segan*"), were sent to Nero in the context of an inquiry concerning riots between the Jews and the Samaritans (*War* 2.243). Elazar son of Hananiah, who also became the *segan* high priest, played a key role in the leadership of the Revolt even before its outbreak. The sicarii captured Elazar's secretary in order to pressure Hananiah to act for the release of ten of their men—a scheme that in fact succeeded in its aims (*Ant.* 20:208–210). It was Elazar who engineered the cessation of the offering on behalf of the emperor (*War* 2.408). Elazar murdered Menahem, thereby avenging his father's death (*War* 2.441–448), and he was appointed commander of Idumea, together with Joshua the son of Sapphas (*War* 2.566). A third son of Hananiah, named Simeon, was a member of the delegation sent by Hananiah to ask Agrippa II and Florus for assistance in the struggle against Elazar (son of Hananiah, brother of Simeon) when Elazar took control of the Lower City of Jerusalem (*Ant.* 20.208–210). Along with Elazar, who was appointed commander of Idumea, Josephus also mentions Yohanan son of Hananiah as having been appointed commander of Gophna and ʿAqraba; perhaps he too was the son of Hananiah the high priest (*War* 2.568).

the purity level required for the holy" (הרה השורה הזות...כלם כשירין לטהרת הקדש).[29] He stated:

> If the writer had intended to designate the owners of the vessel, then he certainly would have written, "Hananiah…and Aqaviah his son," (חנניה... ועקביא בריה), following the formula found on other Masada jar inscriptions. The lack of a conjunctive *waw* does not appear to be accidental. The inscription seems to have been written by Aqaviah the son of Hananiah himself, and its purpose was to certify the purity of the jar's contents.[30]

Michael Wise devoted a lengthy publication to this Hananiah inscription from Masada, arguing in favor of Yadin's opinion that it designated ownership, rather than Naveh's opinion that it certified purity. According to Wise, the inscription demonstrates that Josephus' descriptions are not reliable, since Hananiah the son of Nedebaeus joined the rebels at Masada, and he and his sons were among the leaders of the sicarii.[31]

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29 On these inscriptions, see Yadin and Naveh, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca," 33–35; and Naveh, *On Sherd and Papyrus*, 76–77. Yadin and Naveh did not discuss the precise meaning of the expression "for the purity [level required] for the sacred," (על טהרת הקודש), which is clarified by the mishna, *m. Hag* 2:7: "The garments of common persons possess *midras* impurity for Pharisees. The garments of Pharisees possess *midras* impurity for those who eat *terumah*. The garments of those eating *terumah* possess *midras* impurity for [those eating] sacrifices (קדש). The garments of [those eating] sacrifices possess *midras* impurity for the *hatat* offering. Joseph ben Joezer was the most pious in the priesthood, yet his kerchief was considered to possess *midras* impurity for [those eating] sacrifices." The "purity for the sacred" is seen here to be a term indicating a high level of purity, which was scrupulously maintained by priests who would eat sacred sacrificial meat. See Yitzhak Sapir, "Masada: On the 'Purity of the Sacred'—Toward a Clarification of the Sectarian-Religious Affiliation of the Fighters at Masada," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting* (ed. Zeev H. Ehrlich and Yaakov Eshel; Qedumim: Ariel College of Judea and Samaria, 2003), 137–46 (Hebrew).

30 Naveh, *On Sherd and Papyrus*, 81 [transl. by Eds.].

31 Michael O. Wise, "The Life and Times of Ananias bar Nedebaeus and his Family," in idem, *Thunder in Gemini* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1994), 51–102. On the basis of the inscription "Ha[nani]ah the high priest, Aqaviah his son" (ח[נני]ה כהנא רבא עקביא בריה), Wise suggested that: (1) Masada was captured prior to the murder of Hananiah (2) Hananiah the high priest and his son Aqaviah lived in the room under discussion; (3) there were no differences of opinion between Hananiah and his son Elazar, and thus in the course of events leading to the outbreak of the revolt, Hananiah's family acted in unity; (4) Hananiah's palace in Jerusalem was mistakenly burned by the rebels, who did not know that Hananiah actually secretly supported the rebels and the sicarii; (5) Elazar the son of Hananiah was the commander of Masada, and not Elazar the son of Yair. Wise reached these conclusions on the basis of the supposition that the inscription under discussion was written at Masada after it came into rebel hands. This assumption does not seem justified, since it is possible that: (1) the inscription reached Masada even before the fortress was taken by sicarii; or (2) the inscription was written on the pitcher elsewhere, and was brought to Masada already bearing the inscription. Thus, the inscription may have been written while Hananiah was still alive. Naveh believed

