

The

DEAD
SEA
SCROLLS



A NEW TRANSLATION

TRANSLATED *and with* COMMENTARY

MICHAEL WISE,
MARTIN ABEGG, JR., &
EDWARD COOK

*A comprehensive translation of the
controversial ancient scrolls, with material never
published or translated before now, and including
the most recently released texts.*

"This work of translation and interpretation will be of immense value to the scholar and general reader alike. The commentary provided by the authors is illuminating and accessible and their translation into English of some of the scrolls for the first time will give us all a chance to evaluate these controversial documents—and, perhaps, lay to rest some of the wilder theories that have been evolved about the Qumran sect in recent years. It will thus aid our understanding of the religious imagination in all its complexity."

—KAREN ARMSTRONG, author of *A History of God* and *Jerusalem*

FROM A NEW GENERATION OF DEAD SEA SCROLLS SCHOLARS, HERE IS A FRESH LOOK, INCLUDING THE MOST RECENTLY RELEASED TEXTS, AT THE SCROLLS. MICHAEL WISE, MARTIN ABEGG, JR., AND EDWARD COOK UNLOCK THE SECRETS AND RICH MYSTERIES OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS IN THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE TRANSLATION EVER PUBLISHED FOR THE GENERAL READER IN ANY LANGUAGE.

"A remarkable feat. The authors, all three quite young . . . cover more texts than any other English translation published to date, and usually offer the right solutions to knotty problems typical of the scrolls, with analogies to current religious experience. Here is a translation of the Dead Sea Scrolls [that] pastors and layfolk can read and understand."

—JAMES A. SANDERS, president, Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center

"The Dead Sea Scrolls are not just for scholars anymore. They are here in a book that anyone can understand. *Read these texts.* Hidden in their caves, they survived the ravages of time and decay, to speak to us today across two thousand years. *Read these texts.* In them we glimpse the pluralism of their contemporary Judaism countering alike both Hellenistic internationalism and Roman imperialism. *Read these texts.* They have survived their authors and will survive us, their readers. At least, then: *Read these texts.*

—JOHN DOMINIC CROSSAN, professor emeritus,
De Paul University, and author of *The Historical Jesus*

HarperSanFrancisco

ISBN 0-06-069200-6



9 780060 692001

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

THE


DEAD SEA
SCROLLS

A NEW TRANSLATION

MICHAEL WISE,
MARTIN ABEGG, JR.
& EDWARD COOK



HarperSanFrancisco
An Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers

 A TREE CLAUSE BOOK


HarperSanFrancisco and the author, in association with The Basic Foundation, a not-for-profit organization whose primary mission is reforestation, will facilitate the planting of two trees for every one tree used in the manufacture of this book.

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS: *A New Translation*. Copyright © 1996

by Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., and Edward Cook. All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission except in the case of brief quotations embodied in critical articles and reviews. For information address HarperCollins Publishers, 10 East 53rd Street, New York, NY 10022.

HarperCollins Web Site: <http://www.harpercollins.com>

HarperCollins®, , and HarperSanFrancisco™ and A TREE CLAUSE BOOK® are trademarks of HarperCollins Publishers, Inc.

Text design by Ralph Fowler

FIRST EDITION

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Dead Sea scrolls. English.

The Dead Sea scrolls : a new translation / Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., and Edward Cook — 1st ed.

Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

ISBN 0-06-069200-6 (cloth)

ISBN 0-06-069201-4 (pbk.)

I. Wise, Michael Owen. II. Abegg, Martin G. III. Cook, Edward M. IV. Title.

BM487.A3W57 1996

296.1'55--dc20 96-28983

96 97 98 99 00 RRDH 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

To my wife, Cathy

M.O.W.

To my wife, Sue, and our girls, Stephanie and Jennifer

M.G.A.

To Elizabeth and Tristan

E.M.C

CONTENTS

Preface	xiii
---------------	------

I. PROLEGOMENA

Introduction.....	3
A Dead Sea Scrolls Time Line	36
Reading a Dead Sea Scroll	38
How to Read This Book.....	44

II. TEXTS

1. The Damascus Document (Geniza A + B, 4Q266–272).....	49
2. Tales of the Patriarchs (1QapGen)	74
3. Thanksgiving Psalms (The Thanksgiving Scroll) (1QH, 1Q35, 4Q427–432).....	84
4. A Commentary on Habakkuk (1QpHab).....	114
5. Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association (1QS, 4Q255–264a, 5Q11)	123
6. Charter for Israel in the Last Days (1QSa, 1Q28a).....	143
7. Priestly Blessings for the Last Days (1Q28b, 1QSb).....	147
8. The War Scroll (1QM, 4Q491–496)	150
9. The Words of Moses (1Q22).....	172

10. The Book of Secrets (1Q27, 4Q299–301).....	174
11. Tongues of Fire (1Q29, 4Q376).....	178
12. A Vision of the New Jerusalem (1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554–555, 5Q15, 11Q18).....	180
13. Festival Prayers (1Q34, 1Q34bis, 4Q507–509).....	184
14. A List of Buried Treasure—The Copper Scroll (3Q15).....	188
15. Apocryphal Psalms (4Q88).....	198
16. A Reworking of Genesis and Exodus (4Q158).....	199
17. Ordinances (4Q159, 4Q513–514).....	204
18. An Account of the Story of Samuel (4Q160).....	207
19. Commentaries on Isaiah (4Q161–165).....	209
20. A Commentary on Hosea (4Q166–167).....	214
21. A Commentary on Nahum (4Q169).....	215
22. Commentaries on Psalms (4Q171, 4Q173, 1Q16).....	220
23. The Last Days: A Commentary on Selected Verses (4Q174).....	225
24. A Collection of Messianic Proof Texts (4Q175).....	229
25. A Commentary on Consoling Passages in Scripture (4Q176).....	231
26. The Last Days: An Interpretation of Selected Verses (4Q177).....	233
27. A Lament for Zion (4Q179).....	237
28. The Ages of the World (4Q180–181).....	238
29. A Sectarian History (4Q183).....	240
30. Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184).....	240
31. In Praise of Wisdom (4Q185).....	242
32. A Horoscope Written in Code (4Q186).....	243
33. The Book of Giants (4Q203, 1Q23, 2Q26, 4Q530–532, 6Q8).....	246
34. The Words of Levi (1Q21, Geniza Fragments, Mt. Athos Greek text, 4Q213–214, 4Q540–541).....	250
35. The Last Words of Naphtali (4Q215).....	260
36. A Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus (4Q225).....	261

37. Israel and the Holy Land (4Q226).....	263
38. Enoch and the Watchers (4Q227).....	264
39. The Healing of King Nabonidus (4Q242).....	265
40. The Vision of Daniel (4Q243, 4Q244, 4Q245)	266
41. A Vision of the Son of God (4Q246).....	268
42. The Acts of a King (4Q248).....	270
43. A Commentary on the Law of Moses (4Q251).....	271
44. Commentaries on Genesis (4Q252–254a).....	274
45. Portions of Sectarian Law (4Q265).....	278
46. Ritual Purity Laws Concerning Liquids (4Q274).....	281
47. Rule of Initiation (4Q275).....	283
48. The Ashes of the Red Heifer (4Q276–277)	283
49. Ritual Purity Laws Concerning Menstruation (4Q278)	285
50. Laws Concerning Lots (4Q279).....	285
51. A Liturgy of Blessing and Cursing (4Q280, 4Q286–289)...	286
52. Laws for Purification (4Q284).....	289
53. Laws About Gleaning (4Q284a).....	290
54. The War of the Messiah (4Q285, 11Q14).....	291
55. The Sage to the “Children of Dawn” (4Q298)	294
56. The Parable of the Bountiful Tree (4Q302a).....	295

A READER'S GUIDE TO THE QUMRAN CALENDAR TEXTS

57. The Phases of the Moon (4Q317).....	301
58. A Divination Text (Brontologion) (4Q318).....	303
59. Calendar of the Heavenly Signs (4Q319).....	305
60. Synchronistic Calendars (4Q320–321a).....	309
61. An Annalistic Calendar (4Q322–324b)	313
62. Priestly Service: Sabbath, Month, and Festival—Year One (4Q325).....	317
63. Priestly Service: Sabbath, Month, and Festival—Year Four (4Q326).....	318

64. The Sabbaths and Festivals of the Year (4Q327, 4Q394 Section A).....	319
65. Priestly Service As the Seasons Change (4Q328).....	320
66. Priestly Rotation on the Sabbath (4Q329).....	321
67. Priestly Service on the Passover (4Q329a).....	321
68. Priestly Service on New Year's Day (4Q330).....	322
69. A Liturgical Calendar (4Q334).....	322
70. False Prophets in Israel (4Q339).....	323
71. An Annotated Law of Moses (4Q364–365).....	325
72. The Inheritance of the Firstborn, the Messiah of David (4Q369).....	328
73. A Sermon on the Flood (4Q370).....	330
74. Stories About the Tribes of Israel (4Q371–373, 2Q22).....	331
75. A Discourse on the Exodus and Conquest (4Q374).....	335
76. The Test of a True Prophet (4Q375).....	336
77. A Moses Apocryphon (4Q377).....	337
78. Psalms of Joshua (4Q378–379).....	339
79. A Collection of Royal Psalms (4Q380, 4Q381).....	342
80. An Apocryphon of Elijah (4Q382).....	347
81. Prophetic Apocryphon (4Q384–390).....	349
82. God the Creator (4Q392).....	356
83. Prayers for Forgiveness (4Q393).....	357
84. A Sectarian Manifesto (4QMMT: 4Q394–399).....	358
85. The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407, 11Q17, Masada Fragment).....	365
86. Prayer of Praise (4Q408).....	377
87. A Liturgy (4Q409).....	377
88. The Secret of the Way Things Are (4Q410, 4Q412–413, 4Q415–421, 4Q423, 1Q26).....	378
89. A Baptismal Liturgy (4Q414).....	390
90. A Commentary on Genesis and Exodus (4Q422).....	391
91. A Collection of Proverbs (4Q424).....	393
92. In Praise of God's Grace— <i>Barki Nafshi</i> (4Q434, 4Q436, 4Q437, 4Q439).....	394

93. Hymns of Thanksgiving (4Q443)	397
94. Meditation of the Sage (4Q444)	398
95. In Praise of King Jonathan (4Q448)	399
96. Meditation on Israel's History (4Q462).....	400
97. Lives of the Patriarchs (4Q464)	401
98. The Archangel Michael and King Zedekiah (4Q470).....	402
99. Assorted Manuscripts (4Q471)	403
100. The Two Ways (4Q473)	405
101. A Record of Disciplinary Action (4Q477)	406
102. A Prayer for Deliverance (4Q501).....	407
103. A Liturgy of Thanksgiving (4Q502).....	407
104. Daily Prayers (4Q503)	408
105. The Words of the Heavenly Lights (4Q504–506).....	410
106. The Songs of the Sage for Protection Against Evil Spirits (4Q510–511)	414
107. A Purification Ritual (4Q512)	418
108. Redemption and Resurrection (4Q521)	420
109. A Tale of Joshua (4Q522)	422
110. The Blessings of the Wise (4Q525).....	423
111. The Words of the Archangel Michael (4Q529)	426
112. The Birth of the Chosen One (4Q534–536).....	427
113. The Vision of Jacob (4Q537).....	429
114. An Apocryphon of Judah (4Q538)	430
115. The Last Words of Joseph (4Q539).....	431
116. The Last Words of Kohath (4Q542).....	432
117. The Vision of Amram (4Q543–548).....	433
118. Hur and Miriam (4Q549).....	436
119. The Tale of Bagasraw (4Q550a-f).....	437
120. The Vision of the Four Trees (4Q552–553).....	439
121. A Biblical Chronology (4Q559).....	441
122. An Exorcism (4Q560)	443
123. An Aramaic Horoscope (4Q561).....	444
124. An Aramaic Text on the Persian Period (4Q562)	445
125. A Priestly Vision (4Q563).....	446

126. Thanksgivings (4QHodayot-like)	446
127. Apocryphal Psalms of David (11Q5-6; 4Q88, 4Q448)	447
128. An Aramaic Translation of the Book of Job (11Q10)	452
129. Songs to Disperse Demons (11Q11)	453
130. The Coming of Melchizedek (11Q13).....	455
131. The Temple Scroll (11Q19-20)	457

III. EPILOGUE

Bibliography.....	494
Index of Manuscripts	504
Index of References	506

PREFACE

The authors of this book, on the completion of their work, are acutely conscious of being part of a larger academic enterprise and wish to acknowledge not only their debt to each other, but also to the greater world of Dead Sea Scrolls scholarship. We of the new generation acknowledge the broad shoulders upon which we stand in the hope of furthering the understanding of these ancient texts. Although the names of the scholars of the first generation will become familiar as readers enter into the discussions that follow, let these take their proper places from the beginning: J. T. Milik, John Strugnell, John Allegro, and Andre Dupont-Sommer.

The authors also acknowledge their indebtedness to the academic fathers at whose feet they were introduced to the intricacies—and excitement—of Dead Sea Scrolls studies: Norman Golb, of the University of Chicago; Emanuel Tov, of the Hebrew University; Ben Zion Wacholder, of Hebrew Union College; Stanislav Segert, of UCLA; and the late William S. Lasor, of Fuller Theological Seminary. Their influence and example is evident on every page.

To our families we owe a great debt of gratitude. For the frequent occasions on which our labors were allowed to take precedence, we are thankful for their understanding. We are also mindful of their more concrete contributions. From the challenging questions (“So what?”—thanks, Jenny!) to the reading of chapters in the making (thanks, Cathy!), this work is richer.

To our editor at Harper San Francisco, Mark Chimsky, we offer our heartfelt gratitude for shepherding this book from its inception and for improving its every page. And to Ralph Fowler and Mimi Kusch for their respective design and production editing, we thank you for going above and beyond the call of duty.

The authors of this book complete their labors on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the reckoning of one ancient Dead Sea Scrolls community, fifty years stood as a benchmark: the year of advancement from the strength of one’s youth to the responsibilities of leadership. Yet in the history of scholarship, fifty years might not be enough time to

publish an entire cache of manuscripts, much less produce definitive interpretations of them. This book, then, is more of a beginning of research on the scrolls than it is a completion. Many of the conclusions reached in the following pages will stand the test of time and become foundation stones for subsequent generations of students. Other affirmations—few, we hope—will be revised, overturned, and eventually forgotten. The field of Dead Sea Scrolls research is yet young, but therein lies its excitement. Out of that sense of excitement the authors offer this volume.

June 7, 1996

I

PROLEGOMENA

INTRODUCTION

Like Shangri-la, the term “Dead Sea Scrolls” has the power to evoke images and emotions even in those who have only a vague idea of what they are. The term is redolent of enigma, of intrigue, perhaps even of sacred mysteries; hovering in the background are images of caves, scrolls, barren deserts, and intense scholars hunched over tiny scraps of leather. A closer acquaintance with the scrolls does not dispel the air of mystery, because even when all the documents are read, translated, and explained, huge areas of uncertainty remain. Who wrote the scrolls, and when? What purpose did they serve, and what influence did they have? And what do they mean for us? Scholars still give different answers to all these questions.

We, the authors of this book, feel that the right answers are closer than ever. For decades, specialists have been able to study many of the scrolls, but not all of them. They reached conclusions that did not—could not—take into account all of the documents, many of which remained unavailable until recently.

Now all of the texts are available. Some of them support, and some undermine, cherished theories about the scrolls and their origins. Some of them suggest that long-discarded hypotheses may have been amazingly accurate. Others suggest new and subtle shadings of old interpretations. Most important, the scrolls, now that we can see all of them, testify to the astonishingly rich and fertile literary culture that gave birth to the foundational religious documents of Judaism and Christianity. We find here previously unknown stories about biblical figures such as Enoch, Abraham, and Noah—including a work explaining why God asked Abraham to sacrifice his only son, Isaac. A dozen writings that claim Moses as their author—yet that are not a part of our Bibles—have come forth from the caves. Newly deciphered scrolls reveal ancient doctrines about angels, while others claim to be revelations by angels themselves, including the archangel Michael. Among the scrolls are never before seen psalms attributed to King David and to the leader of the conquest of the Holy Land, Joshua. The scrolls include

extrabiblical prophecies by Ezekiel, Jeremiah, and Daniel. The last words of the patriarchs Joseph, Judah, Levi, Naphtali, and Amram, father of Moses, are here among the scrolls. Still other writings pulse with the conviction that the end of the world is at hand and describe the rise of the Antichrist.

Yet the scrolls, like the Bible they often imitate, are more frequently honored than read. One reason for this neglect is the genuine difficulty of reading and translating texts that survive, many of them only in bits and pieces; another is that few of the published translations are intended for nonspecialists. This one is. In it we have aspired to be both responsible to the sources and understandable to the public.

DISCOVERY AND PUBLICATION

Archaeology is the study of *archaia*, "old things," but for a long time nobody knew that old things were interesting. The past, they thought, was pretty much the same as the present, and so in illuminated medieval Bibles King David is pictured in a medieval suit of armor. But people began to gain a sense of historical perspective during the Renaissance, and some things began to be valued *because* they were old. The wealthy began to collect antiquities: *archaia*. When Napoleon and his legions entered Egypt in the early nineteenth century, they opened up not only a new arena of cultural interchange, but a rich new source of *archaia*. The antiquities trade began in earnest at that time, along with colonialism, its sponsor, and a new science—archaeology.

Private collectors and professional archaeologists have always vied for the same antiquities. "That belongs in a museum!" is the cry of Indiana Jones and his professional colleagues as they struggle against mere collectors. Both parties, of course, are willing to pay for their antiquities under the right circumstances. An awareness of that fact led certain Bedouin of the Taamireh tribe to preserve some old scrolls that they had found in the Judean desert in 1946 or 1947. They happened to enter a narrow cave, they said, and there they were, rolled up in stone jars. Could not someone be found to buy the manuscripts—old, dirty, and tattered as they were?

The original seven scrolls were early divided into two lots. One lot of four was purchased by the Syrian Orthodox archbishop of Jerusalem, Athanasius Samuel, the other lot of three by a scholar at the Hebrew University, E. Y. Sukenik. Samuel, wishing to authenticate the antiquity of his purchase through experts, eventually showed his texts to specialists at the American Schools of Oriental Research. They realized that Samuel's scrolls had been written at least two thou-

sand years earlier, not the oldest *archaia* ever, but centuries older than the oldest manuscript ever discovered in the Holy Land. These excited scholars announced the discovery of the oldest known biblical manuscripts to the press on April 11, 1948, and Sukenik followed suit days later. The original seven scrolls are the *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (then called the *Manual of Discipline*, text 5 in the present collection), *Tales of the Patriarchs* (text 2), *Thanksgiving Psalms* (text 3), *A Commentary on Habakkuk* (text 4), *The War Scroll* (text 8), and two copies of the book of Isaiah.

Samuel took the scrolls to the United States and continued to try to sell them for years, without success. Potential buyers were aware that some scholars doubted the scrolls' authenticity and that questions lingered about the propriety of Samuel's removing the scrolls from their country of origin. Finally, in 1955, an agent of the young state of Israel paid Samuel \$250,000 for his four scrolls, and the texts were reunited with Sukenik's three scrolls. Today they are the prize displays of the Shrine of the Book museum in Jerusalem.

But by 1955, no one really cared anymore whether Israel or the archbishop had the scrolls, because by then the industrious Bedouin had discovered nine more caves containing scrolls equally ancient. Another cave would turn up in 1956, for a total of eleven. The first astonishing discovery was succeeded by a steady stream, as the caves of Judea seemed eager to disgorge everything that had silently lain in their depths for millennia. These eleven caves, it should be noted, were all in the general vicinity of the Wadi Qumran, near the northwest end of the Dead Sea, and their treasures do not exhaust the total number of discoveries. Ancient writings were also found in caves near the Wadi Murabba'at and the Wadi Daliyeh and in the ruins of Masada. Except for the Masada texts, the other discoveries came from times and milieus different from those of the Qumran texts. When people use the phrase "Dead Sea Scrolls," they sometimes mean all of these treasure troves, but more usually only the Qumran scrolls are meant. That will be our own usage in the pages that follow.

The total number of scrolls, when the books were intact, may have been as high as 1,000. Some have vanished without a trace, but scholars have identified the remains of about 870 separate scrolls. Their long centuries in the earth have reduced the vast majority of them to bits and pieces, mere scraps, some no larger than a fingernail. The fourth cave alone, where the biggest cache of manuscripts was unearthed, contained an estimated 15,000 fragments.

The great glut of material—a bonanza that far exceeded the wildest dreams of scholars—was not without its problems. The biggest was simply finding scholars equipped with enough knowledge and time to sort through the material. The

government of Jordan—in whose territory, after 1948, the Qumran caves lay—allowed foreign scholars to form a team in the early 1950s to deal with all the incoming texts. These eight young men were to have the responsibility—and the privilege—of publishing everything.

The scroll team began well, publishing its first volume of texts in 1955, *Discoveries in the Judean Desert, Vol. 1: Qumran Cave 1* (abbreviated as *DJD 1*). This book contained additional fragments from the first cave the Bedouin had entered, pieces of documents that had turned up after the first seven scrolls were removed. “Work of this nature is of necessity slow,” wrote G. L. Harding, director of the Jordanian Department of Antiquities, in the foreword. “It may well be a few years before the series can be completed.” Harding could not have foreseen that forty years later the work would still not be complete. What explains the achingly slow pace of publication?

For one thing, the work required considerably more time than originally estimated. The first seven scrolls were all more or less intact (although some were in better repair than the others). The publishing program consisted of simply publishing photographs of the texts, which were (and still are) legible to anyone who can read ancient Hebrew. But undamaged scrolls like these turned out to be the exception. Most were fragmentary, and it required considerable painstaking work to even figure out which fragments originally belonged to the same scroll. That work necessarily had to be done before even preliminary translations and interpretations could be issued. (This work, by the way, still continues, and new “joins”—ways of connecting the fragments—are discovered from time to time. We propose a few ourselves in the pages that follow.)

The work of collecting and joining fragments, then, required much painstaking work and not a little ingenuity. The original team did this phase of its work well, but in hindsight it is clear that the task was too large and the team too small. The second volume of *DJD* came out in 1961, with texts from Murabba‘at, and *DJD 3* followed in 1962, containing all the texts from Caves 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, and 10, the so-called Minor Caves (for comparatively few scrolls were found in these caves). *DJD 4* (1965) contained a single manuscript of the book of Psalms from Cave 11. Only with *DJD 5* (1968) were several manuscripts from the “mother lode,” Cave 4, issued.

At this point the already slowing pace of publication ground to a complete halt. As a result of the Six-Day War of June 1967, the Palestine Archaeological Museum, where the scroll fragments were stored, had become the property of the state of Israel. The members of the scrolls publication team—most of whom held decidedly pro-Arab convictions—were reluctant to continue under Israeli auspices, even after the authorities assured them they could continue their work without interference.

Eventually the Israelis and the team worked out an agreement, and the team published *DJD* 6, containing a number of minor texts, in 1977. By this time, however, the scholarly community was growing increasingly unhappy with the official scrolls team. The scrolls that had already been published had revolutionized study of the Bible, early Judaism, and early Christianity. The thought that hundreds of texts—more than half of what had been found—had never been seen outside a small circle of privileged editors was maddening, “the academic scandal of the century” in the words of Britain’s Geza Vermes.

In fact, after a *modus operandi* had been reached with Israel, there was no good reason why the rest of the texts could not be published rapidly. The team had finished most of the initial work of reconstruction by 1960. But they had come to feel that a simple publication was no longer enough. The scrolls had become an entire subdiscipline of ancient history, and a “proper” publication now had to include vast analyses, large syntheses, and detailed assessments placing every fragment in its place in the history of Judaism, Christianity, and humankind. This was a daunting task for a large team; for a small team it was simply impossible. And, although the team had slowly begun to increase its size—taking on a few Israeli members and select graduate students (those who studied with team members) in the 1980s—it still refused to allow other scholars access to the texts. In academia, of course, knowledge is power, and the scrolls editors enjoyed theirs immensely.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, complaints about the slow pace of publication snowballed. Team members continued to publish individual texts from time to time, but control of the process always remained in their hands. Even when a text was published it seemed like *noblesse oblige* and the perceived arrogance behind the slow pace of publication acted as a catalyst, goading “outsiders” to work toward achieving unfettered access. New obstacles to publication had arisen as well: several members of the original team had died and others were battling poor health.

Finally, in the early 1990s, the monopoly of the official team was broken, both from within and from without. In 1990, John Strugnell, head of the scrolls team since 1987, was forced to resign by the Israel Antiquities Authority for derogatory comments he made about Judaism. The Authority put Israeli scholars in charge of the project, and they began to invite more scholars to join the team, intending to speed up the pace of publication.

But outside forces played the decisive role. The official team had compiled a concordance—a comprehensive word list that also provides the context in which each word listed occurs—of all the words in the unreleased texts. The team had always limited use of the concordance to themselves, but before Strugnell’s departure he allowed certain academic libraries to receive copies of the concordance. Since the concordance listed each word along with one or two on either

side of it, theoretically one might reconstruct not only entire lines, but entire scrolls.

A graduate student at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Martin Abegg, with his adviser, Ben Zion Wacholder, put the theory into practice. He carried out the reconstruction with the aid of a desktop computer, and the first volume of hitherto unreleased scrolls was published in September 1991. The publication was a bombshell, and it triggered another. Later that same month, the director of the Huntington Library in southern California, William Moffett, announced that the library had in its possession photographs of all of the unreleased Dead Sea Scrolls and that scholars would be allowed full access to them. These twin attacks on the monopoly of the scrolls team proved decisive. After initially threatening legal action, in November 1991 the new editor-in-chief of the official team, Emanuel Tov, announced that all scholars would have free and unconditional access to all the photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls. This victory over scholarly secrecy and possessiveness made the book you hold in your hand possible.

HOW THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS WERE WRITTEN

What, exactly, are the Dead Sea Scrolls? The objects themselves are documents written with a carbon-based ink usually on animal skins, although some are inscribed on papyrus. The scrolls were written right to left using no punctuation except for an occasional paragraph indentation—no periods, commas, quotation marks, or any of the other reader helps to which we are so accustomed. Indeed, in some cases there are not even spaces between words: the letters simply run together in a continuous stream. The codex, the early form of the book with pages bound on one side, had not yet been invented, so the “pages,” or columns, were written consecutively on the scroll. To read them one slowly unrolled the scroll, and then, to be polite, rewrapped it, like rewinding a modern videotape. Not a few of the scrolls testify that the ancients failed to rewind as often as we do. The scrolls are written in several languages and half a dozen scripts, and though all are religious texts, within that category their contents are amazingly varied.