Naveh's proposal that the inscription is a certification of purity is supported by the fact that together with the inscription mentioning "Ha[nani]ah the high priest," a pitcher was found in the same casemate with the Hebrew word "holy" (קודש) written in a scribal hand. Two cursive letters were added to the inscription at a later date, modifying it to the Aramaic word "sanctified" (lit. "for the sanctity"; לקודשא).[32] It is therefore reasonable to accept Naveh's view that Aqaviah the son of Hananiah the high priest certified the purity of the contents of the pitcher.[32a] The proposal that the high priest's name was written on the pitcher in order to certify the purity of its contents is influenced by the tradition found in the Babylonian Talmud:

> What is Hanukah? The Sages taught: "On the twenty-fifth of Kislev Hanukah commences and lasts eight days, on which eulogizing and fasting are prohibited. When the Greeks entered the sanctuary, they defiled all the oil that was found in the sanctuary. When the kingdom of the house of the Hasmoneans prevailed and was victorious over them, oil was sought (for the holy lamp in the sanctuary) and only one vial was found with the seal of the high priest intact (*b. Shabb.* 21b).[33]

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that the inscription was written by Aqaviah the son of Hananiah, and according to his view, it is possible that the inscription was written at Masada by Aqaviah after Hananiah's death. Because of these possibilities, there is no real reason to revise all of the details recorded by Josephus on the basis of this inscription from Masada. In light of Josephus' descriptions, most scholars of the Great Revolt believe that there were differences of opinion within the family of Hananiah in 66 CE. Whereas Elazar the son of Hananiah supported the revolt, Hananiah himself, his brother Hezekiah, and Simeon son of Hananiah all attempted to prevent the outbreak of the revolt. See Smallwood, "High Priests," 29; Martin D. Goodman, "A Bad Joke in Josephus," *JJS* 36 (1985): 195–99; idem, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: The Origins of the Jewish Revolt Against Rome A.D. 66–70* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 159–60; Richard A. Horsley, "High Priests and the Politics of Roman Palestine," *JSJ* 17 (1986): 23–55, at 47.

32 Yadin and Naveh, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca," 36, document 458. It is difficult to accept Wise's suggestion that the room in which the pitcher was found was where Hananiah the high priest served as commander of Masada, because the commander would most likely have dwelled in the northern palace, rather than in a small room in one of the casemates of Masada's southern wall.

32a [Further support for Naveh's interpretation is provided by the recently published inscriptions from Machaerus. See Haggai Misgav, "The Ostraca," in Győző Vörös, *Machaerus I, History, Archaeology and Architecture of the Fortified Herodian Royal Palace and City Overlooking the Dead Sea in Transjordan* (Milano: Fondazionue Terra Santa, 2013), 259–77. We are grateful to Prof. Misgav for this reference.—*Eds.*].

33 Since the Babylonian Talmud cites *Megilat Ta'anit*, this tradition was also incorporated in the "hybrid text" of the scholion. See Hans Lichtenstein, "Die Fastenrolle—Eine Untersuchung zur Jüdisch-Hellenistischen Geschichte," *HUCA* 8–9 (1931–1932), 341; Vered Noam, "Megilat Ta'anit and the Scholion: Their Nature, Period and Sources, Accompanied by a Critical Edition" (Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University, 1997), 264–265 (Hebrew). [See now, eadem, *Megillat Ta'anit and the Scholion*: Versions, Interpretation, History, with a Critical Edition (Jerusalem: Yad Ben-Zvi, 2003), 103, 266–70].

To date, there is no known archaeological evidence of a high priest's seal from the Second Temple era. Nevertheless, Avigad published a *bulla* of a high priest[34] bearing the inscription "Jonathan the high priest, Jerusalem M" (ינתן כהן גדל ירשלם מ׳), which belonged to the Hasmonean high priest and king Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE).[35] Avigad also published a stone seal, which he described as "one of the largest inscribed seals,"[36] upon which is inscribed the name Eliani. The script on the seal is a late paleo-Hebrew script, dated by Avigad to the first century CE.[37] In light of Naveh's observation that paleo-Hebrew script was used in the Second Temple period for purposes of particular ideological significance or sacred matters,[38] I would like propose that this seal of "Eliani" belonged to the high priest Eliehoeinai the son of Cantheras or Eliehoeinai the son of Haqqayyaf (הקייף; 19), who served in the years 44–46 CE.[39] Avigad noted that this seal is "particularly large and well-designed and has no precise parallel among other known seals." He suggested that this was a commercial

34 Nahman Avigad, "A Bulla of Jonathan the High Priest," *IEJ* 25 (1975): 8–12. The inscription on the *bulla* is divided into four rows; there is a decorative palm tree between lines 2–3.

35 The identification of "Jonathan the high priest" (ינתן כהן גדל) as Alexander Jannaeus is confirmed by an additional *bulla*, also decorated with a palm tree, which reads "Jonathan the king" (יהונתן מלך). The similarity of the *bullae* indicates that they belonged to the same individual. See Nahman Avigad, "Two Bullae of Jonathan, King and High Priest," in *Ancient Jerusalem Revealed* (ed. Hillel Geva; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 257–59.

36 Nahman Avigad, "The Seal of Eliani," *EI* 16 (1982): 1–2 (Hebrew).

37 On the use of paleo-Hebrew in the late Second Temple period, see Hanan Eshel, "The *Prayer of Joseph* from Qumran, a Papyrus from Masada, and the Samaritan Temple on Mt. Gerizim," *Zion* 56 (1991): 125–36, at 136 n. 56. [Repr. in this volume, 149–63, at 155–56; see also, in this volume, Hanan Eshel and Esther Eshel, "Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch's Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls," 257–80, at 262–68]. For the most recent find relevant to this topic, see Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah, "Burial Caves and Installations of the Second Temple Period at the Har-Hazofim Observatory (Mt.Scopus, Jerusalem)," *ʿatiqot* 35 (1998): 33–37 (Hebrew). [The term כתב עברי is translated here as "paleo-Hebrew script," following common usage, even though the reference is to a late form of the script. For the suggestion to use the term "Neo-Hebrew," see Yitzhak Magen, Haggai Misgav, and Levana Tsfania, *Mount Gerizim Excavations.* Vol. 1, *The Aramaic, Hebrew, and Samaritan Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Staff Officer of Archaeology—Civil Administration of Judea and Samaria, and Israel Antiquities Authority, 2004), 30].

38 Joseph Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet: an Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1982), 117–20.

39 Josephus called this high priest Eliehoeinai the son of Cantheras (*Ant.* 19.342), while the Mishnah calls him Eliehoeinai the son of Ha-qayyaf (אליהועיני בן הקייף). (*m. Parah* 3:5). On the connection between the names, see Robert Brody, "Caiaphas and Cantheras," (Appendix 4) in Daniel R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I: The Last King of Judaea*, 190–95. In his article on the seal of Eliehoeinai, Avigad did not mention that there was a first century CE high priest by this name, but he did determine that the name on the seal, "Eliani" (אליעני) is a shortened form of the full name Eliehoeinai or Elieoeinai.

seal used to mark shipments or some type of merchandise.[40] It seems unlikely, however, that paleo-Hebrew script would have been used for ordinary financial matters. If this is in fact a seal of the high priest, then perhaps, like the *bulla* of Jonathan the high priest and the inscription from Masada, it served to certify the ritual purity of products in the Second Temple era.

40 Avigad's approach was that historical figures should not be identified as owners of ancient seals unless the title of the historical figure appear explicitly on the seal. See Nahman Avigad, "On the Identification of Persons Mentioned in Hebrew Epigraphical Sources," *EI* 19 (1987): 235–37 (Hebrew). In this article, Avigad discusses only First Temple period *bullae*, so his views on late Second Temple period *bullae* are not known. Since Eliani was not a common name in the Second Temple period, and since the *bulla* is especially large and exceptional, written in paleo-Hebrew rather than Jewish (Aramaic) script, it seems to me that we ought to depart from Avigad's general rule in this instance and consider the possibility that this is the seal of the high priest.

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