THE LANGUAGES USED IN THE SCROLLS

Prior to the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the dominant view of the Semitic languages of Palestine in this period was essentially as follows: Hebrew had died; it was no longer learned at mother’s knee. It was known only by the ed-

ucated classes through study, just as educated medieval Europeans knew Latin. Rabbinic Hebrew, the written language of the Mishnah, Tosephta, and other rabbinic literature of 200 C.E. and later, was considered a sort of scholarly invention—artificial, not the language of life put to the page. The spoken language of the Jews had in fact become Aramaic. Even in this tongue, literary production was thought to be meager. Accordingly, prominent scholars writing in the mid-1940s (on the eve of the scrolls' discovery) expressed doubts that the composition of a Semitic Gospel was even possible. Edgar Goodspeed, for example, argued: "The Gospel is Christianity's contribution to literature. It is the most potent type of religious literature ever devised. To credit such a creation to the most barren age of a never very productive tongue like Aramaic would seem the height of improbability. For in the days of Jesus the Jews of Palestine were not engaged in writing books. It is not too much to say that a Galilean or Jerusalem Jew of the time of Christ would regard writing a book in his native tongue with positive horror."¹

The discovery of the scrolls swept these linguistic notions into the trash bin. Here were hundreds and hundreds of texts, tangible evidence of substantial literary productivity. Apart from copies of biblical books, about one out of six of the Dead Sea Scrolls is inscribed in Aramaic. Clearly the writing of an Aramaic Gospel was eminently possible. Yet the vast majority of the scrolls were Hebrew texts. Hebrew was manifestly the principal literary language for the Jews of this period. The new discoveries underlined the still living, breathing, even supple character of that language. A few texts pointed to the use of Hebrew for speech as well as writing. These works (for example, *A Sectarian Manifesto*, text 84) displayed a missing-link type of Hebrew, intermediate between the form of Hebrew used in the Bible and that used by the rabbis. Rabbinic Hebrew was shown to be no invention, but simply a development from the ordinary spoken Hebrew of biblical times.

The scrolls have therefore proven that late Second-Temple Jews used various dialects of Hebrew along with Aramaic. (These two languages are closely related—Aramaic is to Hebrew as French is to Italian.) For writing, however, they generally tried to imitate biblical Hebrew, an older form of the language. The situation would be analogous to our trying today to write in the style of Elizabethan English. Not all the scrolls writers could perform this feat equally well, so the "correctness" of the Hebrew varies considerably. Modern scholars actually appreciate the mistakes more than the deft performances, because the mistakes arise out of the writer's own language usage. The written form teaches us about the spoken.

¹Edgar Goodspeed, "The Original Language of the Gospels," in *Contemporary Thinking About Jesus: An Anthology*, ed. Thomas S. Kepler (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1944), 59.

A small minority of the scrolls were written in Greek. Their discovery has vouchsafed us a further glimpse into the linguistic complexity of first-century Jewish society. Hebrew, Aramaic, Greek: each was being used in particular situations of speech and writing. We are only just beginning to discover some of the rules for those uses, to bring to bear the more sophisticated perspectives of sociolinguistics. Since, as noted above, many of the Dead Sea Scrolls have but recently become known to a wide range of scholars, we are presently at an early stage of linguistic understanding.

SCRIPTS USED FOR WRITING THE SCROLLS

The script most commonly used to write these texts, whether Hebrew or Aramaic, has come to be called the *Jewish script*. Before the discovery of the scrolls, we knew relatively little about it. The Jewish script proves to be a development of an earlier script of the fourth and third centuries B.C.E., one that has been known to scholars since the nineteenth century. Perhaps surprisingly, that script had originally been used only for Aramaic, not for Hebrew. In the time of the scrolls it came to be used for Hebrew as well. Whereas Hebrew won the battle of the languages, when it came to script Aramaic was the victor. The scrolls reveal various forms of the Jewish script: beautiful, careful chancellery hands decorated with serifs, informal varieties, cursive and extremely cursive (i.e., illegible and extremely illegible!) types. From this script later developed the medieval scripts used to write Hebrew, and one descendant became that most often used in modern printed Hebrew Bibles and books.

Also surviving among a small group of the scrolls, however, is a developed form of the ancient Hebrew script that the Aramaic form had supplanted among the Jews. This script had been the standard in the days of David and Solomon and on down to the time of Jeremiah. In our period this form of writing, known as *Paleo-Hebrew*, was especially used for copies of the books of Moses (Genesis through Deuteronomy) and of Job. Presumably the scribes who chose it regarded those books as the oldest of the Hebrew Scriptures; Paleo-Hebrew was therefore most appropriate. The scrolls have shown, then, that the Jews of Jesus' day used scripts descended from both earlier Aramaic and earlier Hebrew scripts.

In addition, three different *cryptic*, or secret, *scripts* have emerged. Before the discovery of the scrolls, we had never seen these forms of writing. While cryptic writing as a concept goes back as far as the third millennium B.C.E. in ancient Mesopotamia, these are the oldest forms associated with Hebrew ever discovered. The most important of these secret scripts has come to be called Cryptic Script A. Perhaps fifteen scrolls use Cryptic Script A either entirely or for marginal

notes (see especially *The Sage to the "Children of Dawn,"* text 55, and *The Phases of the Moon,* text 57).

As Edgar Allan Poe once noted in an essay, *A Few Words on Secret Writing*, "Few persons can be made to believe that it is not quite an easy thing to invent a method of secret writing which shall baffle investigation. Yet it may be roundly asserted that human ingenuity cannot concoct a cipher which human ingenuity cannot resolve." Cryptic Script A, likewise, has yielded up its secrets to modern scholars, who have discovered that it is a simple substitution cipher—that is, each symbol of the cryptic alphabet corresponds to one symbol of the regular Hebrew alphabet.

CONTENTS

As noted, all the scrolls, with a few minor exceptions, are Jewish religious texts. In a way, the fact that all the writings are religious is surprising. Why are there no copies of works on agriculture or animal husbandry—on secular, "practical" topics? The Jews in this period were an agricultural people. Wouldn't they want to read such secular books? Immediately, then, as we consider the contents of the scrolls, we begin to perceive an element of intentionality in their being gathered and hidden in the caves. This is not a random collection of "what there was"—not a chance sweeping from this bookshelf and that.

These religious writings are of two different kinds: the *biblical* and the *non-biblical*. The *biblical* texts are copies of the Hebrew Bible (the Christian Old Testament), forming about one-quarter of the total number of scrolls in the collection. The caches included a copy of every one of the books of the Jewish Bible, except, apparently, the book of Esther. Not a trace of Esther has turned up.

The "Dead Sea Bible" is the oldest group of Old Testament manuscripts ever found—at least a thousand years older than the traditional Hebrew texts from the early medieval period that have been the basis of all our modern Bible translations. In many cases, the scrolls have supported the traditional text of the Bible, but in others, what they say in particular verses (their "readings") agrees with nontraditional versions like the Septuagint. (The Septuagint is the ancient translation of the Old Testament into Greek that was used among Egyptian Jews.) Sometimes the scrolls preserve readings we never knew existed.

At other times, the scrolls contain differences more profound than the readings of individual verses. They preserve "editions" of entire biblical books that differ from the traditional text. For example, two forms of the book of Jeremiah have emerged from the caves, one agreeing with that usually printed and translated in modern Bibles, the other about 15 percent shorter and with the contents in a

different order. Several versions of the book of Psalms have likewise come to light. These versions differ greatly from one another, in particular from Psalm 90 onward. Psalms 90–150 are arranged in different orders, and what is more, some of the manuscripts include additional, previously unknown psalms. The content and form of the book of Psalms was manifestly in flux in the period when the scrolls were written. (To read some of these additional psalms, attributed to David, turn to text 15, *Apocryphal Psalms*, and text 127, *Apocryphal Psalms of David*.)

In a similar vein, the discovery of the scrolls has uncovered the existence in this period of anthologies of biblical excerpts, of “rewritten Bibles,” and of lost sources used, perhaps, by the writers of the biblical books. The first two of these categories were apparently methods of interpreting the Bible; in both, material was added to the biblical texts quoted. The additions were intended to give a particular “spin” to the biblical portions being interpreted. Whether people understood these types of texts as less authoritative than the Bible itself is a legitimate question, given that the final contours of the Bible were not fixed. *The Healing of King Nabonidus* (text 39) is a scroll manuscript preserving a source that may have inspired a biblical writer, in this case the author of Daniel. *Healing* is a more primitive version of a story about the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar familiar to modern readers from Daniel 4.

In short, the scrolls have proven that some of the Jews of Jesus’ day knew and used more than one form of many biblical books, and it seems not to have disturbed them or driven them to resolve the differences. There was as yet no agreed upon “canon” of the Bible. Which books would be included in the Bible and in what form or “edition” had not yet been decided. Doubtless different Jews and groups of Jews would have made different selections of authoritative books. Many of the Dead Sea Scrolls, though not a part of our Bible today, were certainly regarded as holy and authoritative by at least some Second-Temple Jews. Only later, after 100 C.E., did a “standard” version of the Bible emerge.

The *nonbiblical* texts are simply copies of religious texts not found in the Bible. Based on our ignorance, these can be further subdivided into two categories. There are nonbiblical texts that were known before the discovery and others that were completely unknown until the scrolls were read.

The previously known nonbiblical texts are religious works like the book of *Jubilees*, the book of *1 Enoch*, and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Although Jews wrote them (or some early form of them) in Aramaic and Hebrew in ancient times, these writings did not survive in Jewish circles. They survived only among Christians, who adapted them and “republished” them as edifying literature, even sometimes adopting them as part of Holy Writ. Both *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch* survived, translated into the ancient language of Ethiopia, as components of the Old Testament of the Ethiopian church. The *Testaments* is extant only in Greek. Another example is the book of *Tobit*. Translated into Greek in ancient

times, it became a part of the Roman Catholic Old Testament canon. Until the Qumran finds, however, it was unknown in its original Semitic language. Copies in both Hebrew and Aramaic have turned up. These manuscripts in themselves would be enough to earn the title of Greatest Find of the Century.

But it is the texts that no one knew existed that give the Qumran collection its special quality, and they defy easy summary by their sheer variety and richness. They are the texts that are translated here, and the best way of finding out about them is just to read them. They are in poetry and prose, and in them we find astrology, magic, and apocalyptic dreams of worldwide Jewish domination. There are biblical commentaries, descriptions of messiahs and Antichrists, and stories about angels and giants. There is even a list of buried treasure—actual, not imaginary, treasure (*A List of Buried Treasure*, text 14). Yet even this part of the collection can be thought of as comprising two kinds of texts: the *sectarian* writings and the *nonsectarian* writings.

Such a division is much more controversial, and some scholars would rush to deny the validity of it. Yet even a rough-and-ready perusal of the materials shows that some texts presuppose a particular kind of organization and share a distinctive set of doctrines, a unique theological vocabulary, and a special perspective on history, things absent from other Qumran texts and other sorts of Judaism in general. Quite a few works advocate or presuppose an unorthodox calendar. Perhaps 40 percent of the nonbiblical Dead Sea Scrolls fall into this subgroup. These texts, it seems clear, were the central documents of the group or groups behind the Dead Sea Scrolls, and these are the ones we would designate as sectarian. Those to whom they belonged and who wrote most of them called themselves the *Yahad*, a Hebrew word meaning “unity.” This is the term we shall use for them throughout the book.

Of the many controversies surrounding the scrolls, probably the most lasting has been over the identification of the group responsible for the sectarian documents. This controversy continues as we write. It is quite rightly felt that if one could securely make such an identification, most of the other questions surrounding the scrolls and their nature would fall in line. Unfortunately, the identity of the sect has been, and remains, a knotty problem—although some of the newly available scrolls suggest new solutions.

THE ORIGIN OF THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS

It is not true that within a month after the discovery of the scrolls everyone thought Essenes wrote them, although in retrospect it may seem that way. The Essenes were one of the major groups among the Jews at the turn of the era. It is

true that the initial press release in April 1948 mentioned them and both popular and academic studies of the first scrolls argued for Essene authorship. As the studies piled up, though, the “Essene hypothesis” did not have the field to itself.

Why did, and do, the Essenes look so attractive to those looking for the group behind the Dead Sea Scrolls? This question leads us in several directions.

First, it is important to understand the dating of the scrolls. None of the Dead Sea Scrolls is dated internally. Unlike medieval scribes, for example, their copyists did not use colophons (summarizing statements praising God and giving the date) to identify themselves. Only a few works refer to identifiable historical events, and none of these writings was among the initial discoveries. The men who first saw the archbishop’s scrolls guessed, on the basis of the letter shapes, that the scrolls were penned in the first century B.C.E., and almost all of the studies of the scroll writing since have confirmed that initial impression. In fact, the Qumran texts have so galvanized the science of paleography—the study of ancient writing and its evolution—that some proponents claim to be able to date a text within twenty-five years on that basis alone. Others (including the authors) are less confident, although few would argue with the “broader view” that paleography can date a text within about a century. On that evidence, then, a few scrolls would date from the second century B.C.E., the vast majority from the first century B.C.E., and a smaller number from the first century C.E.

Beyond paleography, carbon-14 analysis provides another strand of evidence for dating. This kind of analysis can indicate a general date for objects made of organic material. In 1951, some of the linen scroll covers from Cave 1 were tested and yielded a date between 60 B.C.E. and 20 C.E. Swiss scientists made additional tests in 1991, the technique having been refined in the interim to allow individual texts to be tested. Further tests, on different texts, were conducted in Arizona in 1994. All the Qumran texts tested fell between the parameters established by the “broader view” of paleography.

Finally, a few texts from Cave 4 actually refer to historical individuals by name. These references, though isolated, are of enormous importance, as will be seen below. For now, it is enough to state that the individuals so named are the Syrian king Demetrius Eukairos (who reigned 95–78 B.C.E.), King Alexander Jannaeus of Israel (103–76), Queen Salome Alexandra of Israel (76–67), King John Hyrcanus II (63–40), and the Roman general Aemilius Scaurus (active in Israel 65–63). In addition, *A Commentary on Habakkuk* makes a transparent reference to the Roman invasion of Israel in 63 B.C.E. All of these individuals and events fall within the first century B.C.E., again broadly confirming the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. as the time when the scrolls were put down in writing.

Artifacts found in or around the scroll caves also provide supporting evidence for dating the scrolls. Researchers found pottery in several caves, and pottery styles are the basis of most kinds of archaeological dating. Although dating by

pottery types is subject to the same kinds of reservation as paleographical dating, archaeologists estimate that the Qumran pottery types are typical of the period 150 B.C.E.—100 C.E.

In short, there are good—indeed, overwhelming—reasons to locate those who wrote and copied the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Israel of the period ca. 200 B.C.E. to 100 C.E. As it happens, we have only one comprehensive contemporary source for the history of Israel during that period: the writings of the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus. Josephus was a generation younger than the apostle Paul and spent the later years of his life under the patronage of the Flavian family in Rome writing about his own people. He wrote two books that tell us almost everything we know (or think we know) about Israel during that time: *The Jewish War* (abbreviated *War*), describing the Jewish revolt against the Romans from 66 to 73/4 C.E. and the events leading up to it, and *The Antiquities of the Jews* (abbreviated *Ant.*), a sweeping chronicle of Jewish history from creation to Josephus's own time.

In both books, Josephus describes what he calls three Jewish “schools of philosophy” that existed in his time: the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes. It is what Josephus says about the Essenes that made the Essene hypothesis of the scrolls' origins so appealing. Particularly noteworthy in this respect is the correspondence between his description of the Essenes and the text we call the *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (text 5).

Some of the correspondences are as follows. Josephus says that “those entering the sect transfer their property to the order” (*War* 2.122); the *Charter* says that new members must give their property to the Overseer (6:19; see also 1:11–12; 5:1–2). Essenes emphasize the role of fate, or divine providence, in all things, unlike the Pharisees and Sadducees, who allow some scope for free will (*Ant.* 13.171–173); the doctrine of predestination is common in the scrolls (see the *Charter* 2:13–4:26 for its most notable expression). The Essenes allow new members to join only after a period of one trial year, when the novice shows his aptitude for the Essene way of life, followed by two years as a probationary member with some privileges (*War* 2.137–138); according to the *Charter*, the would-be initiate must also pass a trial year as a member, and then a second year (note: not two *more* years) under probation (6:13–23) before becoming a full member.

There is also some striking agreement in details. For instance, Josephus mentions (and it says volumes about ancient mores that he considers it worth mentioning) that Essenes “avoid spitting in the midst of the group or on the right side” (*War* 2.147); the *Charter* also stipulates that “anyone who spits into the midst of a session of the general membership is to be punished” (7:13).

These data in themselves would naturally make anyone consider the Essenes as possibly the sect of the scrolls; but another description of the Essenes from an ancient travelogue clinched the matter for many. The Roman writer Pliny wrote in his *Natural History* that a sect called the Essenes lived “without women, sex, or money” by the shores of the Dead Sea, south of Jericho and north of Engedi—an area corresponding to the region where the Dead Sea Scrolls were found. For many, that settled the matter: the Qumran group were Essenes. That view still prevails today, but it is facing new challenges.

THE STANDARD MODEL

The Essene hypothesis is one leg of an influential three-legged theory about the Qumran texts that we shall call the Standard Model. There are two other legs to it, which will here be called (1) the anti-Hasmonean hypothesis and (2) the “mother house” hypothesis. The anti-Hasmonean hypothesis has to do with the historical origins of the Essene movement; the “mother house” hypothesis concerns the connection of the scrolls to the Khirbet Qumran ruins located near some of the caves. It will be convenient to consider each of the three legs in turn, starting with what we know about the Essenes.

Josephus goes into some detail about the beliefs and customs of the Essenes, but he says—and probably knew—nothing about their origin or how they came to have their beliefs. The scrolls, if they are of Essene origin, tell us more, although in veiled terms. The *Damascus Document* (text 1) and the commentaries, particularly *A Commentary on Habakkuk* (text 4), mention some of the prominent people and events involved in the founding of the group. Ordinarily such information would be of tremendous historical value. In the scrolls, however, there is a catch: most of the *dramatis personae* are named only under symbolic pseudonyms. Thus the apparent founder of the group is called only the Teacher of Righteousness; the prominent member of the group or groups opposing him is called the Man of the Lie (or sometimes the Spewer of Lies), who may be the leader of a sinister cabal called the Flattery-Seekers; and the sect’s chief persecutor is designated only as the Wicked Priest. There is another ruler called the Lion of Wrath, and there is a menacing foreign power known as the Kittim.

A story can be pieced together from the various texts. The Teacher of Righteousness was a priest exceptionally gifted in religious insight; indeed, he had been granted special revelations from God about the true meaning of Scripture and the proper interpretation of the Law of Moses. Although he succeeded in gaining a following among other priests and righteous Jews, he was opposed by

the Man of the Lie, who by his cunning rhetoric was able to dissuade many from submitting to the Teacher's precepts. The Flattery-Seekers also opposed the ministry of the Teacher. The Wicked Priest, however, initially seemed to be favorable to the Teacher; but "when he ruled in Israel" he showed himself to be irreligious, greedy, corrupt, and violent. He harried the Teacher and his followers, drove them into exile, and on at least one occasion made an attempt to have the Teacher killed—apparently without success. The Wicked Priest was threatened by Gentile powers and was captured and mistreated by them. There is no certain indication that the Teacher died a violent death, although that is possible.

The texts often combine elements of this story of the Teacher with imprecations on his and the group's enemies. In particular, the imminent coming of the rapacious "Kittim" is understood to be divine punishment on the nation for its rejection of the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers.

Scholars have ransacked the turbulent history of Israel in the second and first centuries B.C.E. to find scenarios that match the synopsis above. Very briefly, that history goes like this: after the Jews had thrown off the yoke of the Greek kings of Syria in 165 B.C.E., they were ruled by the priestly family of the Hasmoneans (also known as the Maccabees), leaders of the revolt. For slightly less than a century (152–63 B.C.E.), Judea was independent under Hasmonean rule and even expanded its territory to something like its boundaries under David and Solomon. At the same time, however, the country was riven by religio-political factions, of which the two main ones were the Pharisees and the Sadducees.

The origins of both groups are obscure. Josephus first mentions them as existing, with the Essenes, during the reign of the early Hasmonean high priest Jonathan Maccabee (152–142 B.C.E.; *Ant.* 13.171). It is certain that the Pharisees, largely a lay movement and the "liberals" of their day, generally opposed the Hasmoneans. The Sadducees, on the other hand, were composed primarily of priests and as the "conservatives" supported the Hasmoneans.

The Pharisees were distinguished in particular for their "oral law," an unwritten adjunct to the Scriptures that claimed to provide the correct interpretation of Holy Writ. As Josephus wrote, "The Pharisees have imposed on the people many laws from the tradition of the fathers not written in the Law of Moses" (*Ant.* 13.297). These traditions of the fathers were the genius of the movement, for they spelled flexibility, enabling the Pharisees to adjust to new situations and to recast old laws as new circumstances required. Naturally, to the Sadducees and other non-Pharisaic groups among the Jews these same traditions were anathema. The Pharisees were nevertheless often able to impose their will because they were the group that enjoyed the most support among the general populace. They were the forebears of the rabbis, and rabbinic literature contains a fair number of laws and traditions that go back to the Pharisees. The Pharisees were also

the group most often depicted in the Gospels as opposing Jesus and his interpretations of the Law, although in many respects Jesus stood close to their position. (Our strongest arguments are often within our own family.) Josephus further tells us that the Pharisees believed in resurrection and the existence of angels and spirits, whereas according to the New Testament (Acts 23:8) their principal competitors for power, the Sadducees, denied both.

Whether the Sadducees actually did deny these doctrines pure and simple, especially the existence of angels, is problematic. Angels appear in the books of Moses, after all, and every Jew embraced those writings. As a priestly party, the Sadducees may, however, have questioned the resurrection, since the ancient priestly doctrine of the afterlife—as found in the Hebrew Bible and in the apocryphal book of Sirach, for example—held that a shadowy existence in Sheol follows death. This ill-defined existence was much less desirable than earthly life. For the ancient priests true life after death consisted primarily in the continuation of one's name through children and grandchildren and in leaving behind a "blessed memory." In any case, what is certain is that the Sadducees, whose primary support lay with the Jerusalem elite, denied the Pharisaic understanding of these matters. That denial was part conviction, part political necessity.

During the tenure of Alexander Jannaeus, a Sadducean supporter, (103–76 B.C.E.) the Pharisees helped invite the Greek king of Syria, Demetrius III, to mount a military campaign against Alexander—for which they were severely punished when the revolt failed. Alexander later received very bad press from Josephus, who depicted him as a drunken, war-besotted monarch whose greatest pleasure, outside of drink and war, was consorting publicly with his many concubines. But as we shall see, not everyone among the Jews would have accepted Josephus's characterization, and the other side finds a voice among the scrolls.

Alexander and the Pharisees were for six years on opposite sides of a civil war among the Jews, and it was in this context that, desperate to remove Alexander, the Pharisees turned to the traditional Syrian Greek enemies of the Jews for help. Later, after Alexander's death, his widow, Salome Alexandra, came under Pharisaic influence and allowed them to suppress dissenting views. She was thus the antithesis of her husband. Whereas he had embraced, and been embraced by, the Sadducees and other priestly groups, she allied herself with the Pharisees. The reason for the switch was purely political. Knowing that she could not hope to appeal to both Sadducees and Pharisees, Salome (depicted by Josephus as a prudent and energetic queen, if a bit naive) simply calculated which group's support would most strengthen her own position.

After Salome's death (67 B.C.E.) yet another civil war broke out between her two sons, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, partisans of the Pharisees and Sadducees, respectively. Thus the militant disputes between the principal religious factions among the Jews continued for yet another generation. Hyrcanus had al-

ready been the high priest while his mother reigned. Upon her death he simply assumed the royal mantle as well. But Hyrcanus was weak and had no real stomach for war or the other duties that monarchs of that period were expected to perform (at least, that's the way Josephus tells it). He abdicated the throne in favor of his much more ambitious brother, Aristobulus, but later, at the instigation of members of the Jerusalem elite, had second thoughts. War broke out between the brothers. The war ended only when the Romans invaded and added Judea to the list of Roman provinces in 63 B.C.E.

Qumran pseudonyms can be correlated with Judean history in two cases: the Kittim and the Wicked Priest. The Kittim, conquerors of nations, are pretty clearly the Romans; and the Wicked Priest, who was also a ruler of Israel, must have been one of the Hasmoneans. But which one? Rather than focus on the period from Alexander Jannaeus to the coming of the Romans, most proponents of the Standard Model look to an earlier time and favor early members of the family: either Jonathan Maccabee or his brother and successor, Simon (142–134 B.C.E.). Why?

One main reason is archeological, and that leads us to the “mother house” hypothesis. The Standard Model stipulates that the Khirbet Qumran site (see below, on the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran) was the central headquarters of the Essene movement and the main dwelling place of the Teacher and his disciples after their rejection by the establishment. Proponents then proceed to read out a chronological framework for Essene history from the settlement history of the ruin. Since the site's history has been understood to begin around the middle of the second century B.C.E., the Wicked Priest must have been the Hasmonean then holding office—Jonathan or Simon.

That conclusion is then further buttressed by a certain reading of the *Damascus Document*:

When Israel abandoned Him by being faithless, He turned away from them and from His sanctuary and gave them up to the sword. But when He called to mind the covenant He made with their forefathers, He left a remnant for Israel and did not allow them to be exterminated. In the era of wrath—three hundred and ninety years at the time He handed them over to the power of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon—He took care of them and caused to grow from Israel and from Aaron a root of planting to inherit His land and to grow fat on the good produce of His soil. They considered their iniquity and they knew that they were guilty men, and had been like the blind and like those groping for the way twenty years. But God considered their deeds, that they had sought Him with a whole heart. So He raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. (A 1:3–11)

The Standard Model understands this passage to be, in a nutshell, the history of the founding of the sect. The ambiguous statement about 390 years is

interpreted so that the 390 years follow rather than precede (as is possible in the original Hebrew) the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar, which happened in 586 B.C.E. Subtraction yields the date 196, and an additional 20 years leads to 176 as the beginning of the Teacher's ministry. Since his activity could have lasted some 30 years, the Teacher and Jonathan Maccabee could easily have been contemporaries.

But what made Jonathan so wicked? There is no indication in Josephus or other sources that he was notably corrupt or violent. Here the model baldly asserts that Jonathan's great sin was precisely in accepting appointment as high priest of Israel under the auspices of the Syrian Greek king Alexander Balas in 152 B.C.E. The Hasmonean family, although of priestly stock, did not belong to the descendants of David's high priest Zadok, from whom alone many Jews thought the high priest could come. Of course, if this act was what made Jonathan wicked, then his successors to the high-priestly throne—in short, all the Hasmoneans—must likewise have been odious to the Essenes.

In turn, so the theory goes, their opposition to Hasmonean rule made the Essenes obnoxious to the government and to some other Jews, and they were hounded by Jonathan (or his successor, Simon) into exile in the Judean desert, where they built a settlement. There they remained for at least two centuries, isolated and insulated from the evil regime of the Hasmoneans, from the Roman successors to the Hasmoneans, and from the corrupt society of Judea, which had rejected the holy verities of the Teacher of Righteousness. During the Jewish revolt against the Romans in 66–73/4 C.E., they fell afoul of the Roman legions and their settlement was destroyed—but not before they were able to conceal a precious library in the nearby caves.

Such, in brief, is the understanding of the historical background of the Dead Sea sect that many scholars hold today. It would be pointless to deny the element of truth in the Standard Model, but is also fair to say that it has had much too easy a time of it in scholarly circles. There are significant gaps in this theory, and some of the new texts have the effect of spotlighting these gaps. Also, there are many weaknesses in the notion that the ruin was once the headquarters of the Essenes.

THE SITE OF KHIRBET QUMRAN

Khirbet Qumran lies on the northwest coast of the Dead Sea within easy walking distance of Jericho, and it is not difficult to access from Jerusalem. (*Khirbet* is the Arabic word for “ruin,” and the name means “ruin of Qumran”;

generally scholars use the shorthand reference “Qumran.”) When the scrolls were discovered, their caves seemed to radiate north and south from this site, so early investigators thought it reasonable to suppose there might be some connection. Believing that an understanding of Khirbet Qumran could clarify the human situation behind the scrolls, they decided to excavate. The Department of Antiquities of Jordan, the Palestinian Archaeological Museum, and the École Archéologique Française de Jérusalem undertook joint campaigns beginning in 1951 and continuing through 1956. Unfortunately, the results of those excavations were never published scientifically. (Preparations to do so are now under way, two generations later.) Father Roland de Vaux, who led the excavations, did, however, publish a variety of preliminary reports, as did some of the others who had helped in the work. De Vaux also lectured widely on the findings, which culminated in the Schweich Lectures of 1959, published as *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

De Vaux distinguished four basic occupational levels (periods of habitation): one in the seventh century B.C.E. and, after a long hiatus, three others beginning about 135 B.C.E. and ending shortly after 70 C.E. The fourth and final period represented a few years of Roman occupation, so the two periods between 135 B.C.E. and 70 C.E. were the important ones in terms of the scrolls. De Vaux and other early proponents of the Standard Model linked these two periods to the sectarian scrolls. The group that had produced them was imagined to have lived on the site in those years. A layer of ash pointed to fiery destruction at the end of that time, the walls around the site being mined under in the fashion of Roman siege warfare. Iron arrowheads were also associated with this level. De Vaux argued that in 68 C.E., when their forces invested Jericho, the Romans had destroyed a resisting Qumran. De Vaux's view, therefore, was that a community lived in this abandoned region for a period of almost two centuries.

The excavators went on to equate Qumran with the Essene habitation on the shores of the Dead Sea described by Pliny. The findings of the excavations now fed into and became a crucial element of the Standard Model, bolstering the Essene hypothesis. Qumran, the theory held, had been the center of Essene activity, the “mother house” of the sect. To shore up this equation, de Vaux and others tended to push the resettling of the site in the Second-Temple period back even earlier than 135 B.C.E. Archaeological findings offered no real support, but the move was necessary because they could hardly position Qumran as the center of the Essenes unless it had come into existence about when the Essenes had. As noted above, Josephus had written of the Essenes as existing before 135.

Estimating that between a hundred and fifty and two hundred people could inhabit the site itself, de Vaux and the members of his team theorized that

numerous others must have lived in the nearby caves—not only in the ones where manuscripts were discovered, but also in the many others in the region where signs of habitation had turned up. Additional members of the community, they suggested, probably lived in huts and tents that they would have set up around Qumran. Common meals would be held at the mother house, as shown by the hundreds of bowls and pitchers found in one of the rooms dubbed the “refectory.” (Note the monastic terminology: the excavation team was led and dominated by Catholic priests. One cannot but suspect that in interpreting the excavation they peered down into the well of time and there beheld—themselves.)

The excavators were particularly excited about the discovery at Qumran of plastered “tables.” Here, they urged, were the very tables upon which the Dead Sea Scrolls had been inscribed, copied out by generation after generation of monkish scribes. The tables were found on the ground amidst rubble that had piled up with the collapse of a second-story room. The archaeologists reasoned that the tables had likewise fallen from that vanished room and named this room the scriptorium, “the room of the writing” (more monastic terminology). The unearthing of an elaborate waterwork system transversing the site led to the notion that these channels and pools served for elaborate Essene ablutions. All of these interpretations of the archaeological findings found their way into countless articles and books on the scrolls and, like other aspects of the Standard Model, were repeated so often that the mist of theory congealed and became solid fact.

In the last several years, however, a growing number of scholars have begun to question the nature of the connection between the scrolls and Khirbet Qumran. The discoveries at the site were not, after all, *facts*; archaeology seldom yields those. What archaeology yields is not facts, but artifacts—which then have to be interpreted. Those interpretations, no matter how convincing they may seem, are not facts. Thus, Pauline Donceel-Voûte (one of those now responsible for full publication of the de Vaux excavations) argues that the principal evidence for the scriptorium—the plastered “tables”—points rather to a Roman-period dining room, or *triclinium*. The Romans did not sit down to eat, but instead reclined on cushioned couches. During the years of the Second-Temple period, the Jews came to do likewise. She says the tables were actually couches.

Before it could recover from this blow, the Standard Model’s romantic image of sustained scribal activity at Qumran suffered yet another challenge with the release of all the scrolls in late 1991. Now that scholars could examine the totality of the manuscript evidence for themselves, a puzzling fact became evident: hundreds of different scribes appeared to have written the scrolls. Since each writer had a distinct handwriting, just as we do, it was possible to isolate individual scribes and determine which scrolls each had copied. Not only were

hundreds of different scribes responsible for the texts, but very few seemed to have written more than one scroll. Only about a dozen "repeats" have been identified. Needless to say, this situation does not square very well with the theory-now-fact that Qumran scribes produced the scrolls at the site. If that theory were correct, what one would have expected to find is a limited number of hands, with many more texts traceable to each scribe. Presumably a given scribe, laboring for a generation at the site, would have produced numerous manuscripts. Even allowing for the fact that some of the scrolls would have perished before being discovered in our century, release of the manuscripts has revealed a notably different profile. The logical inference is that most of the scrolls come from elsewhere. Indeed, once that much has been conceded, the burden shifts and it becomes necessary to prove that *any* of the scrolls were written at Qumran.

Other questions have arisen regarding the notion of Qumran as an Essene laura, or mother house. Recent investigation by Joseph Patrich and other Israeli archaeologists has uncovered no network of paths converging on the supposed communal center. Medieval monasteries always display such a network connecting the church and dining room to the dispersed cells. Moreover, Patrich has been unable to locate any traces of the hypothesized huts and tents, although in the case of desert archaeology such traces should still be evident. Ancient Bedouin temporary encampments in the desert are readily identifiable centuries later. Qumran was supposedly no mere temporary encampment, but a site occupied more or less continuously for two centuries. Yet there are no traces of any surrounding habitats. At most, then, about fifty people inhabited the site, only those who could fit within its walls. Consequently, most of the hundreds of communicants populating the picture drawn by de Vaux and the Standard Model have now been erased.

Aerial photography has likewise revealed no paths linking the caves where the scrolls were discovered to the site of Qumran. The movement back and forth that would have produced a path evidently did not occur. Thus the caves could not have functioned as separate libraries or repositories to which sectarians would repair for reading and reflection.

The first probe of Khirbet Qumran since de Vaux's 1950s excavations took place in late 1993 during Operation Scroll, an archaeological sweep of the region prior to ceding control to the new Palestinian state. Amir Drori and Yitzhak Magen conducted a limited dig and came to the conclusion that the Qumran complex was founded by the Hasmoneans, not by the Essenes. They pointed out (as, indeed, others had before them) that Qumran was right in the middle of a line of fortresses established by the Hasmonean dynasty. These fortresses ran from Nablus in the north to Masada in the south. They further noted that the elaborate

waterworks of the site would have required heavy investment more consonant with a state project than a sectarian initiative. The two scholars' final conclusion was that the founding of Qumran should be viewed as an integral part of the Hasmonean plan to settle and fortify the Jordan Valley.

Nevertheless, still under the sway of the Standard Model, the archaeologists continued to attach the Essenes to the site, simply recalculating their existence there to a later date. Based on no particular evidence, they hypothesized that Herod the Great, put on the throne by the Romans, gave Qumran to the Essenes shortly after taking power from the Hasmoneans in 37 B.C.E. Drori and Magen apparently did not perceive how badly their reassessment of the site would cripple the Standard Model they invoked. By moving the date of Essene occupation up to 37 B.C.E., these investigators have kicked out the chronological underpinnings of the model's view of Essene beginnings. Qumran could hardly have been founded as the center of a breakaway new movement if that movement had already existed for a century. Nor could the Teacher of Righteousness have come here if it was a fortress under the control of the Hasmoneans who, according to the model, were his bitterest enemies.

More and more, then, it is becoming clear that the archaeology of Qumran cannot bear the weight of a theory that it has too long been forced to support. Even the strongest proponents of the Standard Model are beginning to admit as much. One staunch adherent, Jonas Greenfield, conceded recently, "The problem is we all bought de Vaux's version hook, line, and sinker." One can no longer reasonably argue for a "strong" connection between the site and the scrolls, though the two may have a "weak" connection; that is, though the site may have been used by the sect, it cannot have been their main location.²

FURTHER PROBLEMS WITH THE STANDARD MODEL

Not only is the significance of the ruin for the scrolls disputed, but the Essene hypothesis of the Standard Model is itself vulnerable to criticisms of one kind and another. As noted, the parallels between some of the scrolls, especially the *Charter*, and Josephus's description of the Essenes, are striking. But the scrolls give no evidence of other notable characteristics of the Essenes. For instance, Josephus and Pliny and the Jewish philosopher Philo all describe the Essenes as celibate—indeed, it is perhaps their most arresting trait. But the scrolls contain no

²The recent discovery of an ostrakon (piece of pottery) at the site, reportedly inscribed with the conveyance of a horse and a slave to the *Yahad*, seems to clinch the matter. The site must have been used by the sect.

command to be celibate; on the contrary, numerous passages presuppose the opposite, that the group members will be married.

Philo also says that the Essenes pursued only peaceful occupations—and yet the *War Scroll* gives detailed prescriptions for the conduct of a very real, though future, armed conflict against the powers of darkness.

Philo and Josephus also agree that the Essenes rejected slavery—and yet the *Damascus Document* has rules governing the treatment of slaves (11:12, 12:10–11). Another writing, called here *Ordinances* (text 17), further regulates slavery. Josephus mentions, among other things, the white garments of the Essenes—of which the scrolls say nothing.

If the classical sources describe the Essenes in ways that conflict or lack support from the contents of the scrolls, the opposite is also the case. The scrolls stress beliefs that Josephus and Philo say nothing about. The doctrine that God had commanded Israel to follow a 364-day solar calendar instead of a 354-day lunar calendar was a key tenet of the Qumran group. This peculiar calendar unifies the scrolls more than any other single sectarian element. Yet Josephus and Philo say nothing of the calendar. The scrolls strongly emphasize the role of priests in the group leadership; but again, Josephus says not a word about priestly dominance, although he himself came from a priestly family and claims to have studied with the Essenes as a youth. Josephus also fails to mention the Teacher of Righteousness in his extensive descriptions of the Essenes.

There are ways to finesse all of these objections, and some of them are more or less convincing. For instance, Josephus, living so long after the Teacher, might not have heard of him, especially if, over the years, the Essenes had changed and were no longer so attached to the Teacher. Also, Josephus does allude to a sect of “marrying Essenes” (*War* 2.160–161)—and that could perhaps account for the lack of interest the scrolls show in celibacy. But the “Essene hypothesis,” however appealing, is hardly airtight.

A part of the difficulty may be in too ready acceptance of Josephus’s oversimplifying division of the Jews into Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. We know from other sources, both Jewish and early Christian, that there were many more than three groups among Second-Temple Jews. In fact, Josephus himself mentions others in passing or in detail, including Zealots and *sicarii*, and describes various movements that centered on charismatic leaders such as John of Gischala or Simon bar Giora. Trying to apply Josephus’s three labels to a complex historical reality is like trying to use only the categories “Catholic,” “Protestant,” and “Jew” to understand every shade of religious opinion in the United States in the late 1990s. Which one was David Koresh, leader of the Branch Davidian group at Waco? Well, if forced, you would probably say “Protestant”—but such a label would prove singularly unhelpful for anyone studying Koresh and his followers. The same may well be true of the Teacher of Righteousness and his flock.

Finally, the idea that the Qumran group—Essenes or some other persuasion—originated in the second century B.C.E. out of opposition to the Hasmonean takeover of the high-priesthood is crumbling. The newly released scrolls offer this notion no support. In both old scrolls and new there are indeed many references to the corruption of Israel's rulers—to their rapacity, to their greed, to their complicity in the profanation of holy sites—but *not a single passage objects to the high priest's line of descent*. In fact, a close reading of Josephus will reveal that only the Pharisees ever objected to a Hasmonean as such holding the high-priesthood (*Ant.* 13.288–292).

In short, the Standard Model, while an elegant idea, has become less convincing, not more, as additional evidence has come forth from archaeology and the texts. The situation is reminiscent of the words of Thomas Huxley, who in a very different context decried the great tragedy of “the slaying of a beautiful hypothesis by an ugly fact.” Ugly little facts are now making themselves known, and many come from the new texts.

A NEW PROPOSAL FOR SCROLL ORIGINS

Not only is there no evidence that the Dead Sea group objected to the Hasmonean high-priesthood as such, the newly available texts actually show the opposite: they held some of the Hasmoneans in high regard. One such writing is the so-called *In Praise of King Jonathan* (text 95), technically referred to as 4Q448. The difficult script on this scrap of leather has been brilliantly deciphered by Ada Yardeni. It is a poem in honor of a king of Israel known as Jonathan; the vital opening portion reads “For Jonathan the king” and goes on to say “and all the congregation of Your people Israel, which have been dispersed to the four winds of the heavens, let peace be on all of them and Your kingdom” (B:2–8). Yardeni and her colleagues, Hanan and Esther Eshel, believe that the text refers to the Hasmonean ruler Alexander Jannaeus (Hebrew name: Jonathan), who was the first Hasmonean officially to style himself as “king.” If they are correct, as we believe they are, then *In Praise of King Jonathan* undermines the idea that the Teacher and his followers were on principle opposed to the Hasmoneans. Not only were they not opposed to them, they supported one of the most ill-famed of the family, for Alexander, as noted, was described by the historian Josephus as an extraordinary villain. (Proponents of the Standard Model have labored to explain *In Praise of King Jonathan*. Lawrence Schiffman, for example, proposes that “it may

have happened that a text presenting an opposing view simply ended up there [in the collection]—an exceptional occurrence, but not impossible.”³ Indeed.)

At least one new text, then, has provided a big surprise. But as often with new discoveries, it has sent us back to the old texts with new eyes. One of the old texts, already published in the 1950s, is the *Commentary on Nahum*. The ancient Qumran group liked to pore over the ancient prophecies of the Hebrew Bible looking for foreshadowings of their own history. One result of this activity was a commentary on the prophet Nahum from Cave 4 (text 21); it was the first published scroll to refer to identifiable historical figures. One of them was Alexander Jannaeus, the “Lion of Wrath.” Alexander, according to the writer “used to hang men alive [. . . GAP . . .] in Israel in former times, for to anyone hanging alive on the tree, [the verse app]lies: ‘Behold, I am against [you, says the LORD of Hosts]’” (frags. 3–4 1:7–9).

The crucial gap was initially filled in by some such phrase as “[which had never been done],” expressing outrage at the act of crucifixion. But when another scroll, the *Temple Scroll* (text 131), was published in 1977, it became clear that under certain circumstances the scroll writers did approve of crucifixion: “If a man is a traitor against his people and gives them up to a foreign nation, so doing evil to his people, you are to hang him on a tree until dead” (64:7–8). It so happens that Alexander did crucify eight hundred men for the crime of siding with the Greek king Demetrius III and inviting him to invade Judea. With the publication of the *Temple Scroll*, it now seemed that the proper restoration of the gap was that suggested by Yigael Yadin: “the Lion of Wrath used to hang men alive, [as it was done] in Israel in former times.”

Now, according to the *Commentary on Nahum*, some of those that the Lion of Wrath crucified were the Flattery-Seekers, and they are those known in other historical sources as the Pharisees. We already knew that the Qumran sect hated the Pharisees, but it is now apparent that Alexander, the sworn enemy of the Pharisees during his reign, was a hero to the sect. The sect, in other words, heartily approved of Alexander’s crucifying eight hundred Pharisaic rebels.

If the Teacher’s group could side with Alexander Jannaeus, then clearly they need not have disapproved of any Hasmonean ruler on principle. This new chain of evidence makes it very unlikely that the group originated in a dispute concerning the high-priestly succession in the mid-second century B.C.E. Moreover, not only does this newly possible combination of evidence change our ideas about the origin of the sect, it suggests that they were fully involved in the internal politics of Israel in the first century B.C.E. They supported Alexander and

³Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 240.

opposed the Pharisees. One of the effects of the Standard Model has been to distance the scroll writers geographically and ideologically from the Judean mainstream: they were insular, monastic dropouts. But the new model suggested here brings the group back into the flow of history.

King Alexander, as we know from other sources, was himself sympathetic to the group known as Sadducees. What did the Qumran group think of the Sadducees?

Another newly published text sheds some light on that question. Although known to the tiny group of official scroll editors since the late 1950s, it was only in the 1980s that the existence of the work now called *Miqsat Maase ha-Torah* (MMT for short) or the *Sectarian Manifesto* (text 84) was revealed. The *Manifesto* is a position paper of some kind and juxtaposes the views of three parties: a “we” group, a “you” individual who is a ruler, and a “they” group who are doing things in the Temple that the “we” group condemns. The “we” group further tries to persuade the “you” ruler to support them in this condemnation. Who are these three parties?

Jewish scholars, most notably Schiffman of New York University, early recognized that the positions of the “we” group sometimes bore a striking resemblance to laws of the Sadducees described in rabbinic literature—so much so that Schiffman now leaps to redefine the Qumran sect as being itself Sadducees. We may prefer to look before we leap with him, but we can walk as far as the cliff’s edge: if the “we” group are Sadducees (or a Sadducean subgroup or priestly sympathizers), then logically the opposing “they” group are Pharisees. The royal “you” to whom the text is addressed must be one of the Hasmonean rulers. The connections with rabbinic literature thus point to a tentative identification of the three parties, at least in general terms.

The social setting implicit in the *Manifesto* permits further deductions. Strugnell argues that the text was written against the background of the Sadducean loss of power over the Temple and the concomitant rise of Pharisaic control there: “[The *Manifesto*] was sent by a priestly faction that was later to evolve, under the influence of the Teacher of Righteousness, into the Qumran sect. Further, it was sent to keep the then High Priest of Israel faithful to those Sadducean priestly laws that were shared at that time by him and them.”⁴

Yet the idea that Sadducees wrote the sectarian scrolls is vulnerable in some of the same ways that the theory connecting them to the Essenes is. The “Sadducean theory” does not easily square with important aspects of what we know about

⁴J. Strugnell, “MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition,” in E. Ulrich and J. Vanderkam, eds., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 72.

the Sadducees from other sources. According to Josephus, for example, the Sadducees of his day had no use for the doctrine of predestination. The New Testament further says that they did not believe in an afterlife or in angels (Acts 23:8). In contrast, we know from the sectarian scrolls that their authors strongly held all these convictions.

The evidence suggests, then, that the scroll group resembled the Sadducees in some ways and the Essenes in others. Yet there are major obstacles to identifying the group straightforwardly as one or the other.

Apart from this problem of labeling the group, so far we can say the following. In *Praise of King Jonathan*, the *Commentary on Nahum*, and the *Manifesto*, taken together, seem to imply that the sect (whoever they were) took sides in the inter-Jewish political conflicts of the first century B.C.E. They favored Alexander over his opponents, the Pharisees, and favored Sadducean law over its opponents, also the Pharisees. The *Sectarian Manifesto* in particular seems to point to an era when the tide was turning away from Alexander's partisans—including the scroll writers—and in favor of his old enemies, the Pharisees. Josephus describes only one possible period of rising Pharisaic power in the Hasmonean period: the reign of Salome Alexandra, the widow of Alexander.

The *Commentary on Nahum* fits very well into this watershed era. Its author considers the activity of the Lion of Wrath to be past, while the "dominion of the Flattery-Seekers" is a tragic reality at the time he is writing. Since, as we have seen, the Lion was Alexander, the writer must be living in the period after Alexander's death in the year 76 B.C.E. Salome Alexandra followed him in power, and she favored the Pharisees, granting them unprecedented sway over the internal affairs of the nation.

Josephus wrote of this turn of events with thinly veiled disapproval, and of Salome Alexandra's allowing it with outright disdain. The Pharisees, he noted,

are a certain sect of the Jews that appear more religious than others, and seem to interpret the laws more accurately. Now [Salome] Alexandra hearkened to them to an extraordinary degree. . . . These Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs: they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound and loosed men at their pleasure: and, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority. . . . While [Salome Alexandra] governed other people, the Pharisees governed her. (*War* 1.110–112)

Another reason for focusing on the first century B.C.E. rather than the second is still another newly published text known as *An Annalistic Calendar* (text 61). What gives this calendrical work special significance is its occasional mention of

historical events, just as some modern calendars mention D-Day or President's Day on the appropriate dates. Unfortunately, since the work is very fragmentary, mere phrases survive, but they are enough to tell us to what era they are referring. The phrases are: "Shelomziyon came . . .," referring to Queen Salome Alexandra by her Hebrew name; "Hyrcanus rebelled against Aristobulus," referring to the sons of Salome and Alexander, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II; and "Aemilius killed," referring to the Roman general Aemilius Scaurus, who led the armies of Pompey into Judea in the 60s of the first century B.C.E.

As noted above, Salome reigned from 76 to 67 B.C.E., during which time her eldest son Hyrcanus was high priest. Aristobulus was king and high priest from 67 to 63 B.C.E., when the Romans arrived. A confused period ensued, with Roman dominion overlaying first civil war, then continuing general discord between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus and their followers. This confusion continued until 37 B.C.E. with the rise of Herod the Great. The *Annalistic Calendar* seems clearly, then, to refer only to events in the first half of the first century B.C.E.—not to later events, and most particularly not to earlier ones. Conspicuous by their absence are any events of the second half of the previous century, when the Standard Model would locate the rise of the sectarians.

The prominence of the period 76–63 B.C.E. in the *Calendar* has not escaped the notice of adherents of the Standard Model, nor have they failed to see the implications. Forced to offer alternate explanations, they either fall silent or are reduced to a response something like Schiffman's: "It is possible that these names designate heavenly bodies rather than actual people."⁵ Schiffman offers no support for his proposal, and we have otherwise no reason to believe that heavenly bodies were known to the Jews of this period by human names.

Just as *In Praise of King Jonathan* sent us back to the *Commentary on Nahum* with a new perspective, so the *Calendar* sends us back to another commentary with new appreciation, the *Commentary on Habakkuk* (text 4).

As noted earlier, the *Commentary on Habakkuk* was one of the first seven scrolls found in Cave 1. For over forty years it has been the subject of intense scrutiny. The Qumran writer interpreted the biblical prophet's Chaldeans as the Kittim, "who are swift and mighty in war . . . attacking and pillaging the cities of the land. . . . From far away they come, from the seacoasts, to eat up all the peoples like an insatiable vulture" (1:12; 3:1, 10–12). Scholars are agreed today that the term "Kittim" refers to the Romans and that the advent of the Roman armies in the 60s of the first century B.C.E. led to the highly colored account of the commentary. There seems to be no good reason why the personalities of the commentary should be drastically separated in time from the Roman invasion, as re-

⁵Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 240.

quired by the Standard Model. The Roman invasion is portrayed as a punishment for the sins of the Wicked Priest and the Man of the Lie. What makes most sense is that the Wicked Priest should have been active in the first decades of the first century B.C.E., and so also the Teacher of Righteousness.

If the Wicked Priest is from the first century B.C.E., there are only two candidates for the position: Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II. Hyrcanus was supported by the Pharisees, Aristobulus by the Sadducees; hence, in view of the anti-Pharisaic cast of the scrolls, Hyrcanus II is the best suggestion for the Wicked Priest.

As for the Man of the Lie, it appears from a close reading of the sources that he was probably the head of the Pharisaic party. Rabbinic sources preserve the name of a prominent Pharisaic leader of the first century B.C.E., a man who was noted both for his violence and for his success in winning approval for his views: Shimeon ben Shetah. He may have been a brother or more distant kinsman of Salome Alexandra. Ben Shetah is known only from later rabbinic literature, but the legends told of him there match up with what we know of Pharisaic power from Josephus. Shimeon was able and apparently willing to sentence people to death, and one story tells of his hanging eighty women in Ashkelon for witchcraft. From the Pharisaic perspective, the era was remembered as that of "Shimeon ben Shetah and Queen Salome," and it is said that during this golden age "wheat grew to the size of kidneys, barley to that of olive berries, lentils to that of gold denarii." Although it can be no more than a suggestion, it is interesting to speculate that the Man of the Lie may have been this proto-rabbinic figure. If he was, it would fit well with the idea that the Wicked Priest was Hyrcanus II. We are not the first to propose equating Ben Shetah with the Man of the Lie; F. F. Bruce argued the possibility as early as 1956. This is an example of what we meant when we spoke above of the newly released materials sometimes bringing us back to long-discarded hypotheses.

Finally, what of the Teacher of Righteousness? We know little about him, other than that the Wicked Priest persecuted him—an undertaking that would fit well, by the way, within the Pharisaic reign of terror described by Josephus during the reign of Salome Alexandra:

[The Pharisees] became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs; they banished and reduced whom they pleased; they bound and loosed men at their pleasure: and, to say all at once, they had the enjoyment of the royal authority. . . . Now she [Salome] was so superstitious as to comply with their desires, and accordingly they slew whom they pleased themselves. (*War* 1.111–113)

Josephus goes on to say that Aristobulus prevailed upon the queen to allow the enemies of the Pharisees to be banished from Jerusalem instead of executed, "so

they were suffered to go unpunished, and were dispersed all over the country." And we are reminded that the Wicked Priest, according to the *Commentary on Habakkuk*, followed the Teacher to his "place of exile."

In short, we suggest a scenario markedly different from that of the Standard Model: the Teacher of Righteousness began his ministry late in the second or early in the first century B.C.E., perhaps during the reign of Alexander. After the Pharisees came to power under Salome, they persecuted the Teacher's group, which was sympathetic to the Sadducean establishment, eventually hounding the Teacher into exile. When Hyrcanus II became king, he renewed his efforts to destroy the Teacher and his group. The Roman intervention ended the Jewish civil war of Pharisee versus Sadducee, Hyrcanus versus Aristobulus. All of the verifiable historical references within the scrolls and the apparent attitudes of the scroll writers to those references fit this model exceedingly well.

What, then, became of the Teacher and his group after this period? We have been using the Josephan categories of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes as if these were distinct and different entities in the first century B.C.E., and indeed that is how Josephus presents them. But he was writing toward the end of the first century C.E., nearly two hundred years later, and the three parties he knew did not necessarily exist in the same form in the first century B.C.E. How much are today's Democrats and Republicans like the Whigs and Tories of two hundred years ago? In other words, the Qumran group may have been (or been part of) the ancestor movement of more than one group that existed in the first century C.E. We should consider a distinction seldom raised in research on the scrolls: those who write a text may have little or no direct connection with those who later read it. People may read a work because they find something attractive in it that was not necessarily foremost in the mind of the work's author. Sociologists refer to groups who adopt another's ideology as "carrier groups." Various carrier groups may well have been reading the scrolls in the century after the Teacher.

The Dead Sea Scrolls taken as a whole give evidence of a diverse movement, although not so diverse that it could accommodate just any point of view. This is a judgment supported both by the works we have called sectarian and by those that seem to be nonsectarian texts. This movement was clearly favorable to priests, inclined to support those rulers who submitted to priestly direction, and was violently averse to Pharisaism—perhaps because that ideology allowed lay teachers, the later "rabbis," to revise traditional laws. The movement arose among the religious conservatives of its day, whereas the Pharisees were more liberal. In addition to supporting old legal positions against Pharisaic innovation, the Teacher's group held to a calendar that they claimed—and probably believed—was very old. This is the mind-set of conservatives. The Teacher's group supported conservative politicians such as Alexander Jannaeus and his son Aristobulus II, at the same time opposing those under liberal domination.

After the Romans came to power, the situation changed. The movement could no longer hope to influence the political course of events directly, although the priests could still attempt, by collaborating with the occupying powers, to control the religious practices of the people. We can guess that some in the movement did exactly that, while others were not willing to cooperate with the Romans. The uncooperative group still had two further choices to make: to seek the violent overthrow of Roman power or to wait quietly for the intervention of God. Some chose the latter option, and they may have been described by Josephus under the umbrella term "Essenes."

We know that many others chose the way of violence, and bands of Zealots and *sicarii* played a role in igniting the Jewish revolt in 66 C.E. Both these groups could have drawn inspiration from the primarily first-century B.C.E. texts now known as the Dead Sea Scrolls, for there they would have read of a group much like themselves, organized for holy war. That such freedom-fighting groups were reading these texts is more than speculation. The Dead Sea Scroll we have called *A List of Buried Treasure* (text 14) is a list of treasures from Herod's Temple, compiled as part of an effort to hide the gold, silver, and other valuables from the Romans, should the Temple fall. Logically, the compilers of the list must have been in control of the treasures they wanted to save. According to Josephus, it was freedom fighters and Zealots who seized the Temple when the war broke out in 66, and they never relinquished control during the subsequent years of war against Rome and against other Jewish groups. Who but they could have drawn up this list? Thus, when it is found in Cave 3 among other Dead Sea Scrolls, we cannot but conclude that not only the *List*, but the other scrolls as well, may have been hidden by the same people.

Another clue to the identity of some first-century readers comes from the finds at Masada. The story of the Masada excavations is, wearily, much like that of the Qumran texts. In both cases, materials discovered in the late 1950s and early 1960s have only recently come to be fully available. The Masada finds present a profile similar to those of Qumran: various different handwritings, similar types of literary works (seventeen were found). The salient difference is that in the case of Masada, we possess ancient, eyewitness testimony as to who had collected these scrolls. Josephus was involved with the freedom fighters in the first stages of the war, and he gives us a name: the *sicarii*. This group, named for their penchant for using a *sica*, or short dagger, to assassinate collaborators with Rome, seized control of Masada at the time the war broke out. They made numerous forays against the Romans and collaborating Jews in the years that followed, and at the last, about to be overcome by Roman forces, they committed mass suicide.

Among the writings they left behind was a copy of *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*. This work also appears among the Dead Sea Scrolls, in fully nine copies (see text 85). Perhaps the most significant aspect of the *Songs* in the present

connection is that it adheres to the 364-day calendar we have previously mentioned and that had been so important to the Teacher's followers more than a century earlier. This calendar was integral to what made the work so attractive for the *sicarii*, for it was an antiestablishment, conservative symbol as much in their own time as in the Teacher's. Indeed, for all the importance of the calendar to the scrolls, the only group of ancient Jews following it to whom the ancient sources give a name is the *sicarii*, the last defenders of Masada.

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS TODAY

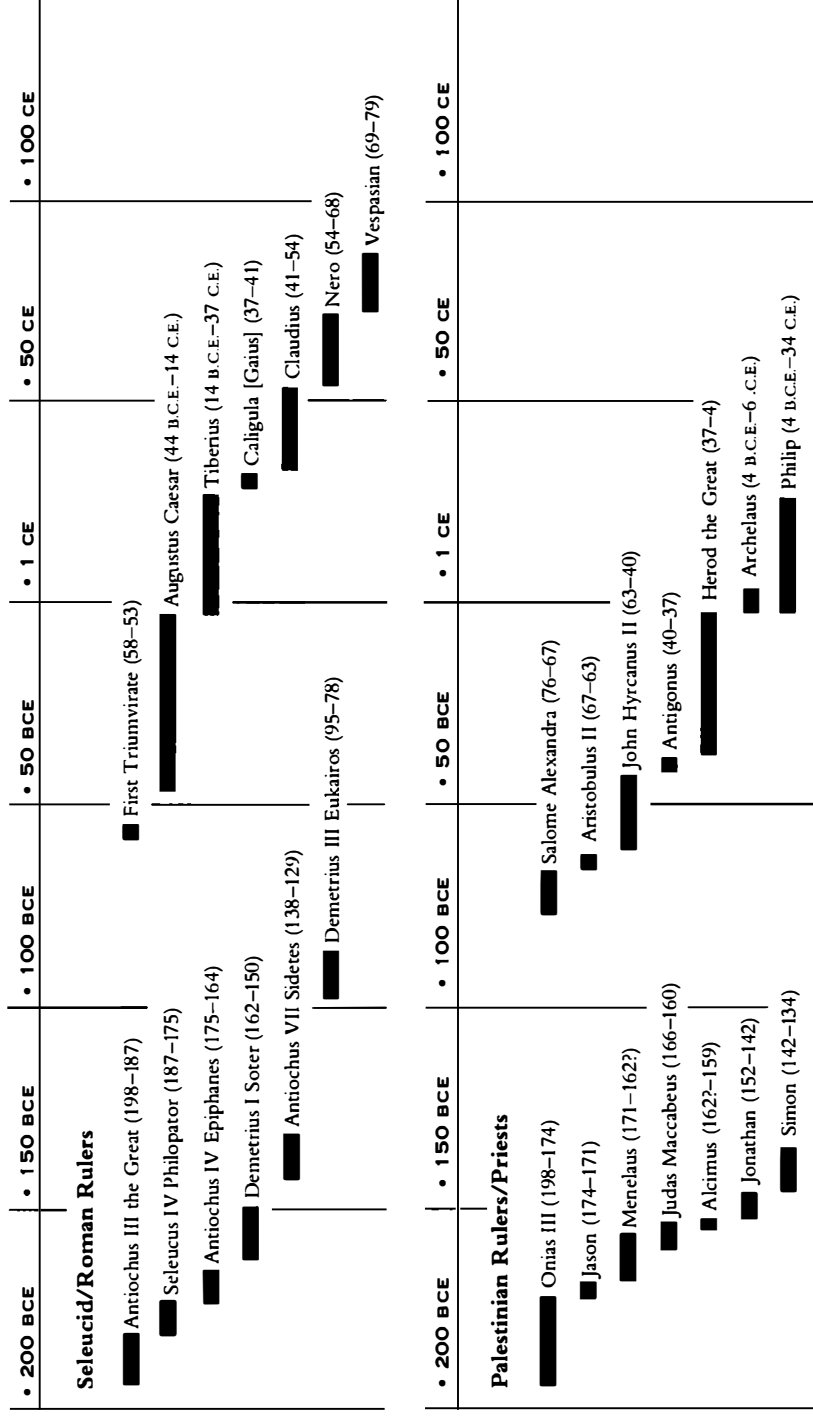
“We are immigrants from the past,” says Jack Miles, the noted author, in *God: A Biography*. For both Christians and Jews, Palestine in the first century C.E. is our homeland, our Old Country. We have immigrated from the world of the Dead Sea Scrolls, so it is only natural that, though they are two thousand years old, they still have much to say to us.

For Jews, the Qumran texts say, “Our family was larger than you knew.” The watchword is *diversity*. Modern Judaism comes from Pharisaism, but in the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. there were also other kinds of Judaism, and it was not obvious that the Pharisees would be the ones still standing at the end of the day. Understanding the world of the first century C.E. now means understanding the fact of diversity, and the scrolls have helped cultivate a sense of the historical complexity of the matrix of Judaism and of early Christianity. The scrolls teach, indirectly, a message the scroll writers themselves would have repudiated; that is, that there are different ways of being authentically Jewish. Any effort to “reclaim the scrolls for Judaism” must acknowledge that truth.

For Christians, the texts say, “You are more Jewish than you realized.” There are many individual parallels between passages in the scrolls and the New Testament, and we point out some of these in the body of the book. But those connections are less important than certain broad views that the two groups of documents share: a pervasive dualism expressed as Light versus Darkness; the necessity of conversion; the idea that God's purposes are secrets revealed only to those who accept certain teachings; the high estimate placed on poverty—all are traits of early Christian belief that scholars used to attribute to the influence of Greco-Roman culture, not to Jewish background. Yet all are now attested in the scrolls. Early Christianity, we learn, was not a hybrid of Judaism and Hellenism—it was rooted in the native soil of Palestine.

For both Jews and Christians, the Dead Sea Scrolls group are the cousins we never knew we had; the scrolls themselves are lost letters from home. When they tell us about our forebears, they tell us about ourselves. Like all lost letters from home, they beckon to us, draw us irresistibly to hear their message. Like all letters from home, they are well worth reading.

A DEAD SEA SCROLLS TIME LINE



• 200 BCE	• 150 BCE	• 100 BCE	• 50 BCE	• 1 CE	• 50 CE	• 100 CE	
Palestinian Rulers/Priests							
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> John Hyrcanus I (134–104) Aristobulus I (104–103) Alexander Jannaeus (103–76) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Herod Antipas (4 B.C.E.–39 C.E.) Pontius Pilate (26–36) Herod Agrippa I (37, 40–44) 				
Events							
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teacher's ministry begins [Standard Model] (176) Maccabean Revolt (168) Antiochus IV desecrates the Temple (167) Jews throw off Syrian rule (165) Rededication of the Temple (164) Death of Judas Maccabeus (160) 				<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Birth of Jesus of Nazareth (6 B.C.E.) Crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth (31) Apostle Paul writes <i>Letter to the Galatians</i> (ca. 50) First Jewish revolt (66) Romans destroy Qumran [Standard Model] (68) Roman forces destroy Herod's Temple (70) Pliny the Elder writes <i>Natural History</i> (77) Roman forces destroy Masada (73–74) Josephus writes <i>Wars</i> (78) and <i>Antiquities</i> (ca. 95) 			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Samaritan temple destroyed by Hyrcanus I (113) Teacher's ministry [New Model] (late second or early first century B.C.E.) Wicked Priest active (first half of first century B.C.E.) Demetrius III Eukairos [Syrian king] invades Palestine (88) Civil war between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II (67) Aemilius Scaurus leads Pompey's armies into Judea (63) 							

READING A DEAD SEA SCROLL

In order to read a Dead Sea Scroll with proper appreciation and a modicum of critical acumen, it's important to know what you are reading. How does one go from a hugger-mugger of over 15,000 tiny scraps of skin and ink to 870 full-blown manuscripts, and from there to published texts and translations? You should have some idea of the various steps involved in the process. Only then can you begin to think for yourself about what you will be reading in the following pages. Understanding the process by which the scrolls have been put together will help you to avoid the reader's cardinal sin—trusting an author too much. If we have certain ideas to present, we want you to be persuaded, not simply take our word for it. We want you to know just how much reconstructing the scrolls can be a matter of judgment (possibly mistaken) and uncertainty. We also want you to be able to make sense of the various sigla, brackets, and other paraphernalia that decorate the translations in this book.

As noted in the Introduction, the first seven Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered more or less intact. That can be said of very few of the hundreds of works that came to light subsequently. The early members of the scrolls editorial team found themselves facing an enormously complex jigsaw puzzle. After a short time, they worked out a *modus operandi*. Thousands of fragments were spread out on the tables of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, flattened under glass. The editors would walk from table to table, scrutinizing the fragments and trying to match them with this or that grouping they had already isolated. One of the editors, John Allegro, has described the guiding principle of those early efforts:

One of the saving factors has been that of the four hundred [later: eight hundred] or so manuscripts we have had to deal with, surprisingly few were written by the same scribe, so that by recognizing the idiosyncracies of one's own scribes one could be fairly sure that the piece belonged to his document.¹

¹J. Allegro, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reappraisal* (New York: Penguin, 1964), 55–56.

Handwriting was thus the foremost criterion that the editors used to separate fragments into piles and then into manuscripts. A second important guide was the skin on which the texts were inscribed. The treated hides of goats, ibex, and even gazelle used for the scrolls are not uniform in thickness or color. Each skin is, so to speak, its own animal; one might be thick, another thin; one might have a reddish cast, another could be nearly black. Study of the differences in the skins was therefore important for figuring out how to group fragments. But the skins could sometimes be misleading. Though they might have been uniform shortly after they were first placed in the caves, when they came out of the caves as manuscript fragments, they could differ markedly in appearance. The reason: the variable conditions in which they had spent the past two millennia. Some fragments were exposed to more light than others, some to more moisture or a different soil chemistry. Still, in general, handwriting and the appearance of the skins were reasonably trustworthy as dual criteria guiding the early work of separating out scrolls. For the hundred or so texts written not on skin, but on papyrus, scrutiny of the patterns of the plant fibers in the papyrus helped in the separating.

Work on proper identification of the fragments continues until this day. While the early editors did their work of sorting admirably well, they were not infallible. Sometimes they made mistakes; in fact, we suggest a few that we think we've caught in the pages that follow (for example, see *Assorted Manuscripts*, text 99). Scholars continue to assess older conclusions. Advancing technology holds the promise of new approaches, although, since in most cases there is little doubt about the sorting, help will come mostly "at the margins." In this vein, researchers at Brigham Young University have recently begun to extract DNA from some of the fragments. Extraction does minimal damage to the materials, and DNA analysis makes it possible to identify the individual animal from which each fragment came. Where there is some question about a given fragment, or where fragments have never been assigned to any manuscript (there is a fairly sizable group of such pieces, all extremely tiny), this new approach may accomplish a modest breakthrough.

Once the early editors had grouped the fragments of a given manuscript together on one or more plates, they had photographs taken. Also, each manuscript was assigned a "Q-number," indicating which cave it had come from. For example, 4Q242 means: Cave 4 of Q(umran), the 242nd manuscript from that cave. (This system did not yet exist when the first seven scrolls were discovered, so they have no numbers. They are designated by abbreviations of their names; e.g., 1QS means: Cave 1 of Q(umran), *Serek* [Hebrew for "order"].) As work progressed and new fragments were identified, or it became clear that questionable assignments were in fact mistaken and fragments were removed, the shape of a given manuscript changed, and new photographs were taken. Today we can study the entire sequence of photographs for each manuscript. For the most part, these

photographs were taken under infrared light. Time had so blackened many of the fragments that the writing on them was nearly invisible to the naked eye. Infrared photography rendered the invisible, visible. The use of infrared explains why you seldom see color photographs of the more fragmentary manuscripts; in the 1950s color infrared photography was not yet possible (now it is).

Because these photographs were usually so much more legible than the manuscripts themselves, the early editors worked mostly with the photographs, and subsequent scholars have continued this practice. Autopsy of the original manuscript is still important, for it can resolve uncertainties (is this odd mark ink, or just a spot on the skin?), but research on the scrolls centers on the photographs. Here, too, technology promises to improve our understanding in the future. Photographic methods developed for aerial reconnaissance have been brought down to earth and are now being applied to the scrolls. Researchers are beginning to use infrared imaging systems enhanced by electronic cameras and computer image-processing technology. Like the magical liquid we applied as children to reveal invisible ink, this method has brought out writing on fragments so dark that nothing was visible before, even in conventional infrared photographs. "We were using infrared photography like a blunt instrument," Bruce Zuckerman, one of the pioneers in applying the new techniques, has said. "Now we can sharpshoot, be precise and push technology beyond anything we've done before." So far the method has been applied to the *Tales of the Patriarchs* (text 2) with salutary results.

Working with the photographs today, a scrolls scholar will attempt to reconstruct the original manuscript as much as possible. (The early editors, overwhelmed as they were with multiple lifetimes of material, usually attempted more limited reconstruction. Thus, the fragments in the early volumes of *DJD* were often simply arranged by size from largest down to smallest.) Usually a scholar will not choose an ordinary photograph, but rather a transparency made from the photographic negative. The transparency is placed on a light table, the sort you often see in camera stores for use with slides. The scholar may work with two copies of the transparency simultaneously, sliding one on top of the other to try "joining" fragments, or checking an uncertain letter by sliding well preserved options for the letter underneath it, to see how the remaining bits of ink line up. Magnification is helpful to a degree. A jeweler's lupe, with a strength of 8x–12x, works best; too much magnification results in pixilation (all you see are dots). This work can also be done with computer digital imaging, but as yet few scholars have access to the necessary computer equipment. (Unlike in the sciences, there is little money available for equipment in the humanities, even for important tasks in which there is widespread interest such as this one.)

A guiding principle for manuscript reconstruction is the recognition of congruent patterns of damage. Consider: as a scroll lay decomposing on the floor of

its cave, it rotted away layer by layer, from the outside in. The scroll might also be visited by insects or rats, who would eat away at the edges or at a fold. Worms could bore into the scroll. Assuming that the vermin ate through more than one turn of the scroll, more than a single thickness of skin, the damage pattern of the outer layer will continue some distance into the interior layers. An analogy would be the patterns of damage in your rolled-up morning newspaper left by the teeth of your overeager dog who brought it to you. The puncture marks and tears go several layers deep, right into the sports section.

Scholars study these patterns of damage, for they can help determine how surviving fragments of a scroll were positioned when it was intact. If two fragments manifest a congruent pattern, then they must once have been in some physical relation to one another. Perhaps one fragment originated near the center of the rolled scroll, and the other came from an outer layer overlying the first fragment. If the scholar can identify fragments that come from three contiguous columns, he or she is off to the races. He or she need merely measure the distance between fragments. The distance between consecutive layers of a rolled scroll will change by a mathematically predictable amount, decreasing as you move toward the center. Having identified three consecutive fragments, you can then calculate the diameter of the scroll at the point where the fragments stood, using the mathematical formula for the geometric shape of a "regular spiral." (If you picture a scroll edge on, you will see that from that perspective it actually is a tight spiral. If it's not too late, have a look at your damaged rolled newspaper, edge on.)

At this juncture in the editing process a scholar will usually make a scale drawing of the scroll, showing the proposed relation between the fragments. The photographs will not depict such relations, of course, so a drawing is needed. Now begins in earnest the difficult process of reading the words and trying to figure out what might have been lost in the portions of the scroll that have perished. The researcher copies or traces all the fragments and words from the photographs. In most cases the result is a series of legible letters or words that breaks off because of damage to the scroll, only to pick up a bit farther on. If the scholar is to have any chance of understanding a fragmentary scroll, he or she must try to imagine what was happening in the damaged, lost sections. How do the preserved portions relate? What is the flow of thought? Here the scale drawing helps, for one can lightly draw in a few tentative words, tracing letters so as to use the very handwriting that appears in the scroll. It's important to use the ancient scribe's actual letter forms, because the size of ancient handwriting varied as much as modern handwriting does. A break large enough for ten letters in one hand may accommodate only five in another, larger handwriting.

Of paramount importance is determining the width of the original column. Unfortunately, the full width is only occasionally preserved in some of the fragments of a manuscript, so certainty on this question is often elusive. On a good

day one gets a little help. The scholar may recognize a broken biblical quotation, for example, or a broken quotation from a known extrabiblical writing, even another Dead Sea Scroll. Filling out the broken quotation may reveal the column's width. The quotation of Zechariah 2:8 works that way in frag. 2 of *An Aramaic Text on the Persian Period* (text 124), for example. Knowing the width is crucial, for with that information one also knows how much text is missing, how much preserved. The resulting parameters will guide the reconstruction of ideas. If, say, half a line is missing, then it's unlikely that the idea or statement in the preserved half can simply be extrapolated into the next preserved section. Too much is missing. But if only one or two words are missing, the flow of ideas is generally not too badly disrupted, and confident reconstruction is possible.

Constant interaction goes on between the scholar's mind—his or her “theory of the text”—and what can be read and understood in the fragmentary manuscript. Imagination is important, but so is the opposite pole, restraint. Reconstructing a Dead Sea Scroll, for all it may resort to technology and sophisticated methods, is no science. It is an art. Like all art, it requires inspiration, intuition, and the clamp-jawed determination of a pit bull. An intractable problem may gnaw at the mind for months, and then suddenly, in a moment, the solution becomes obvious. Yet paradoxically, when done best, this art is not creative, for the result is no new creation. The goal is to recreate an ancient writer's work.

Having done as much reconstruction of the fragmentary manuscript as he or she can (someone else may later do better; scholarship is cumulative), the scholar prepares a *transcription*. This is the term for a rendering of the text into standard Hebrew or Aramaic book-style lettering. If you were to type out a handwritten note from a friend, that would be a transcription. The scholar does the same with the ancient text. He or she also labels fragments and columns using a standard system. A fragment can, of course, contain parts of more than one column. Labeling will then indicate “Frag. 1 Col. 1” and “Frag. 1 Col. 2,” for example. At other times a column may be composed of several fragments joined together. The label might then read “Col. 1 (Frag. 1 + 2 + 3).” Lines in the transcription are numbered, reading from the top of the column to the bottom. Numbering does not necessarily begin with 1. Several lines may be known to be missing, and the first line might be l.4, or l.15. Much of this labeling carries over into the next step, the translation. We have included such labels in our translations throughout the following pages.

The transcription indicates uncertain letters in the text with standard sigla, which also signal the degree of uncertainty. And scholars use different types of brackets to communicate additional types of information. Square brackets, for example ([]), surround reconstructed words. We have ourselves used square brackets for that purpose throughout the book. Square-bracketed portions may be simple guesses, calculated probabilities, or virtually certain: broken biblical

quotations filled out, for example, or wording that overlaps with another scroll. If you see square brackets, you should be cautious about the words inside. Portions in square brackets do not actually appear in the scroll.

Simultaneously with the transcription one prepares a translation. Note: not *the* translation—a translation. There is no single translation equivalent for many words, not to speak of phrases or entire texts. Some words have many possible rough equivalents. Other words, phrases, and idioms in one language lack exact counterparts in another language. For example, none of the European languages possesses an exact equivalent for the English phrase “bend over backward.” The unfortunate inhabitants of Germany, Italy, and France, among others, must make do with a translation equivalent like “try very hard.” A little thought, however, will convince you that “try very hard” does not really convey the entire meaning or any of the nuance of the other phrase. In fact, exact translation between two languages is impossible. To truly read Goethe, you must learn German. So scholars prepare *a* translation of each transcription.

Essentially, that is what you will be reading in the following pages: translations of transcriptions that we have prepared for each Dead Sea Scroll in the book. Translation is the last step in an intricate and frequently uncertain process of reconstruction. In the process we have consulted and profited from the work of many colleagues worldwide (see the Bibliography). We have done our best to present flowing, idiomatic translations, so far as that has been possible given the frequently fragmentary materials. Throughout our work we have been mindful of the Italian apothegm: “*Traduttore traditore*” (“The translator is a traitor”). Translators betray both what they translate and readers of the translation. By their very effort they violate the original. Yet we are not unduly concerned, nor in the least repentant. Any damage is for a worthy cause and is not irreparable. Much of the beauty, the concision, the power of the Hebrew and Aramaic in which the scrolls are couched will continue to reside, untranslatable, where nature has decreed it must. And we are not really traitors to you, the reader, for we have drawn your attention to our betrayal from the very first. Forewarned, you go forward fully armed. If we have perhaps transported at least most of the meaning of the words across time, space, and linguistic distance, we shall have succeeded in a principal aim.

HOW TO READ THIS BOOK

ITALICS:

Explanatory headings.

A return to the subject of oaths.

As for the passage "observe what comes out of your lips" (Deut. 23:24), 'it means to abide by every binding oath in which a man promises "to do anything from the Law: he may not break it, even at the price of death.

BRACKETS:

Square brackets surround lost areas in the scroll due to various types of damage.

Angle brackets indicate errors in the original manuscript and a possible solution.

Parentheses enclose various types of helpful information. In this case "son of man" is another possible translation of a partial word.

²[above another.] Thus for the son of [Your] maid[servant] (or son of m[an] . . .) You have <enlarged> his inheritance ²⁹through the knowledge (?) of Your {righteousness} truth. According to his knowledge and [his . . .]

Words that have been erased but are of interest are placed between curly brackets.

A question mark in parentheses indicates that the preceding word is less than certain due to a difficulty understanding the original language.

NUMBERS:

“Q” (Qumran) numbers indicate the number of the cave—in this case 4—and the manuscript—in this case the 266th from cave 4.

Frag. indicates the number of the fragment—or in this case group of fragments—for the manuscript being translated.

Superscript numbers indicate the line number (*not* verse number) of the fragment.

4Q266 **Frag. 4-6** **Col. 1**⁶ [. . .] the mighty ones when they are smitten [. . .]
⁷ [. . . who hold] fast to His holy name [. . .]⁸ [. . .] for in Judah [. . .]⁹ [. . .]
 to Israel when he appears [. . .] to teach¹⁰ [. . .]
² [During the day, **x** songs and] sixtee[n wor]ds of [praise].

Col. indicates the column number of the fragment or group of fragments. In the case of the more complete manuscripts such as 1QS and 1QH boldface numbers refer to columns.

SYMBOLS:

An *x* in brackets indicates an unknown number.

II

T E X T S

1. THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

Geniza A + B, 4Q266–272

The Jewish scholar Solomon Schechter first discovered portions of the *Damascus Document* among manuscripts from the Cairo Geniza and published them in 1910 under the title *Zadokite Fragments*. The name derived from the frequent mention of the “sons of Zadok” in the text. Schechter believed that the writing originated in a Jewish sect of about the first century B.C.E., although the two manuscripts he published (Geniza texts A and B) were themselves medieval copies, dating from the tenth and twelfth centuries C.E., respectively. The dating of the *Zadokite Fragments* remained an issue for decades. Many scholars agreed with Schechter, but many others dismissed his theory, preferring to date the *Document* centuries later.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls settled the question in Schechter’s favor. The texts from Cave 1, especially the *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (text 5), clearly stemmed from the same circles that composed the *Damascus Document* and used much of the same religious terminology. When fragments of the *Document* itself were found in Caves 4 and 5, then, the discovery simply confirmed what most scholars had already concluded: the Dead Sea sect was the source of the *Damascus Document*. Indeed, it was to all appearances one of the group’s most important texts, containing clues to its history, theology, and conception of its role in history.

Reading the *Damascus Document* can be a frustrating experience. Although many broad themes are easy to notice—the greatness of God and his covenant with Israel, the perfidy of apostates, the necessity of obeying the rules of God and the group, and so on—the train of thought rambles from subject to subject, with many digressions, asides, and pauses to explain a difficult or important quotation from Scripture. Apparently the *Document* was expanded at different times, often without care for the lucidity of the discourse.

Despite its occasional obscurities, however, the book can be easily divided into two broad sections: the “Exhortation” and the “Laws.” The Exhortation is a sermon or perhaps a collection of sermons describing how God has always judged the wicked and rewarded the faithful throughout the history of Israel. In view of

this pattern, the author exhorts his listeners to be faithful to God, to be particularly careful of obeying his laws, and to avoid living by the principle of selfishness he calls, from a biblical phrase, "the willful heart."

Two kinds of material comprise the Exhortation: the sermon proper and biblical commentary. While the sermon itself is based on biblical themes and sometimes quotes verses from the Bible, the commentary sections go into particular passages in great depth, picking out certain phrases for symbolic or allegorical expansions that relate to the life of the sect. These distinctive passages seem to have been added after the original Exhortation was composed, as they sometimes interrupt the train of thought.

The section on the Laws, a rule book similar to the Mishnah of later centuries, is more tightly written than the Exhortation and details the kinds of behavior—moral, legal, and cultic—that the Exhortation urges in more general terms. The rules themselves fall into two groups: the rules for "those living in cities" (A 12:19), paraphrasing or expanding biblical laws, and the rules for "those living in camps" (A 12:22–23), i.e., sectarian enclaves. The "camp rules" are oriented to communitarian life; they describe the internal lines of authority of the "camp" and specify sanctions to be carried out against violators of particular rules, quite in the manner of the *Charter* and sometimes with parallels to it.

It is likely that sectarian authors added the commentaries embedded in the Exhortation and the "camp rules" of the Laws some time after the original *Damascus Document* was written. As originally conceived, the *Document* was less sectarian than it was later made to appear, consisting of the Exhortation originally addressed to all Israel and the "city rules," also, in intent, binding on all religiously serious Israelites. This first version might have been composed as early as the third century B.C.E., although it is impossible to tell for sure. Later, members of the *Yahad*, finding the text's warnings against apostasy and call to obedience thoroughly in line with their own thinking, revised and expanded it to reflect their own views, perhaps adding additional glosses and explanatory comments to both the Exhortation and the Laws with the passage of time. Scholars have been able to detect editorial expansions between the A and B Geniza texts, and perhaps there was never a final, "canonical" version of the *Document*.

Besides the two Geniza texts (A contains sixteen columns, B two), which preserve the longest consecutive sections of the text, the remains of seven copies were found in the Qumran caves. Only the sections that are not paralleled in the Geniza texts are translated here. The translation attempts to use all of the available material to restore as much of the *Document* in its original order as possible, but the sequence of many of the sections in the Laws is uncertain. The order given here generally follows that established by the original editor of the Cave 4 sections, J. T. Milik.

The text, in its final form, is addressed to "those entering the new covenant in the land of Damascus" (A 6:19). Whether a literal Damascus is meant or whether

the name is instead another of the symbolic pseudonyms known from other Dead Sea Scrolls is uncertain and much debated, but such references have given the book its modern name.

The Exhortation

Only fragments remain of the opening paragraphs of the Damascus Document. The translation that follows is pieced together from 4Q266 and 4Q268. Enough can be recovered to tell that several of the themes of the entire work are foreshadowed in the introductory paragraphs: the necessity of obedience to God, the perfidy of the wicked, the insight of the pious into the future, the importance of observing the proper times of worship, and the special revelation given to the "children of light." This portion probably comes from the "sectarian reworking" of the document.

4Q266 Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] the Children of Light to avoid the ways of [evil . . .] ²[. . .] until the time appointed for punishment is past [. . .] ³[. . .] God saw all her deeds, that they brought all [. . .] ⁴[. . .] all the Boundary-Shifters and all of it will be done [in the age of] ⁵evil [. . .] now I shall make known to you [. . .] ⁶the awesome [. . .] His wonderful ways I shall relate to you [. . .] ⁷more than humanity [. . .] heavens, who lives [. . .] ⁸in the deepest [. . .] ⁹he has sealed [. . .] ¹⁰⁻¹³[. . .] ¹⁴in the commandments [. . .] ¹⁵in the offering [. . .] and they did not obey ¹⁶the voice of Moses [. . . they went about spread]ing ¹⁷lies about His laws and from God's covenant [they strayed . . .] ¹⁸both small and great [. . .] ¹⁹Please tell us about [your ways . . .] ²⁰your conversation [. . .] ²¹you appeared and understand [. . .] ²²they shall restore the [. . . and I am dust] ²³and ashes [. . .] ²⁴give heed [. . .]

4Q268 Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] later [generations] for surely they will come to pass [. . .] ²[. . .] what is its beginning and what its ending [. . .] ³[. . . be]fore it comes upon them [. . .] ⁴[. . . for it is not permitted] to celebrate the holidays too early or too late. [. . .] ⁵[. . . Yes,] a period of God's wrath is decreed [for a people who know him not] ⁶[. . . God's] will to those who seek His commandments and to [those who live blamelessly in] ⁷the proper way [. . .] in the hidden things and opened their ears that [they might hear deep things] ⁸and understand future events before they come upon them.

This epigraph sets the tone for what is to follow: an exposition of how God punishes the wicked while leaving a righteous remnant to live exemplary lives. The Geniza manuscript A begins at this point.

A 1 ¹So listen, all you who recognize righteousness, and consider the deeds of ²God. When He has a dispute with any mortal, He passes judgment on those who spurn Him.

A description of Israel's sin resulting in exile, and God's mercy on the generation that returned from exile.

³For when Israel abandoned Him by being faithless, He turned away from them and from His sanctuary ⁴and gave them up to the sword. But when He called to mind the covenant He made with their forefathers, He left a ⁵remnant for Israel and did not allow them to be exterminated. In the era of wrath—three hundred ⁶and ninety years at the time He handed them over to the power of Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon— ⁷He took care of them and caused to grow from Israel and from Aaron a root of planting to inherit ⁸His land and to grow fat on the good produce of His soil. They considered their iniquity and they knew that ⁹they were guilty men, and had been like the blind and like those groping for the way ¹⁰twenty years. But God considered their deeds, that they had sought Him with a whole heart. ¹¹So He raised up for them a teacher of righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. He taught ¹²to later generations what God did to the generation deserving wrath, a company of traitors. ¹³They are the ones who depart from the proper way. That is the time of which it was written, “Like a rebellious cow, ¹⁴so rebelled Israel” (Hos. 4:16).

The Man of Mockery. This paragraph, which introduces the principal religious opponent of the sect, appears to have been added later.

When the Man of Mockery appeared, who sprayed on Israel ¹⁵lying waters, he led them to wander in the trackless wasteland. He brought down the lofty heights of old, turned aside ¹⁶from paths of righteousness, and shifted the boundary marks that the forefathers had set up to mark their inheritance, so that ¹⁷the curses of His covenant took hold on them. Because of this they were handed over to the sword that avenges the breach of ¹⁸His covenant.

The sins of the generation of wrath and their punishment.

For they had sought flattery, choosing travesties of true religion; they looked for ¹⁹ways to break the law; they favored the fine neck. They called the guilty innocent, and the innocent guilty. ²⁰They overstepped covenant, violated law; and they conspired together to kill the innocent, for all those who lived ²¹pure lives they loathed from the bottom of their heart. So they persecuted them violently, and were happy to see the people quarrel. Because of all this God became very angry ² ¹with their company. He annihilated the lot of them, because all their deeds were uncleanness to Him.

²So now listen to me, all members of the covenant, so I can make plain to you the ways ³of the wicked (4Q267: + so you can leave the paths of sin). God, who loves true knowledge, has positioned Wisdom and Cleverness in front of Him; ⁴Cunning and True Knowledge wait on him. He is very patient and forgiving, ⁵covering the sin of those who repent of wrongdoing.

But Strength, Might, and great Wrath in the flames of fire ⁶with all the angels of destruction shall come against all who rebel against the proper way

and who despise the law, until they are without remnant ⁷or survivor, for God had not chosen them from ancient eternity. Before they were created, He knew ⁸what they would do. So He rejected the generations of old and turned away from the land ⁹until they were gone.

He knows the times of appearance and the number and exact times of ¹⁰everything that has ever existed and ever will exist before it happens in the proper time, for all eternity. ¹¹And in all of these times, He has arranged that there should be for Himself people called by name, so that there would always be survivors on the earth, replenishing ¹²the surface of the earth with their descendants. He taught them through those anointed by the holy spirit, the seers of ¹³truth. He explicitly called them by name. But whoever He had rejected He caused to stray.

Homily on the willful heart.

¹⁴So now, my children, listen to me that I may uncover your eyes to see and to understand the deeds of ¹⁵God, choosing what pleases Him and hating what He rejects, living perfectly ¹⁶in all His ways, not turning away through thoughts caused by the sinful urge and lecherous eyes.

For many ¹⁷have gone astray by such thoughts, even strong and doughty men of old faltered through them, and still do.

When they went about in their willful ¹⁸heart, the Guardian Angels of Heaven fell and were ensnared by it, for they did not observe the commandments of God. ¹⁹Their sons, who were as tall as cedars, and whose bodies were as big as mountains fell by it.

²⁰Everything mortal on dry land expired and became as if they had never existed, because they did ²¹their own will, and did not keep the commandments of their Maker, until finally His anger was aroused against them.

3 ¹By it the sons of Noah and their families went astray, and by it they were exterminated.

²Abraham did not live by it and was considered God's friend, because he observed the commandments of God and he did not choose to follow ³the will of his own spirit; and he passed them on to Isaac and to Jacob and they too observed them. They too were recorded as friends ⁴of God and eternal partners in the covenant.

But the sons of Jacob went astray by them and were punished for ⁵their errors. In Egypt their descendants lived by their willful heart, too obstinate to consult ⁶the commandments of God, each one doing what was right in his own eyes. They even ate blood; and the men were exterminated ⁷in the wilderness. <God commanded> them at Kadesh "Go up and possess <the land>"; but they chose to follow the will of > their spirit; and they did not listen to their Maker's voice or the commandments of their teacher; ⁸instead they grumbled in their tents. So God became angry ⁹with their company.

Their sons perished because of it. Their kings were exterminated because of it. Their heroes ¹⁰perished because of it. Their land was devastated because of it, and because of it the members of the forefathers' covenant committed sin, and so were handed over ¹¹to the sword because they abandoned the covenant of God, and chose their own will, and followed their own willful ¹²heart, each man doing his own will.

But when those of them who were left held firm to the commandments of God ¹³He instituted His covenant with Israel for ever, revealing ¹⁴to them things hidden, in which all Israel had gone wrong: His holy Sabbaths, His glorious festivals, ¹⁵His righteous laws, His reliable ways. The desires of His will, which Man should carry out ¹⁶and so have life in them, He opened up to them. So they "dug a well," yielding much water. ¹⁷Those who reject this water He will not allow to live.

And although they had wallowed in the sin of humanity and in impure ways ¹⁸and said, "Surely this is our business," God in His mysterious ways atoned for their iniquity and forgave their transgression. ¹⁹So He built for them a faithful house in Israel, like none that had ever appeared before; and even ²⁰at this day, those who hold firm to it shall receive everlasting life, and all human honor is rightly theirs, as ²¹God promised them by Ezekiel the prophet, saying, "The priests and the Levites and the sons of **4** ¹Zadok who have kept the courses of My sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed ²from Me, they shall bring Me fat and blood" (Ezek. 44:15).

This interpretive comment appears to be a later addition.

"The priests": they are the captives of Israel, ³who go out of the land of Judah and the Levites are those accompanying them; "and the sons of Zadok": they are the chosen of ⁴Israel, the ones called by name, who are to appear in the Last Days.

This is the full list ⁵of their names by their generations, and the time they appeared, the number of their troubles and the years of ⁶their sojourn and the full list of their deeds.

The section that now begins explains that the "present age" is under the power of Belial, that is, Satan. Part of the beginning has been lost.

< . . . > holiness < . . . > whom God atoned ⁷for, acquitting the innocent and condemning the guilty as well as all who came after them ⁸who act according to the interpretation of the Law by which the forefathers were taught, until the age is over, ⁹that is, the present time. Like the covenant God made with the forefathers to atone ¹⁰for their sin, so shall God atone for them. When the total years of this present age are complete, ¹¹there will be no further need to be connected to the house of Judah, but instead each will

stand on ¹²his own tower; “the wall is built, the boundary removed” (Mic. 7:11).

But in the present age ¹³Belial is unrestrained in Israel, just as God said by Isaiah the prophet, the son of Amoz, ¹⁴saying, “Fear and pit and snare are upon thee, dweller in the land” (Isa. 24:17).

The three traps of Belial. This section, explaining the text just quoted, discloses some important ethical principles of the Qumran group that, in its members' eyes, differentiated them from other groups: their opposition to polygamy, to the amassing of wealth, to defiling the Temple in Jerusalem, and to marriage between uncles and nieces.

The true meaning of this verse ¹⁵concerns the three traps of Belial about which Levi son of Jacob said ¹⁶that Belial would catch Israel in, so he directed them toward three kinds of ¹⁷righteousness.

The first is fornication; the second is wealth; the third is ¹⁸defiling the sanctuary. Who escapes from one is caught in the next; and whoever escapes from that is caught ¹⁹in the other.

The Shoddy-Wall-Builders who went after “Precept” —Precept is a Raver ²⁰of whom it says, “they shall surely rave” (Mic. 2:6)— they are caught in two traps: fornication, by taking ²¹two wives in their lifetimes although the principle of creation is “male and female He created them” (Gen. 1:27) ⁵ ¹and those who went into the ark “went into the ark two by two” (Gen. 7:9). Concerning the Leader it is written ²²“he shall not multiply wives to himself” (Deut. 17:17); but David had not read the sealed book of the Law ³in the Ark; for it was not opened in Israel from the day of the death of Eleazar ⁴and Joshua and the elders who served the goddess Ashtoret. It lay buried ⁵<and was not> revealed until the appearance of Zadok. Nevertheless the deeds of David were all excellent, except the murder of Uriah ⁶and God forgave him for that.

They also defile the sanctuary, for they do not ⁷separate clean from unclean according to the Law, and lie with a woman during her menstrual period. Furthermore they marry ⁸each man the daughter of his brothers and the daughter of his sister, although Moses said, “Unto ⁹the sister of your mother you shall not draw near; she is the flesh of your mother” (Lev. 18:13). But the law of consanguinity is written for males ¹⁰and females alike, so if the brother's daughter uncovers the nakedness of the brother of ¹¹her father, she is the flesh <of her father>.

Also they have corrupted their holy spirit, and with blasphemous language ¹²they have reviled the statutes of God's covenant, saying, “They are not well-founded.” ¹³They continually speak abhorrent things against them. “All of them are kindlers and lighters of brands” (Isa. 50:11); “the webs of ¹⁴a spider are their webs and the eggs of vipers are their eggs” (Isa. 59:5). Whoever

touches them ¹⁵shall not be clean. The more he does so, the more he is guilty, unless he is forced.

After the interpretive section, the train of thought continues: just as the present age is an age of wickedness, God's ways in the past reveal how he punishes sin and provides for the faithful of Israel.

For in times past, God punished ¹⁶their deeds and His wrath burned against their misdeeds, for "they are a people without insight" (Isa. 27:11); ¹⁷"they are a people wandering in counsel, for there is no insight in them" (Deut. 32:28). For in times past ¹⁸Moses and Aaron stood in the power of the Prince of Lights and Belial raised up Yannes and ¹⁹his brother in his cunning when seeking to do evil to Israel the first time. ²⁰In the time of destruction of the land the Boundary-Shifters appeared and led Israel astray ²¹and the land was devastated, for they had spoken rebellion against the commandments of God through Moses and also **6** ¹through the anointed of the spirit; and they prophesied falsehood to turn Israel from following ²God. But God called to mind the covenant of the forefathers; and He raised up from Aaron insightful men and from Israel ³wise men and He taught them and they dug the well of knowledge: "the well the princes dug, the nobility of the people ⁴dug it with a rod" (Num. 21:18).

The symbolic interpretation of the verse last quoted.

The Well is the Law, and its "diggers" are ⁵the captives of Israel who went out of the land of Judah and dwelt in the land of Damascus; ⁶because God had called them all princes, for they sought Him and ⁷their honor was not denied by a single mouth. And the "rod" is the Interpreter of the Law of whom ⁸Isaiah said, "he brings out a tool for his work" (Isa. 54:16). The "nobility of the people" are ⁹those who come to "dig the well" by following rules that the Rod made ¹⁰to live by during the whole era of wickedness, and without these rules they shall obtain nothing until the appearance of ¹¹one who teaches righteousness in the Last Days.

The continuation of the exhortation. These paragraphs read like a conclusion, and they may have occurred at the end of an earlier form of the text.

None who have been brought into the covenant ¹²shall enter into the sanctuary to light up His altar in vain; they shall "lock ¹³the door," for God said, "Would that one of you would lock My door so that you should not light up My altar ¹⁴in vain" (Mal. 1:10). They must be careful to act according to the specifications of the Law for the era of wickedness, separating ¹⁵from corrupt people, avoiding filthy wicked lucre taken from what is vowed or consecrated to God ¹⁶or found in the Temple funds. They must not rob "the poor of God's people, making widows' wealth their booty ¹⁷and killing or-

phans" (Isa. 10:2). They must distinguish between defiled and pure, teaching the difference ¹⁸between holy and profane. They must keep the Sabbath day according to specification, and the holy days ¹⁹and the fast day according to the commandments of the members of the new covenant in the land of Damascus, ²⁰offering the holy things according to their specifications. Each one must love his brother ²¹as himself, and support the poor, needy, and alien. They must seek each the welfare of ⁷ his fellow, never betraying a family member ²according to the ordinance. Each must reprove his fellow according to the command, but must not bear a grudge ³day after day. They must separate from all kinds of ritual impurity according to their ordinance, not befouling ⁴each his holy spirit, just as God has told them so to do. In short, for all who conduct their lives ⁵by these laws, in perfect holiness, according to all the instructions, God's covenant stands firm ⁶to give them life for thousands of generations (Geniza **B** adds here: as it is written, "He keeps the covenant and loyalty to those who love Him and keep my commandments for a thousand generations" [Deut. 7:9]).

An addendum on marriage. This paragraph might have been misplaced; it belongs with the laws. Some have taken these words, apparently providing for the special needs of married members, to imply the presence also of unmarried or celibate members of the sect.

But if they live in camps according to the rule of the land (**B** adds: which existed in ancient times) and marry ⁷women (**B** adds: as is the custom of the Law) and beget children, then let them live in accordance with the Law, and by the ordinance ⁸of vows according to the rule of the Law, just as it says, "Between a man and his wife, and between a father and his ⁹sons" (Num. 30:17).

The fulfillment of prophecy, indicating the inevitability of punishment on those who reject God's laws. Manuscript B from the Geniza has a different version of this passage. Note the interpretive section embedded in this paragraph.

But those who reject the commandments and the rules <shall perish>. When God judged the land, bringing the just deserts of the wicked ¹⁰to them, that is when the oracle of the prophet Isaiah son of Amoz came true, ¹¹which says, "Days are coming upon you and upon your people and upon your father's house that ¹²have never come before, since the departure of Ephraim from Judah" (Isa. 7:17), that is, when the two houses of Israel separated, ¹³Ephraim departing from Judah. All who backslid were handed over to the sword, but all who held fast ¹⁴escaped to the land of the north, as it says, "I will exile the tents of your king ¹⁵and the foundation of your images beyond the tents of Damascus" (Amos 5:27). The books of Law are the ¹⁶tents of the king, as it says, "I will re-erect the fallen tent of David" (Amos 9:11). The

king is ¹⁷<Leader of> the nation and the “foundation of your images” is the books of the prophets ¹⁸whose words Israel despised. The star is the Interpreter of the Law ¹⁹who comes to Damascus, as it is written, “A star has left Jacob, a staff has risen ²⁰from Israel” (Num. 24:17). The latter is the Leader of the whole nation; when he appears, “he will shatter ²¹all the sons of Sheth” (Num. 24:17). They escaped in the first period of God’s judgment, ⁸but those who held back were handed over to the sword.

The fulfillment of prophecy, alternate version (Geniza B).

19 ⁷When the oracle of the prophet Zechariah comes true, “O sword, be lively and smite ⁸my shepherd and the man loyal to Me—so says God. If you strike down the shepherd, the flock will scatter.” Then I will turn my power against the little ones” (Zech. 13:7). But those who give heed to God are “the poor of the flock” (Zech. 11:7): ¹⁰they will escape in the time of punishment, but all the rest will be handed over to the sword when the Messiah of ¹¹Aaron and of Israel comes, just as it happened during the time of the first punishment, as ¹²Ezekiel said, “Make a mark on the foreheads of those who moan and lament” (Ezek. 9:4), ¹³but the rest were given to the sword that makes retaliation for covenant violations.

The lesson to be drawn from the fulfillment of prophecy: be faithful!

8 ¹And such is the verdict on all members of the covenant who ²do not hold firm to these laws: they are condemned to destruction by Belial. That is the day ³on which God shall judge (**4Q268** adds: as He has said), “The princes of Judah were those (**B**: like Boundary-Shifters) on whom I shall pour out wrath (**B**: like water)” (Hos. 5:10). “Truly they were too sick to be healed; every kind of galling wound adhered to them (**B** adds: Truly they had entered the covenant repenting) because they did not turn away from traitorous practices; ⁵they relished the customs of fornication and filthy lucre. Each of them vengefully bore a grudge ⁶against his brother, each hating his fellow; each of them kept away from nearest kin ⁷but grew close to indecency; they vaunted themselves in riches and in ill-gotten gains; each of them did just what he pleased; ⁸each chose to follow his own willful heart. They did not separate from the people (**B** adds: and their sin), but arrogantly threw off all restraint, ⁹living by wicked customs, of which God had said, “Their wine is venom of snakes, ¹⁰the cruel poison of vipers” (Deut. 32:33).

A pause for interpretation of the verse just quoted. The “chief of the kings of Greece” may refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, the Gentile ruler of Palestine at the time of the Maccabean rebellion. The sect’s opponents did not understand that the persecutions of that time were caused by the nation’s disobedience.

“The snakes” are the kings of the Gentiles, and “their wine” is ¹¹their customs and “the poison of vipers” is the chief of the kings of Greece, who comes to wreak ¹²vengeance on them. But the “Shoddy-Wall-Builders” and “White-washers” understood none of these things, for ¹³one who deals in mere wind, a spewer of lies, had spewed on them (**B** reads slightly differently: one who walks in wind, and who deals in storms, one who preaches lies to men), one on whose entire company God’s anger had burned hot.

Despite the nation’s perfidy, God will remain faithful to his covenant.

¹⁴But as Moses said (**B** adds: to Israel), “It is not for your righteousness or the integrity of your heart that you are going to dispossess ¹⁵these nations, but because He loved your ancestors and because He has kept his promise” (Deut. 9:5, 7:8). ¹⁶Such is the verdict on the captivity of Israel, those who turn away from the usages of the common people. Because God loved ¹⁷the ancients who bore witness (**B** adds: to the people) following Him, so too He loves those who follow them, for to such truly belongs ¹⁸the covenant of the fathers. But against His enemies, the Shoddy-Wall-Builders, His anger burns. (**B** reads differently: But He hates and despises the Shoddy-Wall-Builders and His anger burns hot against them and all who follow them.)

A summary of the “moral” of the exhortations. The reference to Jeremiah (only in the A manuscript) is obscure.

So there is one fate for ¹⁹everyone who rejects the commandments of God and abandons them to follow their own willful heart. ²⁰This is the word that Jeremiah spoke to Baruch son of Neriah, and Elisha ²¹to Gehazi his servant.

The B manuscript’s version of the “moral” of the exhortations. The version of the Damascus Document of which the B manuscript is a later copy was more thoroughly revised to reflect the outlook of the sect. Thus two distinct versions of the text circulated in ancient times, and taken together the Geniza copies preserve both versions.

B 19 ²²So it is with all the men who entered the new covenant ²³in the land of Damascus, but then turned back and traitorously turned away from the fountain of living water. ²⁴They shall not be reckoned among the council of the people, and their names shall not be written in their book from the day **20** ²⁵the Beloved Teacher dies until the Messiah from Aaron and from Israel appears. Such is the fate for all ²⁶who join the company of the men of holy perfection and then become sick of obeying virtuous rules. ²⁷This is the type of person who “melts in the crucible” (Ezek. 22:21).

When his actions become evident he shall be sent away from the company ²⁸as if his lot had never fallen among the disciples of God. In keeping with his wrongdoing ²⁹the most knowledgeable men shall punish him until he returns

to take his place among the men of holy perfection. ⁶When his actions become evident, according to the interpretation of the Law which ⁷the men of holy perfection live by, no one is allowed to share either wealth or work with such a one, ⁸for all the holy ones of the Almighty have cursed him.

Such is the fate for all who reject the commandments, whether old or ⁹new, who have turned their thoughts to false gods and who have lived by their willful hearts: ¹⁰they have no part in the household of Law.

¹¹They will be condemned along with their companions who have gone back to the Men of Mockery, because they have uttered lies against the correct laws and rejected ¹²the sure covenant that they made in the land of Damascus, that is, the New Covenant. ¹³Neither they nor their families shall have any part in the household of Law.

Now from the day ¹⁴the Beloved Teacher passed away to the destruction of all the warriors who went back to ¹⁵the Man of the Lie will be about forty years. Now at that time ¹⁶God's anger will burn against Israel, as He said, "Neither king nor prince" (Hos. 3:4) nor judge nor ¹⁷one who exhorts to do what is right will be left. But those who repent of the sin of Jacob have kept God's covenant. Then each will speak ¹⁸to his fellow, vindicating his brother, helping him walk in God's way, and God shall listen ¹⁹to what they say and "write a record-book of those who fear God and honor ²⁰His name" (Mal. 3:16) until salvation and righteousness are revealed for those who fear God. "And you shall again know the innocent ²¹from the guilty, those who serve God and those who do not" (Mal. 3:18). "He keeps faith to those who love Him ²²and to those who keep Him for a thousand generations" (Exod. 20:6).

As for those separatists that left the city of the sanctuary ²³and relied on God in the time of Israel's unfaithfulness, when the nation defiled the Temple, but returned once more ²⁴to the way of the people in a few matters—each of them shall be judged in the holy council according to his spirit.

²⁵But all of the members of the covenant who breached the restrictions of the Law, when ²⁶the glory of God appears to Israel they shall be excluded from the midst of the camp, and with them all who did evil in ²⁷Judah when it was undergoing trial.

The end of the exhortations.

But all who hold fast to these rules, going out ²⁸and coming in according to the Law, always obeying the Teacher and confessing to God as follows: "We have wickedly sinned, ²⁹we and our ancestors by living contrary to the covenant laws; just ³⁰and true are Your judgments against us" and do not act arrogantly against His holy laws and ³¹His righteous ordinances and His reliable declarations and who discipline themselves by the old laws ³²by which the members of the *Yahad* were governed and listen attentively to the Teacher

of Righteousness, not abandoning³³ the correct laws when they hear them—they will rejoice and be happy and exultant. They will rule over³⁴ all the inhabitants of the earth. Then God will make atonement for them and they will experience His deliverance because they have trusted in His holy name.

The Laws

The rules that follow were not intended to be an exhaustive scheme for righteous living, but a summary of important points that would serve to guide the righteous Israelite in areas where controversy might arise.

The main section of the laws deals with rules applying to Israel as a whole ("those living in the cities of Israel"). A shorter section at the end contains regulations for the internal life of the sect ("those living in camps").

The opening portions of the laws are available only in the fragmentary scrolls from Cave 4.

4Q266 Frag. 5 ¹[. . .] ordinances [. . .] ²[. . .] for all the truly upright in Israel ³[. . .] His laws they justified [. . .]

4Q266 Frag. 6 Col. 1 ⁴[. . .] the mighty ones when they are smitten [. . .] ⁷[. . . who hold] fast to His holy name [. . .] ⁸[. . .] for in Judah [. . .] ⁹[. . .] to Israel when he appears [. . .] to teach ¹⁰[. . .] and all who re[main . . .] ¹¹[. . .] each according to his spirit [. . .] ¹²[. . .] shall banish him at the command of the Overseer [. . .] ¹³[. . .] all the repentant of Israel [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] the sons of Zadok are the [. . .] ¹⁵the latter [book] of the Law. Now these are the laws for the wise [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] in them for all Israel, for it will not be [. . .]

Rules for the priests.

Col. 2 ¹[. . . Aar]on and all who [. . .] ²[. . .] to make His words known [. . .] ³[. . .] lest he incur the penalty of death [. . .] ⁴[. . .] the brothers of the priests in the worship [. . .] ⁵any of the Aaronites who is captured by the Gentiles [. . . may not come] ⁶to profane the Temple by their impurity, he may not approach the worship [. . . he may not go] ⁷within the curtain or eat of the holy [food . . .] ⁸any Aaronite who befouls the worship [of God . . .] ⁹with him in the foundation of the people; and if [he intends] to betray the truth [. . .] ¹⁰any of the Aaronites whose name is dropped from the truth [. . .] ¹¹in his willful heart to eat any of the holy [food . . .] ¹²of Israel the council of the Aaronites [. . .] ¹³if he has eaten any of] the food and become guilty by consuming blood [. . .] ¹⁴in their relationship.

This is the rule for those living in [cities . . .] ¹⁵holiness [. . .] with their cities [. . .]

This section is an interpretation of the law concerning "leprosy," or infectious skin diseases, in Leviticus 13–14. It contains a rudimentary knowledge of the circulation of blood through arteries.

4Q272 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . . a sore or] scab or in[flammmation . . . ² . . . a sore of any kind and a scab due to a wound from a piece of wood or] stone. In the case of a wound, when the spirit comes [and possesses the artery, the blood stops ³flowing] above and below the wound, and the artery [. . . ⁴⁵The priest shall examine the] healthy skin and the diseased [skin . . . If the diseased skin is not recessed below the healthy skin, ⁶he shall isolate him] until the tissue grows back and until the blood returns to the artery. [Then on the ⁷seventh day the priest shall examine him. If] the spirit of life rises and falls unimpeded and the tissue has grown back, ⁸[he is healed . . .] the scab, the priest shall not examine the skin of the body ⁹[. . . If the] sore or the scab [is lower than the skin . . . ¹⁰and the priest sees] that it looks like an open sore [. . . ¹¹ . . . a skin disease has taken hold] in the healthy skin, and according to [this] regulation [. . . ¹² . . . The priest shall examine on the seventh] day. If the healthy ¹³[tissue has given way to diseased tissue, it is an infectious] skin disease.

4Q266 Frag. 9 Col. 1 ⁵The regulation pertaining to scalp of the head and beard [. . .] ⁶[. . . The priest shall examine it;] if the spirit has entered into the head or the beard to possess ⁷[. . . underneath the] hair and begins to resemble thin yellow growth; for it is like grass ⁸with a worm under it, which then cuts its root and the blossom dries up. As for the verse ⁹which says, "The priest shall order the head to be shaven without shaving the scale" (Lev. 13:33) this is so that ¹⁰the priest can count the diseased and healthy hairs. He shall examine the skin, and if the ¹¹diseased tissue has encroached on the healthy tissue after seven days, the man is unclean. But if the diseased parts have not encroached ¹²on the healthy, and the artery is full of blood and the spirit of life rises and falls unimpeded ¹³[. . .] the disease.

Such is the regulation of the law pertaining to infectious skin disease so that the Aaronites can separate [. . .]

Uncleanness caused by bodily discharges. These regulations are based on the laws of Leviticus 15.

The man with a discharge (see Lev. 15:1–18).

¹⁴The regulation pertaining to the man with a bodily discharge. Every man who [. . .] ¹⁵shall go up [. . .] thoughts of depravity or who [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] its contact [. . .] **4Q272 Frag. 1 Col. 2** ⁷shall wash his clothes [. . .] whoever touches him [. . .]

The woman with a discharge (see Lev. 15:19–30).

4Q266 Frag. 9 Col. 2 ¹[The regulation pertaining to the woman with a bodily discharge . . . Whoever has intercourse ²with a menstruating woman] contracts the defilement caused by menstruation; and if she sees a discharge

again but not ³[when her period is due, she is unclean] seven days. She shall not eat of the consecrated food or enter ⁴the sanctuary until the sun sets on the eighth day.

Purification after childbirth (see Lev. 12).

⁵A woman who [becomes pregnant] and bears a male child [shall be unclean] seven [days] ⁶as in her menstrual weakness [. . .]

Regulations about harvest, gleaning, and tithes.

4Q266 Frag. 12 ¹[These shall be subject to tithe:] the gleanings of the [vineyard: every ten grapes; the gleaning of ⁵[. . .] and all who glean [. . . up to a seah for the area sown with] a seah of seed; ⁶[whatever] has no seed in it [is subject to tithe; your vineyard's] fallen grapes ⁷[. . .] and when he gleans up to ten [grapes]; **4Q270 Frag. 6** ¹⁵and when he beats the olive tree [its yield is subject to tithe], when the beating is complete [. . .] ¹⁶its [produce]; and if the field has been trampled down, then [you should take from it one-] ¹⁷thirtieth; and everything [. . . ¹⁷the field or cassia with sap and it is picked . . . up to] a seah for the area sown with a seah of seed, it is subject to tithe; and if ¹⁸[one person] shall glean [. . . and he gleans] one from it in one day, it is subject to the priestly levy, a tenth of ¹⁹[an ephah . . .] the loaves for the priestly gift for all the families of Israel who eat bread ²⁰[. . .] to set aside for an offering once a year: one-tenth of an ephah will be the property [. . .] ²¹[. . .] have been completed for Israel o[nce a year] every man [. . .]

4Q266 Frag. 13 ²the plantings of the viney[ard and] all the wood of the fie[ld . . .] ³according to their regulation the holy [contributions] in the land where they sojourn; and afterwards they may sell ⁴some of it to [buyers . . .] and if a man has planted in the third year [. . .] ⁵[they must be] consecrated in the [fourth?] year [. . .]

Rules on full disclosure in business; betrothal.

4Q271 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] with silver [. . .] ²[. . .] and the year of [jubilee] shall arrive [. . .] ³[. . .] no one should abandon [. . .] ⁴[. . .] for it is an abhorrent thing; and the verse that says [. . . ⁵ . . . "if you buy from] your neighbor, do not defraud him" (Lev. 25:14). Now this is the meaning [. . .] ⁶[. . . he must be frank about] all that he is aware of that is found [in whatever he is selling;] ⁷[if there is a fault in it] and he is aware of it, he is cheating him, whether it is human or animal.

And if ⁸[. . .] to betroth, he shall tell him about all her defects, lest he bring upon himself the judgment of ⁹[the curse, which says, "Cursed] is he who leads the blind astray on the road" (Deut. 27:18). Moreover, he should not give her to someone who is not proper for her, for this ¹⁰[is a case of "forbidden mixtures" . . . like plowing with] an ox and ass, or clothing made of wool and flax together.

Let no man bring ¹¹[into his house a woman] whom he knew to “do the deed” for a trifle or whom he knew ¹²[to “do the deed” while under her father’s] authority; or a widow who has had intercourse after she became a widow, or any ¹³[woman who has a] bad [reputation] while a virgin under her father’s authority. Let no man marry such a one unless ¹⁴[under the supervision of] dependable and knowledgeable [women] she is purified at the command of the Overseer who is over the ¹⁵[. . .]; he may marry her, but when he marries her let him do according to the regulation [. . .]

Measurements and offerings (see Ezek. 45:11–15).

4Q271 Frag. 1 Col. 2 ¹[. . .] from the threshing floor shall bring down the tenth of the [homer, and from the] ephah ²[. . .] the ephah and the bath, the two of them are the same measurement. From [the homer,] a sixth of ³[an ephah . . .] the wood. One must not set apart for an offering one lamb out of every hundred ⁴[until . . . one must not] eat [. . .] and from the garden, until the priests have gotten their share. ⁵[. . .] first of all [. . .] to a man, he may sell it and when he [. . .] and then he shall be free of obligation ⁶[. . .] a field mixed ⁷[. . .] one three times [. . .]

The background of the following rules seems to be Deuteronomy 7:25. Gentile meat was suspect because the animal’s blood had presumably not been handled in keeping with the Law.

⁸“One must never bring [Gentile meat in the blood of their sacrifice . . .] in its purity; nor is one to bring any portion of ⁹gold or silver [or bronze or iron] or tin or lead [that the Gentiles use to make] idols. No one can bring ¹⁰it into the zone of purity [surrounding the Temple . . .]

Related to Leviticus 11:32.

One may not bring in any skin or clothing or ¹¹any thing made with them that can defile a human [being un]less it has been sprinkled properly [. . .].

¹²[This is the rule for the] entire nation in the era of wickedness: each man his purity [. . .] and every [. . .] who ¹³mixes the [. . .] when his time is complete to pass [. . .]

The following section reads like a conclusion to the laws, and it may have stood at the end of an earlier version of the document.

4Q270 Frag. 9 Col. 2 ¹[. . .] the Aaronites are the plantation [. . .] ²[. . . he gave] them all that they have, the tithes of ca[ttle] ³and flock, the redeemed of the [unclean beasts,] the redeemed of the cattle and ⁴the flock, and the assessment money for their own redemption [. . .] ⁵cannot be returned; “a fifth must be added to it” (Lev. 27:31) or [. . .] ⁶by their names, defiling His holy spirit [. . .] ⁷or is afflicted with a skin infection or a bodily

discharge is unclean; [and whoever] ¹³reveals the secret of his people to the Gentiles or curses o[r speaks] ¹⁴rebellion against those anointed by the Holy Spirit or misleads [his people or who flouts] ¹⁵God's command or slaughters a beast with a living fetus [in it or] ¹⁶who lies with a pregnant woman when her monthly period [ceases or lies with a man] ¹⁷as one lies with a woman: these are the ones who violate the [Way . . .] ¹⁸God has decreed to remove [. . .]

¹⁹So listen now, all you experts in righteousness, [who obey the To]rah, [I have shown] ²⁰you the ways that lead to life and the paths that lead to destruction; I [. . . their schemes] ²¹you should not trust; and when you understand the things that have happened in every generation [. . .]

Rules on taking oaths. The translation of Geniza A resumes here.

15 [A man must not] swear either by Aleph and Lamedh (*Elohim*) or by Aleph and Daleth (*Adonai*), but rather by the oath of those who enter ²into the covenant vows. He must not make mention of the Law of Moses, because the Name of God is written out fully in it, ³and if he swears by it, and then commits a sin, he will have defiled the Name. But if he has sworn by the covenant vows in front of ⁴the judges, if he has violated them, he is guilty; he should then confess his sin and make restitution and then he will not bear the burden of sin ⁵and die.

Whoever enters the covenant for all Israel, this is a perpetual observance: any children who reach ⁶the age to be included in the registrants, they shall impose the covenant oath upon them.

This is an excursus on the procedure for becoming a member of the Yahad apparently suggested by the topic of oaths, since an oath was administered to new members.

This ⁷is the rule during all the era of wickedness for all who repent of their wicked ways: On the day he speaks ⁸to the Overseer of the general membership, they shall register him by the oath of the covenant that ⁹Moses made with Israel, the covenant to return to the Law of Moses with a whole heart, and to return with a whole ¹⁰spirit to that which is found therein to do during the era of [wickedness]. No one is allowed to tell him ¹¹the rules until he appears before the Overseer, so that he, the Overseer, is not fooled by him when he examines him; ¹²and when he imposes upon him the oath to return to the Law of Moses with a whole heart and with a whole soul, ¹³they are innocent with respect to him if he proves false.

Everything that is revealed from the Law for the multitude of the ¹⁴Camp, and of which he (the postulant) is capable, the Overseer should tell him and command him to study ¹⁵for one full year; and then according to his knowledge he may draw near.

But no one who is a fool or insane may enter; and no simpleton or ignorant ¹⁶or one with eyes too weak to see or lame or crippled or deaf or minor

child, ¹⁷none of these shall enter the congregation, for the holy angels are in your midst.

16 '[. . .] with you a covenant, and with all Israel. Therefore let a man take upon himself the oath to return to ²the Law of Moses, for in it everything is laid out in detail. But the specification of the times during which all Israel is blind to ³all these rules is laid out in detail in the "Book of Time Divisions by ⁴Jubilees and Weeks." On the day a man promises to return ⁵to the Law of Moses the Angel of Obstruction will leave him, if he keeps His words. "That is why Abraham was circumcised on the day he gained true knowledge.

A return to the subject of oaths.

As for the passage "observe what comes out of your lips" (Deut. 23:24), ⁷it means to abide by every binding oath in which a man promises "to do anything from the Law: he may not break it, even at the price of death. Any ⁹promise a man makes to depart from the Law he shall not keep, even at the price of death.

¹⁰Concerning a woman's oath: The passage that speaks of her husband annulling her oath (Num. 30:9) means he should not ¹¹annul an oath if he does not know whether it should be allowed to stand or be annulled. ¹²If it violates the covenant he should annul it and not allow it to stand. The rule also applies to her father.

Offerings and vows to God.

¹³Concerning the rule of freewill offerings: A man shall not vow to the altar anything stolen, nor ¹⁴shall the priests accept it from an Israelite.

A man shall not consecrate the food ¹⁵of his mouth to God, for that is referred to by the passage, "Men trap each other with what is consecrated to God" (Mic. 7:2); nor should ¹⁶a man consecrate any [. . .] And the rule also applies if he ¹⁷consecrates part of a field he owns himself [. . .] ¹⁸The one who so vows shall be punished [. . .] money of its value [. . .] ¹⁹to the judges [for a fair decision and to evaluate . . . after the thing is vowed . . .] ²⁰If [it is gained by extortion, the extorter shall pay, if he has not spoken the truth to his fellow . . .]

9 ¹Any human being that any other human being is under a religious obligation to kill shall be put to death by the laws of the Gentiles.

Accusations against fellow Israelites.

²As for the passage that says, "Take no vengeance and bear no grudge against your kinfolk" (Lev. 19:18) any covenant member ³who brings against his fellow an accusation not sworn to before witnesses ⁴or who makes an accusation in the heat of anger or who tells it to his elders to bring his fellow

into disrepute, the same is a vengeance-taker and a grudge-bearer. ⁵It says only, "On his enemies God takes vengeance, against his foes he bears a grudge" (Nah. 1:2).

⁶If he kept silent day by day and then in anger against his fellow spoke against him in a capital case, ⁷this testifies against him that he did not fulfill the commandment of God which says to him, "You shall reprove your fellow and not bear the sin yourself" (Lev. 19:17).

Another law about oaths. The source of the passage that is explained is unknown.

About oaths. The passage ⁸that says, "You may not seek a remedy by your own power" a man who makes someone take an oath out in the countryside ¹⁰and not before judges or at their bidding: such a one has "sought a remedy by his own power."

Lost property.

Everything that is lost ¹¹and it is not known which of the men of the camp stole it, its owner shall pronounce a malediction ¹²by the covenant oath and whoever hears it, if he knows and does not tell, is guilty.

Restitution in the absence of an owner.

¹³Every sin for which restitution is to be made in the absence of an owner to whom it is to be paid, the one making restitution shall confess to the priest ¹⁴and it shall belong to the priest alone, aside from the ram of expiation. So also every lost item that is found with no ¹⁵owner present shall belong to the priests, if the one who found it does not know the proper thing to do with it. ¹⁶If no owner is found, they shall have custody of it.

The law of witnesses.

Anything in which a man shall violate the Law ¹⁷and his fellow sees it, he alone, if it is a capital case, he shall tell him of it ¹⁸to his face in a denunciation to the Overseer, who shall then personally make a written note of it, until he does it ¹⁹again in the presence of a sole witness, who again makes it known to the Overseer. If he is caught doing it yet again by one ²⁰witness, his fate is sealed. But if there are only two witnesses, who yet agree ²¹about the offense, then the man should be banned only from the community meal, if they are reliable, and if ²²the day the man saw the offense, he tells the Overseer. Two ²³reliable witnesses may bring charges in a property case; only one is required for a ban from the community meal. **10** ¹⁻²A witness who is not old enough to violate the commandments to obey God may not bring charges before the judges to put anyone to death, on his evidence. ²⁻³No one who has knowingly violated a single word of the commandment will be considered a reliable witness against his fellow until he is considered fit to return to full fellowship.

Qualifications for judges.

⁴This is the rule for the judges of the nation. They shall be ten men in all chosen ⁵from the nation at the proper time: four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and from Israel ⁶six men learned in the Book of Meditation and in the basic covenant principles, from the age of ⁷twenty-five to sixty. No one above the age ⁸of sixty shall hold the office of judge of the nation, because when Adam broke faith, ⁹his life was shortened, and in the heat of anger against the earth's inhabitants, God commanded ¹⁰their minds to regress before their life was over.

The amount of water necessary for purification.

About purification by water. A man may not ¹¹wash himself in water that is filthy and too shallow to make a ripple. ¹²A man may not purify any dish in such water or in any stone cistern that does not have enough water in it ¹³to make a ripple and that something unclean has touched, for its water will defile the water of the vessel.

Rules on keeping the Sabbath. The subject of keeping the Sabbath receives the greatest amount of attention, reflecting its importance to the sect.

¹⁴About the Sabbath, how to keep it properly. A man may not work on the ¹⁵sixth day from the time that the solar orb ¹⁶is above the horizon by its diameter, because this is what is meant by the passage, "Observe the Sabbath ¹⁷day to keep it holy" (Deut. 5:12).

On the Sabbath day, one may not speak any ¹⁸coarse or empty word.

One is not to seek repayment of any loan from his fellow.

One may not go to court about property or wealth.

¹⁹One may not discuss business or work to be done the next day.

²⁰A man may not go about in the field to do his desired activity on ²¹the Sabbath.

One may not travel outside his city more than a thousand cubits.

²²A man may not eat anything on the Sabbath day except food already prepared. From whatever was lost ²³in the field he may not eat, and he may not drink unless he was in the camp.

11 ¹If he was on a journey and went down to bathe, he may drink where he stands, but he may not draw water into any ²vessel.

One may not send a Gentile to do his business on the Sabbath day.

³A man may not put on filthy clothes or clothes kept in wool unless ⁴he washes it in water or if they scrub it with spice.

A man may not voluntarily cross Sabbath borders ⁵on the Sabbath day.

A man may walk behind an animal to graze it outside his city ⁶up to two thousand cubits. One may not raise his hand to hit it with a fist. If it is ⁷uncooperative, he should leave it inside.

A man may not carry anything outside his house, nor should he "carry anything in. If he is in a temporary shelter, he should not take anything out of it "or bring anything in.

No one should open a sealed vessel on the Sabbath. No one should carry ¹⁰medicine on his person, either going out or coming in, on the Sabbath. No one should pick up stone and dust ¹¹in an inhabited place. No caregiver should carry a baby on the Sabbath, either going out or coming in.

¹²No one should provoke his servant, his maid, or his employee on the Sabbath.

¹³No one should help an animal give birth on the Sabbath; and if it falls into a well ¹⁴or a pit, he may not lift it out on the Sabbath.

No one should rest in a place near ¹⁵to Gentiles on the Sabbath.

No one should profane the Sabbath for wealth or spoil on the Sabbath.

¹⁶Any living human who falls into a body of water or a cistern ¹⁷shall not be helped out with ladder, rope, or other instrument.

No one should offer any sacrifice on the Sabbath ¹⁸except the Sabbath whole burnt offering, for so it is written, "besides your Sabbaths" (Lev. 23:38).

The last law suggested the topic of sacrifices.

No one should send ¹⁹a whole burnt offering, cereal offering, incense offering, or wood offering to the altar through anyone impure by any ²⁰of the impurities, thus allowing him to defile the altar; for it is written, "The sacrifice ²¹of the wicked is disgusting; but the prayer of the righteous is like a proper offering" (Prov. 15:8). No one who enters the ²²house of worship shall enter in a state of impurity but with laundered garments. When the trumpets for assembly are blown, ²³let him go earlier or later so that they need not stop the whole service [. . .]

The holiness of the sanctuary applies to the city itself. A similar point of view is taken by the Temple Scroll.

12 ¹[. . .] it is holy. A man may not lay with a woman in the city of the Temple, defiling ²the city of the Temple by their uncleanness.

A law counseling flexibility in the treatment of the demon-possessed. Lesser violations of the ritual law should be treated by confinement, not execution, as we would say, "for reasons of insanity."

Everyone who is controlled by the spirits of Belial ³and advises apostasy will receive the same verdict as the necromancer and the medium; but all such who go astray ⁴to defile the Sabbath and the festivals shall not be put to death, for it is the responsibility of human beings ⁵to keep him in custody. If he recovers from it, they must watch him for seven years and afterwards ⁶he may enter the assembly.

Laws relating to contact with Gentiles.

Let no one attack any of the Gentiles with intent to kill ⁷for the sake of wealth and spoil, nor may anyone carry away any of their wealth so that ⁸they may not blaspheme except by the counsel of the commonwealth of Israel.

No one may sell a clean animal ⁹or bird to the Gentiles, lest they sacrifice them to idols; neither from his threshing floor ¹⁰or from his winepress shall he sell to them, in all his property; his servant and his maidservant he may not sell ¹¹to them, if they have entered with him into Abraham's covenant.

Laws relating to impure foods.

No one may defile himself ¹²with any creature or creeping thing by eating them: from the larvae of bees to any living ¹³creature that crawls in the water; and the fish may not be eaten unless they are split open ¹⁴while living and their blood poured out. All species of locust must be put in fire or water ¹⁵while they are alive, because that befits their nature. Every piece of wood or stone ¹⁶or dust that is desecrated by human uncleanness, having sticky blots: according to their ¹⁷uncleanness, whoever touches them will become unclean. Every instrument, nail, or peg in the wall of ¹⁸a house where a corpse lies shall be unclean, with the same impurity as a work-tool.

Summary and conclusion to the laws for Israel in general.

¹⁹The regulations above are the rule for those who live in the cities of Israel, dealing with these regulations to separate ²⁰unclean from clean and to discriminate between holy and profane. These are the rules ²¹for the sage to live by with all that is living, according to the regulation for every occasion. If ²²the seed of Israel lives according to this law, they shall never know condemnation.

Rules for those living in "camps."

This is the rule for those who live in ²³camps, who live by these rules in the era of wickedness, until the appearance of the Messiah of Aaron **13** ¹and Israel: up to ten men at least, for thousands, and hundreds, and fifties, ²and tens. A priest knowledgeable in the Book of Meditation should always be present; by ³his command all shall be ruled. If he is not qualified in these rules and a Levite is qualified in ⁴them, then the membership shall proceed in all its ways at his command, all the members of the camp. But if ⁵it is a case of the law of skin diseases, then the priest must come and be present in the camp, and the Overseer ⁶shall instruct him in the details of the Law, and even if the priest is ignorant, it is he who must isolate the one suffering from skin disease, because that duty ⁷is the priests' alone.

Qualification for an Overseer.

This is the rule for the Overseer of a camp. He must teach the general membership about the works ⁸of God, instruct them in His mighty miracles,

relate to them the future events coming to the world with their interpretations; ⁹he should care for them as a father does his children, taking care of all their problems as a shepherd does for his flock. ¹⁰He should loosen all their knots, that there be no one oppressed or crushed in his congregation.

¹¹He shall observe everyone who is added to his group as to his actions, his intelligence, his ability, his strength, and his wealth ¹²and assign him his standing according to his share in the allotment of Light.

Relationships with outsiders.

No members of the camp are allowed ¹³to bring anyone into the group except by permission of the Overseer of the camp; ¹⁴and none of the members of God's covenant should buy or sell to corrupt people, ¹⁵except hand to hand. No one should form a partnership for buying or selling unless he has informed ¹⁶the Overseer who is in the camp; he will give confirmation. No one should [. . . ¹⁷ . . .] the counsel. And so for the excommunicant: the Overseer [will educate their sons and ¹⁸their daughters in a spirit] of gentleness and in compassionate love. He must not hold it against them [. . . in anger ¹⁹or wrath for their sins. As for the one bound [by their customs . . .]

²⁰This is the <rule for> those living in camps, all [. . .] ²¹[If any have broken] these rules, they will not prosper when they live in the land [. . .]

A second section of the "camp rules" begins here. These rules seem to apply to the camps in full convention, instead of considered individually.

²²These are the [. . .] for the Instructor . . . ²³As it says, "There shall come upon you and upon your people and your father's house days **14** 'that have not been seen since the day Ephraim separated from Judah' (Isa. 7:17). But as for all who live by these rules, ²God's covenant stands firm for them, delivering them from all the traps of Hell; but the ignorant shall pass away and be punished.

Rank within the camps.

³The rule for those who live in all the camps. All shall be mustered by their names: the priests first, ⁴the Levites second, the children of Israel third, the proselyte fourth. Then they shall be recorded by name, ⁵one after the other: the priests first, the Levites second, the children of Israel ⁶third, the proselyte fourth. In the same order they shall sit, and in the same order they will inquire of all.

Qualifications for the presiding priest and general overseer. For more on the mysterious Book of Meditation, see the introductions to texts 6, Charter for Israel in the Last Days, and 88, The Secret of the Way Things Are.

The priest who presides ⁷at the head of the general membership must be between thirty and sixty years old, learned in the Book of Meditation ⁸and in all the regulations of the Law, speaking them in the proper way. The Overseer of ⁹all the camps must be between thirty and fifty years old, master of every ¹⁰secret of men and of every deceptive utterance. At his command the members of the congregation shall enter, ¹¹each in his turn. Anything that any man might have to say, let him say it to the Overseer, including ¹²any kind of dispute or legal matter.

Contributions for the needs of camp members.

This is the rule of the general membership for meeting all their needs: a wage of ¹³two days every month at least shall be given to the Overseer. Then the judges ¹⁴will give some of it for their wounded, with some of it they will support the poor and needy, and the [feeble] elder, ¹⁵the man with a skin disease, whoever is taken captive by a foreign nation, the girl ¹⁶without a near kinsman, the boy without an advocate; and the rest for the business of the entire community, so that ¹⁷the family of the community should not be excluded.

This is the exposition for those who live in the camps, [and these are the fundamental rules of . . .] ¹⁸the assembly.

Rules dealing with punishments for infraction of the rules.

¹⁸And this is the exposition of the regulations by which [they shall be governed in the age of ¹⁹wickedness until the appearance of the Mess]iah of Aaron and of Israel, so that their iniquity may be atoned for. Cereal [offering and sin offering . . .]

²⁰Whoever lies knowingly in a matter of money shall be ex[pelled . . .] ²¹[. . . and pun]ished six days; and whoever speaks [. . . ²²and whoever bears a grudge against his neighbor, which] is not lawful, [shall suffer reduced rations] **4Q266 Frag. 18 Col. 4** '[. . . shall be expelled] two hundred days and suffer reduced rations one hundred days. If it is a matter deserving death, then they shall watch him and he shall not ever come back.

²[Whoever . . .] his fellow without taking counsel shall be expelled one year and suffer reduced rations ³[six months].

Whoever speaks audibly a coarse word shall suffer reduced rations twenty ⁴[days, and be expelled] three months.

Whoever speaks while [another is speaking] and disturbs him, ⁵[will suffer reduced rations ten] days.

[Whoever lies down] and sleeps in the [general] meeting [. . . ⁶shall be expelled] thirty days and suffer reduced rations ten days. [And so . . .]

Whoever] leaves ⁷without the permission of the general membership, for no reason, up to three times [in] one [meeting, ⁸shall suffer reduced rations]

ten days. If [he continues] to leave [the meeting . . . he shall suffer reduced rations] thirty ⁹days.

Whoever goes around [naked] in front [of his fellow . . . Whoever goes about naked to] ¹⁰the world must be expelled for six [months . . . Whoever] ¹¹brings his penis out of his clothing [on purpose . . . shall be expelled for . . .] ¹²days and shall suffer reduced rations ten.

Whoever laughs [foolishly in an audible voice . . . must be expelled] ¹³thirty days and suffer reduced rations five [days].

Whoever puts out his] left hand ¹⁴to gesture with it must suffer reduced rations [ten days . . .

Whoever] spreads [gossip] ¹⁵about his neighbor [must be banned from the area of purity for one year . . .] **4Q270 Frag. 11 Col. 1** [. . .] and shall never return [. . . ⁹. . . and shall never return.]

The man [whose spirit] is terrified [. . . ¹⁰ . . .] shall suffer reduced rations sixty [days . . .]

¹¹Whoever rejects the ruling of the general membership shall depart and never return.

[Whoever takes his] ¹²food outside contrary to the rules must return it to the one he took it from. [. . .]

Whoever approaches ¹³to fornicate with his wife, which is not according to the regulation, shall depart and never return. [. . .

Whoever speaks] against the fathers, ¹⁴[he must leave] the congregation and never return; [but if] against the mothers, he must suffer reduced rations ten days, for the mothers have no such esteem within ¹⁵[the congregation.

These are the] regulations in which all who are to receive correction and everyone who [. . .

Procedure for punishment of the offender.

¹⁶Whoever] comes and tells it to the priest who presides over **4Q266 Frag. 18 Col. 5** ¹the general membership, he must receive his verdict willingly, just as it says through ²Moses concerning the person who sins unwittingly, that they shall bring ³his sin offering or his guilt offering; and concerning Israel it is written, "I shall go ⁴to the ends of heaven and I will not smell the odor of your incense" (Lev. 26:31). In another place ⁵it is written, "Rend your hearts and not your garments" (Joel 2:13), ⁵and, "Return to God with weeping and fasting" (Joel 2:12). Anyone who rejects these regulations, ⁶which are in keeping with the statutes found in the Law of Moses, shall not be considered ⁷one of those who belong to his truth, for he is repulsed by righteous discipline. ⁸He shall be sent away in the presence of the general membership for the crime of rebellion, and the priest who presides over the general membership shall speak, and raise his voice ⁹and say:

Blessed art Thou! Thou art the All, in thy hands are all things, and Maker of All, who hast established ¹⁰the peoples by clans and tongues and nations, then led them astray in a wasteland without ¹¹a way, but Thou hast chosen our fathers, Thou hast given to their descendants the statutes of Thy truth, ¹²and the judgments of Thy holiness, which, if humankind shall do, they shall have life; and borders hast Thou made ¹³for us, and they that transgress them thou hast cursed; but we are Thy redeemed people, and the sheep of Thy pasture. ¹⁴Indeed, Thou hast cursed the transgressors; but Thou hast made us firm.

Then the excommunicated shall leave. Anyone ¹⁵who uses any of their property or who greets him or who associates with him, ¹⁶this matter shall be recorded by the Overseer with an engraving tool, and his fate is sealed.

The Levites and ¹⁷those who live in camps shall convene on the third month and curse those who stray from the Law to the right ¹⁸[or to the left].

Conclusion of the rule.

This is the exposition of the regulations that they shall follow during the era ¹⁹of wickedness [. . . so that they can] stand firm during all the times of wrath and the stages of the journey made by those ²⁰[who live in camps and all their cities.

All of] this is on the basis of the most recent interpretation of the Law.

—E.M.C.

2. TALES OF THE PATRIARCHS

1QapGen

This charming collection of stories is one of a fair number of Dead Sea Scrolls that scholars assign to the category “rewritten Bible.” The category is a broad one, embracing many different methods of “rewriting the Bible”; some examples do little more than select and rearrange portions of Scripture, apparently intending by such juxtapositioning to clarify the relationship and proper interpretation of the portions involved. The present text is more adventurous. Although at points the author simply presents the text of Genesis more or less as he knew it, more often he adds details—and even whole sections—drawn from extrabiblical sources or oral traditions. The author attempts to give the proper spin to the biblical text at crucial points where, in his view, dangerous misinterpretation is possible.

A clear example of this concern is the case of Abraham’s wife, Sarah, and an unnamed Egyptian pharaoh. (Throughout the surviving portions of *Tales*, however, Abraham is referred to as “Abram,” and Sarah as “Sarai”; the reason is that

these portions of the *Tales* correspond to chapters of Genesis that precede Genesis 17, the chapter in which Abraham and Sarah receive their new, but to us more familiar, names.) According to Genesis 12, this pharaoh took Sarai from Abram when the patriarch had gone down to the pharaoh's territory in search of food. Our author had a definite view of the chronology of Genesis, even where the Bible says nothing of such matters directly, and believed that Sarai must have been with the pharaoh for some two years. Had she then been violated repeatedly? If so, this was a sordid tale indeed, bringing shame upon the Jewish people. To obviate this implication of the biblical text, our author decided that the pharaoh must be shown to have been impotent the entire time. Then, of course, Sarai's purity would have been preserved. So he introduced a long addition to the biblical text at the proper point, explaining that God smote the pharaoh with "a baneful spirit." Because of this spirit's effect—a disgusting discharge, perhaps gonorrhea—not just the pharaoh, but all his men were rendered impotent. Only with the help of the righteous Abram's prayer on his behalf was the Egyptian monarch cured, and then only on condition of Sarai's restoration to her husband.

Abram's description of his prayer is noteworthy: "So I prayed for him, that blasphemer, and laid my hands upon his head. Thereupon the plague was removed from him, the evil spirit exorcised from him, and he was healed." This is a description of an exorcism, one roughly contemporary with the New Testament passages that record the frequent exorcisms performed by Jesus of Nazareth. The scroll's description is particularly reminiscent of an exorcism described in Mark 9. Jesus' disciples had tried and failed to exorcise a spirit that continually threw a young boy into convulsions. Jesus had to perform the exorcism himself. Later, when asked by his disciples why they had failed, Jesus replied, "This kind can come out only through prayer" (Mark 9:29).

Another example of the author's concern with the purity of Abram's line appears in what may first seem but an insignificant detail added to the biblical text. After the Flood, Noah's family was essentially in the same situation as Adam, Eve, and their children. With no other people around, whom could the young people marry? The Bible is silent on this problem, though it does provide genealogical information about Noah's sons and grandsons. The scroll adds details about Noah's granddaughters. The author claims the following: Shem, Noah's oldest son, had five sons and five daughters; Ham had four sons and seven daughters; and Japheth had the reverse, seven sons and four daughters. The point: for the chosen lineage of Shem, intermarriage with the lines of his brothers might introduce corruption; thus, his sons married his daughters. For the other two sons, intermarriage of their lines was not dangerous, so they had congruent numbers of sons and daughters who could then marry their cousins.

In such ways the author of this "rewritten Bible" text dealt with the patriarchs Enoch, Lamech, Noah and his sons, and Abraham.

Lamech, Noah's father, suspects that his newborn son may in fact not be his own, but rather the product of an illicit union between his wife, Bitenosh, and lustful fallen angels known as Watchers or Nephilim.

***Col. 3** ¹Then I decided that the conception was at the hands of Watchers, that the seed had been planted by Holy Ones or Nephil[im . . .] ²I was in a turmoil because of this infant. ³Then I, Lamech, hurriedly went in to [my] wi[fe], Bitenosh, [and I said to her,] ⁴["I adjure you by . . .] and by the Most High, by the Lord, the Great One, by the King of all Et[ernity . . . have you conceived] ⁵[by one of] the Sons of Heaven? Tell me every detail truthfully [. . .] ⁶[in truth] make it known to me, without lies. Was this [. . . ?] ⁷by the King of Eternity. You are to speak with me in utter truth, without lies [. . .]"

Bitenosh allays Lamech's suspicions by recalling the time when Noah would have been conceived.

⁸Then Bitenosh, my wife, replied to me very passionately, we[eping . . .] ⁹She said, "O, my brother, my lord, remember my voluptuousness [. . .] ¹⁰before the time of lovemaking, and my ardent response. I [am telling you] the whol[e] truth [. . .]" ¹¹and my mind was then changed. ¹²Now when my wife Bitenosh saw that my disposition had changed, [. . .] ¹³Then she restrained her anger, speaking with me and saying, "O, my lord, my [brother, remember . . .] ¹⁴my pleasure. I swear to you by the Great Holy One, by the King of He[aven . . .] ¹⁵that this seed comes from you, this conception was by you, the planting of [this] fruit is yours [. . . It was] ¹⁶not by any stranger, neither by any of the Watchers, nor yet by any of the Sons of Heav[en. Why has] ¹⁷your expression been so altered, your mood so depressed? [. . .] Surely ¹⁸I am speaking with you truthfully."

Still confused by the baby's glorious appearance, Lamech sends inquiry to Enoch, his grandfather. Enoch was thought to understand many hidden matters.

¹⁹Thereupon I, Lamech, ran to Methuselah my father, and [told] him everything, [so that he would go ask Enoch,] ²⁰his father, and come to understand the whole matter with certainty. For he, Enoch, is beloved and [. . . with the Holy Ones] ²¹his lot has been cast. They reveal everything to him. When Methusel[ah] heard [of these matters] ²²he set out for his father Enoch, in order to learn from him the truth of the whole affair [. . .] ²³his will. Then he went to the highest heaven, to Parvain, and there he found

*The columns are renumbered following recent research that proves that the 1Q20 fragments, which belong to this work, comprise (together with the so-called Trever fragment) cols. 1 and 2. The analysis supporting these conclusions is forthcoming. Also, the lines of col. 20 (formerly 19) are renumbered to start with line 6, not 7, correcting a minor error in the text's original publication by Nahman Avigad and Yigael Yadin.

Enoch with [the Holy Ones]. ²⁴He [sa]id to Enoch, his father, “O, my father, my lord, I [have come] to you [. . .] [hear] ²⁵what I say to you. Do not be angry with me that I have come here [. . .]”

Col. 4 apparently contained the beginning of Enoch's reply to Methuselah. Enoch began by referring to the descent of angels to take human wives, which occurred in Jared's day. Compare Genesis 6:1–2.

Col. 4 ³for in the days of Jared, my father . . .

Enoch's reply continues.

Col. 6 ³I, Enoch, [. . .] ⁴not by the Sons of Heaven, but by Lamech, your son [. . .] ⁹And now, I say to you [. . .] and reveal to you [that . . .] ¹⁰Go, say to Lamech your son [. . .] ²⁴Now when Methuselah heard [these things . . .] ²⁵And spoke [. . .] with Lamech his son [. . .] ²⁶Now when I, Lamech, [heard these things . . .] ²⁷that he brought forth from me [. . .]

The setting has shifted, and now the adult Noah speaks in his own words.

Col. 7 ²And all my days I have practiced righteousness [. . .] ⁶I, Noah, a man [. . .]

God speaks to Noah.

Col. 8 ¹[You shall have dominion over] the earth and all that is upon it, over the seas [and all that is within them . . .] ⁷Then I rejoiced at the words of the Lord of Heaven [. . .]

The end of the Flood and some of the immediate aftermath.

Col. 11 ¹²[. . .] the ark came to rest upon one of the mountains of Ararat [. . .] ¹³I atoned for all of the land [. . .] ¹⁵upon the altar I burned incense [. . .]

God again speaks to Noah and makes a covenant with him. Compare Genesis 9:4.

Col. 12 ¹⁷You shall eat no blood [. . .]

Noah describes his family and their activities in the period after the Flood.

Col. 13 ¹[. . .] “Behold, I have placed My bow [in the cloud].” And it became a sign for me in the cloud, to be [. . .] ²the [ea]rth [. . .] ³many [. . .] it was revealed to me [. . .] ⁷in the mountains of [Ararat . . .] ⁸[. . .] a vineyard in the mountains of Ararat. Afterward, I descended to the base of this mountain, I and my sons and grandsons [. . .] ⁹[. . .] the devastation of the earth was large-scale.

[Son]s [and da]ughters were born to m[e] after the Flood. ¹⁰[To Shem,] my oldest son, a son was born first—namely Arpachshad, two years after the

Flood. All the children of Shem were ¹¹[E]lam, Ashur, Arpachshad, Lud, Aram, and five daughters. In addition, [the children of Ham were: Cush, Mizrai]n, Put, Canaan, and seven ¹²daughters; the childr[en] of Japheth were: Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tubal, Moshok, Tiras, and four daughters.

¹³Then I began to cultivate the earth together with all my sons. I planted a large vineyard at Mt. Lubar, and in the fourth year it produced wine for me. ¹⁴[. . .] When the first festival came, on the first day of that first festival—that of the [seventh] month—[. . .] [I began to enjoy the fruit] ¹⁵of my vineyard; I opened this vessel and began to drink from it on the first day of the fifth year ¹⁶[since planting the vineyard] [. . .] On this day I invited my sons and grandsons and all our wives and daughters, and we all gathered together and went ¹⁷[to the place of the altar] [. . .] and I blessed the Lord of Heaven, the Most High God, the Great Holy One who had saved us from destruction [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] and for all [. . .] of his father. They drank and [. . .] ¹⁹[. . .] and I poured on [the altar] [. . .] and the wine [. . .]

Cols. 17 and 18 apparently detailed the division of the earth among Noah's descendants.

Col. 17 ¹¹. . . all the land of the north as far as [. . .] ¹²[. . .] [as far as] this boundary the waters of the Mediterranean [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] the Tina River [. . .]

Col. 18 ⁸. . . to the west, to Asshur, as far as the Tigris . . . ⁹For Aram, the land of . . . as far as the source of [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] this Mount of the Ox, and he crossed this portion westward as far as [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] and upon the conjunction of the three portions [. . .] For Arpachshad, [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] To Gomer, he gave the northeastern portion as far as the Tina River and its circuit. To [Mag]og, [he gave] [. . .]

The hero of the story is now Abraham. This portion apparently concerns the building of the altar at Bethel. Compare Genesis 12:1–7.

Col. 20 ⁶[. . . And there I built] the [altar, and called] ther[e upon the name of G]o[d . . .] And I said, “You are indeed ⁷[the Etern]al [G]od for m[e], [. . .]” Previously, I had not reached the holy mountain; so I journeyed ⁸to [. . .] and I continued traveling to the south [. . .] until I reached Hebron—though Hebron had yet to be built—and I lived ⁹[there for two year]s [. . .]

Suffering from a famine, Abraham and his family go to Egypt.

Now, there was a famine in all that land, but I heard that in Egypt there w[as] g[ra]in. So I journeyed ¹⁰to [enter] the land of Egypt . . . [and] I [reached] the Carmon River, one of the ¹¹branches of the Nile [. . .] Until this point we were still within our own land, [but] now I [cr]ossed the seven

branches of this river that [. . .] ¹²[. . .] Now we had crossed our land and entered the land of the children of Ham, the land of Egypt.

Abraham has an ominous dream.

¹³I, Abram, had a dream the night of my entry into the land of Egypt. In my dream, I saw a cedar tree and a ¹⁴date-palm gro[w]ing from [a single] roo[t]. Then people came intending to cut down and uproot the [c]edar, thereby to leave the date-palm by itself. ¹⁵The date-palm, however, objected, and said, "Do not cut the [c]edar down, for the two of us grow fr[om] but a [sin]gle root." So the cedar was spared because of the date-palm, ¹⁶and was not cut down.

Abraham relates the dream to his wife, Sarai, and interprets its meaning.

Then I started from my sleep while it was still night, and said to Sarai, my wife, "I have had a ¹⁷dream and no[w] am fearful [because of] it." She replied, "Tell me your dream so I may understand." So I began to explain it to her, ¹⁸and I also [explained its significance.] I said, "[. . .] [men will come] intending to kill me while sparing you. Notwithstanding, this is the kindness ¹⁹[that you can do for me.] In every [place] where [we shall go, say] concerning me, 'He is my brother.' Thus I may live because of you and my life be spared owing to you. ²⁰[. . . they will attempt] to sepa[ra]te us and to kill me." Then Sarai wept at my words that night. ²¹[. . .] and the Pharaoh of Zo[an . . .] Sarai n[o longer wanted] to go to Zoan ²²[with me, for she was] exceedingly [afraid] lest any man attached to the Pharaoh of Zoan should see her.

Nevertheless, after five years had passed ²³[there came] three men, councilors from the Egyptian court [and advisers] of the Pharaoh of Zoan. They came having heard of [my] words and my wife, and kept plying me ²⁴[with many gifts]. They as[ked] me [for knowledge] of goodness, wisdom and righteousness, so I read to them the [Book] of the Words of Enoch. ²⁵[. . .] in the famine that . . . the Book of the Words of Enoch [. . .] ²⁶[. . .] with much eating and drinking [. . .] wine [. . .]

Pharaoh's advisers return to him, including one named Hyrcanos, who describes Sarai's wondrous beauty in a poem.

Col. 21 ²[. . .] how splen[did] and beautiful is the aspect of her face, and how [. . .] ³[And] h[ow] supple is the hair of her head. How lovely are her eyes; how pleasant her nose and all the radiance of 'her face [. . .] How shapely is her breast, how gorgeous all her fairness! Her arms, how comely! Her hands, ⁵how perfect—How [lovely] is every aspect of her hands! How exquisite are her palms, how long and delicate all her fingers!

Her feet, ⁶how attractive! How perfect are her thighs! Neither virgins nor brides entering the bridal chamber exceed her charms. Over all ⁷women is

her beauty supreme, her loveliness far above them all. Yet with all this comeliness, she possesses great wisdom, and all that she has "is beautiful.

Pharaoh takes Sarai for himself. Abraham grieves and prays for God to judge Pharaoh and protect Sarai.

When the king heard Hyrcanos's words and those of his companions—for the three of them spoke of one accord—he desired her very much. So he sent "immediately and had her brought to him. He saw her and was amazed at her beauty. Thereupon, he took her as his wife and sought to kill me, but Sarai said "to the king, "He is my brother." Thus she benefited me and I was spared—I, Abram—by her good graces, and not killed. Then I wept copiously—I, "Abram—both I and Lot, my nephew, that night when Sarai was taken from me by force.

¹²That night I prayed, entreating and seeking mercy. In anguish, tears running down my cheeks, I said, "Blessed are You, O God Most High, Eternal ¹³Lord, for You are Lord and Master over all. Over all the kings of the earth You are Lord, to work justice among them. And now, ¹⁴I seek redress, O Lord, against the Pharaoh of Zoan, king of Egypt, for my wife has been taken from me by force. Render me a verdict against him, and display Your mighty hand ¹⁵against him and all his house. May he not be empowered this night to defile my wife! Thus they may know You, O my Lord, that You are Lord over all the kings ¹⁶of the earth." So I wept and spoke to none.

God answers Abraham's prayer, sending an afflicting spirit against Pharaoh.

That night God Most High sent a baneful spirit to smite him and every man of his household, an evil ¹⁷spirit that continued to afflict him and every man of his household. Consequently, he was unable to have sexual relations with her; indeed, he did not have intercourse with her even though she was with him ¹⁸two full years. At the end of two years the plagues and afflictions grew yet more severe against him and every man of his household, so he sent messengers ¹⁹calling for all [the wise men] of Egypt, along with all the magicians and healers of Egypt, thinking that perhaps they could cure him and his household of this pestilence. ²⁰Yet none of the healers, magicians, and wise men were able to cure him; on the contrary, the spirit afflicted all of them, too, ²¹so that they fled.

Abraham agrees to exorcise Pharaoh's evil spirit in return for Sarai's being restored to him. Pharaoh rewards them and has them escorted out of Egypt.

Then Hyrcanos came to me, asking me to come pray for the ²²king, and to lay hands upon him and cure him—for [he had seen me] in a dream. But Lot replied, "My uncle, Abram, is unable to pray for ²³the king while Sarai, his wife, remains with him. Now, go tell the king to send his wife to her husband. Then he will pray for him and he will be cured."²⁴When Hyrcanos

heard Lot's words, he went and told the king, "All these smitings and plagues²⁵ by which my lord the king has been smitten and afflicted are because of Sarai, the wife of Abram! Let him return Sarai to Abram, her husband,²⁶ and this plague will depart from you, that is, the spirit causing the discharges of pus."

So he called me to himself and asked me, "What have you done to me because of your wife [Sar]ai? You told²⁷ me, 'She is my sister,' yet she was actually your wife! I took her as my own wife! Here she is; take her, go, depart from²⁸ all the provinces of Egypt! But first, pray for me and my house that this evil spirit may be exorcised from us." So I prayed for him, that blasphemer,²⁹ and laid my hands upon his [he]ad. Thereupon the plague was removed from him, the evil [spirit] exorcised [from him,] and he was healed. The king rose and [in]formed³⁰ me . . . and the king swore to me with an oath that [he had not touched] her. Then [they brought] m[e] ³¹S[ar]ai. The king gave her much [silver and g]old, and great quantities of linen and purple-dyed garments [. . .] [he put them] ³²before her, and before Hagar as well. He restored her to me and assigned men to escort [me out of Egypt . . .]

Abraham returns to Canaan.

³³So I, Abram, left, with many, many flocks, together with silver and gold, and went up from [Egyp]t. [Lot,] ³⁴my nephew, accompanied me, and he also had acquired many flocks for himself, and had taken a wife from among the daughters [of Egypt]. I [cam]ped [with him] **Col. 22** ¹[in] each of my former encampments until I reached Bethel, where I had once erected an altar. Now I rebuilt it ²and offered up burnt offerings and a cereal offering to God Most High. There I called upon the name of the Eternal Lord and praised the name of God. I blessed ³God and gave thanks to Him there for all the flocks and goods He had given me, and for the good that He had done me, and because He had returned me ⁴to this land safely.

Lot separates from Abraham and goes to live in Sodom. Genesis 13:6-7 explains that the land could not support both of them, for their flocks were too numerous; also, their herders were fighting one another. The Tales downplays these difficulties. God appears to Abraham in a vision.

⁵After this day Lot separated from me because of the actions of our shepherds. He went to live in the valley of the Jordan, taking all his flocks ⁶with him. I also added greatly to what he had. He pastured his flocks and kept on the move until he reached Sodom, where he bought himself a house ⁷and settled down to live. I myself continued living on the mountain of Bethel, and thought it unwise that my nephew Lot had separated from me.

⁸Thereafter God appeared to me in a vision of the night and told me, "Go up to Ramath-Hazor, which is on the north of⁹ Bethel where you now live, and lift up your eyes. Look to the east, west, south, and north. Survey all ¹⁰this

land that I am about to give to you and your descendants forever." So I went up the next day to Ramath-Hazor and surveyed the land from ¹¹that height, from the River of Egypt to Lebanon and Senir, and from the Mediterranean to the Hauran, and all the land of Gebal as far as Kadesh, and all the ¹²Great Desert to the east of the Hauran and Senir as far as the Euphrates. And He said to me, "I will give all this land to your descendants; they will inherit it forever. ¹³Moreover, I will multiply your descendants like the dust of the earth that none can count. Your descendants shall be numberless. Arise, walk about, go ¹⁴see how long and how wide it is, for I will give it to you and to your descendants after you, forever."

Abraham surveys the promised land.

¹⁵Then I went—I, Abram—traveling in a circuit to survey the land. I began the circuit at the Gihon River, traveling along the Mediterranean until ¹⁶I reached the Mount of the Ox. I circled from the coast of this great saltwater sea, skirting the Mount of the Ox, and continued eastward through the breadth of the land ¹⁷until I came to the Euphrates River. I journeyed along the Euphrates until I reached the Red Sea in the east, whence I followed the coast of ¹⁸the Red Sea until I came to the tongue of the Reed Sea, jutting out from the Red Sea. From there I completed the circuit, moving southward to arrive at the Gihon ¹⁹River. Afterwards I returned home safely and found all my men well.

Shortly thereafter I went to dwell at the Oaks of Mamre that are in Hebron, ²⁰actually somewhat to the northeast of Hebron. There I built an altar and offered up a burnt offering and a cereal offering to God Most High. I ate and drank there, ²¹I and all the men of my household, and invited Mamre, Arnem, and Eshkol, three Amorite brothers and my friends. They ate and drank together ²²with me.

Abraham battles the four kings of the east. Compare Genesis 14, whose narrative this portion of the Tales elaborates considerably. The author of the Tales is also concerned to update or identify the names of biblical peoples and places.

²³Prior to those days Chedorlaomer, the king of Elam, Amraphel, the king of Babylon, Arioch, the king of Cappadocia, and Tidal, the king of Goiim, which ²⁴lies between the two rivers had come. They had waged war on Bera, the king of Sodom, Birsha, the king of Gomorrah, Shinab, the king of Admah, ²⁵Shemiabad, the king of Zeboiim, and the king of Bela. All these gathered themselves together to battle in the Valley of Siddim. Now, the king of ²⁶Elam and the kings with him proved stronger than the king of Sodom and all his allies. Thus they imposed tribute upon them.

For twelve years they continued ²⁷to pay their tribute to the king of Elam, but in the thirteenth they rebelled against him. Consequently, in the four-

teenth year the king of Elam sallied forth with all ²⁸his allies, and they ascended by way of the desert. They smote and plundered beginning from the Euphrates. They kept smiting—smiting the Rephaim who were in Asteroth—²⁹Kernaim, the Zumzammim who were in Amman, the Emim [who were in] Shaveh-Hakerioth, and the Horites who were in the mountains of Gebal—until they reached El- ³⁰Paran, in the desert. Then they turned back and struck [En-mishpat and the people] who were in Hazazon-Tamar.

³¹Thereupon the king of Sodom went out to confront them, along with the king of [Gomorra]h, the king of Admah, the king of Zeboim and the king of Bela. [They waged war ³²in the Valley of [Siddim] with Chedorla[omer, the king of Elam, and the kings] who were his allies. The king of Sodom was put to flight, while the king of Gomorra]h ³³fell into pits [of tar . . .] The king of Elam plundered all the flocks of Sodom and ³⁴[Gomorra]h . . .]

And Lot, Abram's nephew who had been living in Sodom, was taken captive **Col. 23** ¹along with them, he and all his flocks. One of the herdsmen of the ²flock that Abram had given Lot escaped from the captives and came to Abram—at the time Abram ³dwelled in Hebron. The herdsman informed him that his nephew Lot and all his flocks had been taken into captivity, but that Lot had not been killed. He also told him that ⁴the kings were marching along the trail of the Great Valley toward their own territory, taking captives and plunder, smiting and killing, heading ⁵for the city of Damascus.

Abram wept over his nephew Lot, but then gathered his strength and arose ⁶to select from among his servants elite warriors, three hundred and eighteen of them. Arnem, ⁷Eshcol, and Mamreh set out with him. He pursued the kings as far as Dan, where he found them ⁸encamped in the Valley of Dan. He attacked by night from four directions, killing ⁹some of them that night. Some he slaughtered, others he pursued; they fled before him ¹⁰until they reached Helbon, located to the north of Damascus. Thus Abram recovered from them everyone they had taken captive ¹¹and everything they had taken as spoils, and despoiled their own property as well. He further saved his nephew Lot and all his flocks. All ¹²those who had been captured he brought back.

The king of Sodom heard that Abram had recovered all the captives ¹³and plunder, so he went up to meet him. He came to Salem, that is, Jerusalem, whereas Abram was encamped in the Valley ¹⁴of Shaveh, that is, the Valley of the King, the Valley of Beth Hakerem. Now Melchizedek, the king of Salem, provided ¹⁵food and drink for Abram and all the men with him. He himself was a priest of God Most High, and he blessed ¹⁶Abram, saying, "Blessed be Abram by God Most High, the Lord of heaven and earth. Blessed be God Most High ¹⁷who has closed your grasp about your enemies." Then Abram gave him a tithe of all the flocks that had belonged to the king of Elam and his allies.

¹⁸At that point the king of Sodom drew near and said to Abram, "My lord Abram, ¹⁹give me my men, the captives with you, whom you have rescued from the king of Elam; as for the plunder, ²⁰let it all pass to you." Abram replied to the king of Sodom, "I lift my ²¹hand and swear this day by God Most High, the Lord of heaven and earth: I shall not take even a thread or sandal strap ²²from all that is yours, lest you go on to say 'All Abram's wealth derives from plunder of what ²³once was mine.' I exempt from this oath what my men have already eaten, and the portion belonging to the three men who ²⁴marched with me. They are sovereign over their own portion, and can restore it to you or not." So Abram returned all the plunder and ²⁵captives, giving them to the king of Sodom. As for all the captives accompanying him who were natives of this land, these he freed ²⁶and sent on their way.

God appears to Abraham in a vision, and promises that Eliezer shall not be his heir. Compare Genesis 15:1-4; the Tales manifests a clear concern with chronology here, for Genesis says nothing about how long Abraham had been in various places. The dialogue between God and Abraham is also markedly different, here emphasizing Abraham's wealth much more than the biblical narrative does.

²⁷After these events God appeared to Abram in a vision and said to him, "Consider, ten full years ²⁸have passed since the day that you left Haran. Two you spent here, seven in Egypt, and one ²⁹has passed since you returned from Egypt. Now, take an accounting of all that you possess; note how your possessions have doubled and more, compared to ³⁰what you took with you the day you left Haran. So fear not, I am with you. I shall be your ³¹support, your strength. I myself shall be your shield and buckler against any foe mightier than you. Your wealth and flocks ³²shall multiply exceedingly."

Abram replied, "My Lord God, my wealth and flocks are already vast. But what good are ³³all [th]ese things to me, inasmuch as when I die, I go childless, having no sons? In fact, one of my household staff will inherit what I have. ³⁴Eliezer, a member of [my household staff], that [. . .] young man is set to be my heir." God said to him, "No, this man shall not be your heir, but rather one who shall be [your own] issue [. . .]"

—M.O.W.

3. THANKSGIVING PSALMS (THE THANKSGIVING SCROLL)

1QH, 1Q35, 4Q427-432

The intensely personal tone of the songs known commonly as *Thanksgiving Psalms* stands in sharp contrast to that of the rest of the scrolls. The author speaks of himself in the first person and recounts an agonizing history of

persecution at the hands of those opposed to his ministry. In addition, the writer describes having received an empowering spirit granting him special insight into God's will (1QH 4:26), opening his ears to wonderful divine mysteries (9:21), using him as a channel of God's works (12:8), and fashioning him as a mouthpiece for God's words (16:16). Indeed, in col. 26, he claims that no one compares with him, because his office is among the heavenly beings (see 4Q427 frag. 7, col. 1, ll. 11–12). These are bold affirmations for any leader, reminiscent of those of various messianic claimants of both ancient and more recent history.

The unique personal presentation of the work and the self-conscious divine mission of the author have led many researchers to conclude that the psalms were written by the Teacher of Righteousness himself. Some students have attempted a more refined analysis in order to isolate "true" Teacher psalms (cols. 10–16 according to one, 13–16 in the eyes of another), but the same dramatic themes are present throughout: (1) man is a vessel of clay and prone to sin; (2) God is creator and determiner of all things; (3) the wicked persecute the righteous, but God sustains. Only in frag. 10 of 1QH (here translated between cols. 18 and 19) and col. 27 (best preserved in 4Q427 frag. 7, col. 2) is there a distinct change in the text's character. The "I" becomes "we," reflecting a group rather than individual experience.

The name for this collection of psalms reflects the repeated introductory phrase, "I give thanks to You, O Lord." A secondary formula, "Blessed are You, O Lord," appears as a variant. Given the fragmentary nature of the manuscript, only twenty of these introductions are evident, but at least ten additional songs can be identified on the basis of context. The original work may have contained as many as fifty psalms. The large percentage of overlap between the eight surviving manuscripts, indicating that somewhat more than half of the total text has survived, supports this possibility.

Old Testament vocabulary and phraseology so abound in the *Thanksgiving Psalms* that readers feel they have entered a virtual mosaic of biblical quotations. The Psalms, Isaiah (especially chaps. 40–55), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Job, and Proverbs are the prominent sources. Yet, surprisingly, only one passage can be considered an actual quotation (1QH 10:29–30 quotes Ps. 26:12). It thus follows that, in stark contrast to the New Testament and rabbinic literature, there are no quotation formulas: "thus says the Lord"; "as it is written in the book of . . ." The only possible such formula appears in 1QH 4:12, where reference is made to the fact that God spoke through Moses. Nevertheless, despite the absence of actual quotations, biblical imagery and language do prevail.

The large number of copies of the *Thanksgiving Psalms*—and the few significant differences between them—underscores the importance of the composition. *Thanksgiving Psalms* may have enjoyed a "canonical" status among some readers.

The order of the columns presented here differs from previous publications. With some slight modifications, the translation follows the results of scrolls scholar Emile Puech.*

The first three columns of the Thanksgiving Psalms have survived only in very fragmentary form. The first running text begins here, thanking God for delivering the psalmist from sin and judgment.

1QH (1QHodayot*) Col. 4 ⁹[I give thanks to You, O Lord, for] from hidden things whic[h . . . wh]ich they do not overtake them in [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] and from the judgment of the tim[es of wickedness . . . th]oughts of wickedness [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] and by the judgment of [. . . You have delivered] Your servant from all his sins [. . . and by the abundance of] Your compassion, ¹²[just as You spoke] by Moses [that You would forgive transgression,] iniquity and sin and make atonement for [iniquity] and faithlessness. ¹³[For] the foundations of the mountains [shall quake], fire [shall burn] in Sheol below, and [You shall . . .] the [. . .] by Your judgments. ¹⁴[. . .] for those that serve You in faithfulness [th]at their offspring might be in Your presence forever. And You have determined [. . .] there, ¹⁵[forgiving every] transgression and casting away all their [iniquities], giving them all the glory of man (or Adam) as an inheritance [along with] long life.

Thanks to God for his righteousness.

¹⁷[I give thanks to You, O Lord, . . .] by the spirits which You have given me. I will [fin]d the proper reply to declare Your righteous deeds, patience, ¹⁸[abundant loving-kindne]ss, the deeds of Your strong right hand, forgiveness of the sins of my ancestors; p[raying] and making supplication for ¹⁹[. . .] my deeds and the perverseness of my heart. For in filth I have wallowed and from the council of [. . .] I [. . .] and I did not join myself ²⁰[to Your congregation. (?) . . .] righteousness is Yours, and praise belongs to Your name forev[er. . .] Your righteousness. Let [Your servant (?)] be ransomed ²¹[and] the wicked perish. I have understood that [You determine] the way of the one You have chosen, and in the insight ²²[of Your truth You] keep him from sinning against You; restoring to him his humility by Your chastisements, and by [Your] tria[ls . . .] his heart. ²³[Keep] Your servant from sinning against You and from stumbling over all the words of Your will. Strengthen [. . .] against the spirits of ²⁴[wickedness to] walk in all that You love, and despise all that You hate, [and to do] that which is good in Your eyes. ²⁵[Destroy] their [domi]nion in my bowels, for Your servant has a fleshly spirit.

Thanks to God for granting his covenant (?).

²⁶[I give thanks to You, O Lord, for] You have spread [Your] holy spirit over Your servant [. . .] his heart ²⁷[. . .] and I examine every human

*Emile Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 39 (1988): 38–55.

covenant [. . .] they shall find it ²⁰[. . .] and those that love it [. . .] for ever and ever.

Thanks to God for making his glory known.

Col. 5 ¹[. . .]. ²[. . .] that fools might understand [. . .] of eternity ³[. . .] and that humankind might understand [. . .] flesh and the council of the spirit[s . . .] they walked ⁴[. . . Blessed are] You, O Lord, w[ho . . .] breadth of [. . .] in the power of Your strength ⁵[. . .] with an abundance of good [. . .] and the zeal of [Your] judgment [. . . un]searchable. All ⁶[. . .] all understanding and [. . .] and the mysteries of the plan and the mysterie[s of . . .] You have determined ⁷[. . .] holiness is from [eternity] past to the end of time. You are [the Lord . . . of the] saints ⁸[. . . in the council of Your truth] and in the mysteries of Your wonder [. . . be]cause of Your glory and in the depth of [. . .] Your insight, [. . .] has not ⁹[. . .] You have revealed the paths of . . . and the works of evil, wisdom and foll[y . . .] righteousness ¹⁰[. . .] their works. Truth and . . . and folly [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] and eternal mercies to all [who walk] in peace, but ruin [. . .] ¹²their [. . .] eternal glory [. . . and] eternal joy for the work of [. . .] ¹³[. . .]

And it is these which [You] de[termined . . .] to judge them. [You determined] ¹⁴all Your works before You created them, together with the host of Your spirits and the assembly of [Your holy ones], Your holy expanse [and all] ¹⁵its hosts, together with the earth and all that springs from it, in the seas and the deeps [according to] all Your designs for the end of time ¹⁶and the eternal visitation. For You have determined them from of old, and also the work of [unrighteousness . . .] in them so that ¹⁷they may tell of Your glory throughout all Your dominion, for You have shown them that which shall not [. . .] of old and creating ¹⁸new things, breaking down those things established from of old and [setting up] that which shall be forever. For You [. . .] and You continue ¹⁹for ever and ever. By the mysteries of Your insight [You] assigned all these things to make Your glory known. [But what is] the spirit of flesh that it might understand ²⁰all these things and obtain insight into the council of [Your] great [wonders]? And what is one born of woman among all [Your] awesome [works]? He is but ²¹an edifice of dust, kneaded with water, [. . .] his foundation is obscene shame [. . .] and a perverted spirit ruled ²²him.

If he acts wickedly, he will become [a sign for] eternity and a sign to the generations, [. . . to all] flesh. Only by Your goodness ²³shall a man be justified, and by the abundance of [Your] compass[ion . . .] with Your splendor You glorify him, and You [satisfy him with an abu]ndance of delights; with eternal peace ²⁴and long life. For [You have spoken and] Your word will not depart.

And I, Your servant, know, ²⁵by the spirit which You placed in me [that Your words are true] and all Your works are just and Your word will not

depart. And [. . .] ²⁶Your times are appointed [. . .] chosen for their delight. And I shall know [. . .] ²⁷and wicked [. . .] to consider [. . .] ²⁸[. . .] Your [s]pirits and [. . .]

Thanks to God, who purifies his elect.

Col. 6 ¹[. . .] in Your people and [. . .] ²[. . .] our ears [. . .] men of truth and [. . .] ³[. . .] insight and seekers of understanding [. . .] lovers of compassion and the humble of spirit, purified of ⁴[. . . by] affliction and purified by the crucible of [. . .] who strengthen themselves until [. . .] Your judgments ⁵[. . .] and those watching out for Your salvation [. . .] and You have established Your statutes [among them] to do ⁶[. . . to jud]ge the world and to distribute the inheritance among all [. . .] of holiness for fu[tur]e generations and all ⁷[. . .] their works with [. . .] the men of Your vision.

Thanks to God, who gives understanding.

⁸[I give thanks to You,] O Lord, who places understanding in the heart of [Your] serv[ant,] ⁹[so that he might . . . al]l of these things and [. . .] and refrain from wanton works of wickedness, and bless ¹⁰[Your holy name and the words of] Your will. [That he might walk in all whi]ch You love, and abhor all which ¹¹[You hate . . .] Your servant [. . .] humankind. For by their spirits You distinguish between ¹²the good and the wicked, [. . .] their work. And I know by Your understanding, ¹³that by Your favor for m[an . . .] Your holy [sp]irit, and thus You bring me to Your understanding. As ¹⁴I draw near, I become zealous against all those who practice wickedness and men of deceit. For none who are near You speak against Your command, ¹⁵and none who know You pervert Your words. For You are righteous, and all Your chosen ones are truth. All injustice ¹⁶[and w]ickedness You destroy for ever. Thus Your righteousness is revealed before all Your creatures.

¹⁷And I know by the abundance of Your goodness, and by the oath I placed upon myself that I should not sin against You ¹⁸[and] that I should not do anything which is evil in Your eyes. And thus I was brought into association (or in the *Yahad*) with all the men of my council. In accordance with ¹⁹a man's insight I will advance him, and in accordance with the abundance of his inheritance I will love him. I will not consider an evil man, nor shall I acknowledge a b[ribe] from the w[icked]. ²⁰I will [not] exchange Your truth for wealth, nor any of Your judgments for a bribe. For wh[en You draw a ma]n [near], ²¹[I lov]e him, and when You remove him, I will abhor him. Indeed, I will not bring into the council of [Your] t[ruth those that] have turned ²²[from] Your cove[nant].

Thanks to God, who forgives those who repent and judges the wicked.

²³[I give thanks to You,] O Lord, in accordance with Your great strength and Your abundant wonders, for ever and ev[er . . .] and [Your] great ²⁴[mercy . . .] Who forgives those who turn from sin, but judges the iniquity

of the wicked. [You love righteousness] with a generous ²⁵[heart (?) . . .] but You hate injustice for ever. And as for me, Your servant, You have favored me with the spirit of knowledge [. . .]²⁶[. . .] and to abhor every unjust way. So I love You freely and with all [my] heart [I bless] You, ²⁷[I give thanks for] Your insight. For this gift has come from Your hand and without [. . .]²⁸[. . .] thus flesh shall rule [. . .]²⁹[. . .] him built the [. . .] with help [. . .]³⁰[. . .] the expanse upon the wings of the wind and [. . .]

Col. 7 ¹beneath [. . .] ⁴[. . .] ⁵compassion [. . .] ⁶for [. . .] ⁷because [. . .]. ⁸[Blessed are You . . .] ⁹[. . .] And they [shall] love You for ever and [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] And I love You freely and with all my heart, and with all my being I have cleansed [. . .] ¹¹[that I might not] depart from all that You have commanded. I will take hold of many (or the general membership) from [. . . so that I might not] ¹²depart from all Your statutes.

I know by Your understanding that it is not by human strength [. . .] a man's ¹³way is [not] in himself, nor is a person able to determine his step. But I know that in Your hand is the inclination of every spirit [. . . and all] his [works] ¹⁴You have determined before ever You created him. How should any be able to change Your words? You alone have [creat]ed ¹⁵the righteous one, and from the womb You established him to give heed to Your covenant at the appointed time of grace and to walk in all things, nourishing him ¹⁶in the abundance of Your compassion, and relieving all the distress of his soul for an eternal salvation and everlasting peace without want. Thus You raise ¹⁷his glory above the mortal. But the wicked You created for [the time of] Your [w]rath, and from the womb You set them apart for the day of slaughter. ¹⁸For they walk in a way which is not profitable, and they reject Your covenant and their soul abhors Your truth. They have no delight in all that ¹⁹You have commanded, but they choose that which You hate. All [. . .] You have prepared them in order to execute great judgments among them ²⁰before all Your creatures that they might be a sign [. . .] eternal, so that all might know Your glory and great power. ²¹And what indeed is a mere human that it might have insight into [. . .] how is dust able to determine its step?

²²You Yourself have formed the spirit, and its activity You have determined, [. . .] and from You is the way of all life. I know that ²³no wealth compares with Your truth, and [. . .] Your holiness. I know that You have chosen them above all ²⁴and for ever they shall serve You. You will not receive [a bribe . . .] nor a cover-up for the deeds of wickedness, for ²⁵You are a God of truth, and You [abhor] all injustice [. . .] shall not be before You. [For] I know ²⁶that [. . .] is Yours [. . .] do and I shall [. . .] Your holiness [. . .] ²⁷[. . .] for in [. . .]

Thanks to God, for all things are his works.

Col. 8 ¹[. . .] all [. . .] ²[. . .] to sanctify without [. . .] He brought into the number of ³[. . .] for ever. [. . .] source of wickedness [. . .] in heaven

and on earth ⁴[. . .] to sanctify in accordance with all [Your] works [. . .] and in Your hand is the judgment of them all ⁵[. . .] and stiff necked spirit [. . .] to silence [. . .] and what are they regarded [. . .] ⁶[. . .] to give ear to a glorious voice [. . .] and nothing is done ⁷[. . .] a perverse [sp]irit of injustice [. . .] and according to Your counsel he (?) visited [. . .] ⁸[. . .] with . . . ⁹[. . .] to [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] ¹¹by [Your] ho[ly] spirit [. . .] and he (?) shall not [. . .] ¹²[Your] hol[y] spirit [. . .] the fullness of [heav]en [and] earth [. . .] Your [g]lory, the fullness of [. . .] ¹³And I know that in [Your] will for man You have multiplied [. . .] Your truth in all [. . .] ¹⁴and the place of righteousness [. . .] which You appointed him [. . .] to stumble in all [. . .] ¹⁵By my knowledge of all these things I will find the proper reply, prostrating myself and [. . .] for my rebellion, seeking a spirit of [. . .] ¹⁶encouraging myself by [Your] h[oly] spirit, clinging to the truth of Your covenant, [serv]ing You in truth and a perfect heart, and loving [Your holy name.] ¹⁷Blessed are You, O Lord, Creator of [a]ll things and gr[eat] in deed because all things are Your works. Behold, You have determined to b[e] merciful [with me] ¹⁸and be gracious to me by the spirit of Your compassion and [the . . . of] Your glory. You alone possess righteousness, for You have done [all these things]. ¹⁹And because I know that You have recorded the spirit of the righteous, I myself have chosen to purify my hands in accordance with Your wil[l]. The soul of Your servant a[bho]rs every ²⁰work of injustice. I know that no one can be righteous apart from You. And I entreat Your favor by that spirit which You have given [me], to fulfill ²¹Your [mer]cy with [Your] servant for [ever], to cleanse me by Your holy spirit, and to bring me near by Your grace according to Your great mercy [. . .] in [. . .] ²²the places of [. . .] the place of [Your] wi[l]l which You have chos[en] for those who love You and keep [Your] comma[nd]ments ²³before You [for e]ver [. . . has not] been mingled with the spirit of Your servant, and with all the deed[s of inju]st[ice]. ²⁴[. . .] And do not allow [. . .] before him any affliction which causes a falling away from the statutes of Your covenant. For [. . .] ²⁵g[lo]ry, and Yo[u are . . .] and compassionate, patient [and . . .] mercy and truth and forgiving transgression [. . .] ²⁶and moved to pity upon [. . .] and those who keep [Your] precep[ts], turning to You with faith and with a perfect heart [. . .] ²⁷to serve You [and to do that which is] good in Your eyes. Do not turn the face of Your servant away [. . .] the son of [Your] maidservant [. . .] ²⁸[. . .] And I, because of Your words [. . .]

Thanks to God for the wonders of his creation.

Col. 9 ³eternal [. . .] ⁴in them and jud[g]ment . . .] For [. . .] ⁵and source of stren[g]th . . .] great in counsel [. . .] without number, and Your zeal ⁶before [. . .] patient in judgment [and Yo]u are righteous in all Your works. ⁷By Your wisdom [You have establish]ed the successive [generations] and before

You created them You knew {all} their works "for ever and ever. [For apart from You no]thing is done, and without Your will nothing is known. You have formed "every spirit and [You determined their] de[eds] and judgment for all their works.

You have stretched out the heavens ¹⁰for Your glory, You [formed] all [their hosts] according to Your will, and the powerful spirits according to their laws, before ¹¹they became [Your holy] angels [. . .], as eternal spirits in their dominions, luminaries for their mysteries, ¹²stars according to [their] paths, [and all the storm winds] according to their duty, meteors and lightning bolts according to their service, and the storehouses ¹³designed for their needs [. . .] for their secrets.

You have created the earth with Your strength, ¹⁴seas and deeps [. . . and] their [. . .] You have determined in Your wisdom, and all that is in them ¹⁵You have determined according to Your will. [You appointed them] for the spirit of man whom You have formed upon the earth, for all the days of eternity ¹⁶and the everlasting generations in accordance with [their] w[orks . . .] in their ordained seasons. You apportioned their service in all their generations and judgm[en]t ¹⁷for its appointed times for the domin[ion of] their [. . .] for successive generations and judgment for their retribution as well as ¹⁸all their punishments. [. . .] You have apportioned it to all their offspring according to the number of everlasting generations ¹⁹and for all the years of eternity [. . .] and in the wisdom of Your knowledge You determined their destiny before ²⁰they came into existence and according [to Your will] everything come[s to pass], and nothing happens apart from You.

²¹These things I know through Your understanding, for You have opened my ears to wonderful mysteries even though I am a vessel of clay and kneaded with water, ²²a foundation of shame and a spring of filth, a melting pot of iniquity and a structure of sin, a spirit of error, perverted without ²³understanding and terrified by righteous judgments. What can I say that is not known and declare that is not told? Everything ²⁴is engraved before You with the ink of remembrance for all the times of eternity, for the numbered seasons of eternal years in all their appointed times. ²⁵Nothing is hidden, nor does anything exist apart from Your presence. How shall a man explain his sin, and how shall he defend his iniquities, ²⁶and how can he return injustice for righteous judgment? You are God of knowledge, all righteous works and true counsel belong to You; ²⁷sinful service and the deceitful works belong to the sons of men.

You created ²⁸breath for the tongue, and You know its words. You determined the fruit of the lips before they came about. You appoint words by a measuring line ²⁹and the utterance of the breath of the lips by calculation. You bring forth the measuring lines in respect to their mysteries, and the utterances of spirits in accordance with their plan in order to make known ³⁰Your glory and recount Your wonders in all Your works of truth and Your

righteous jud[gments] and to praise Your name ³¹openly, so that all who know You might bless You according to their insight for ever [and ever].

And You, in Your compassion ³²and Your great mercy, have steeled the spirit of man against the agony of [. . .]. You have cleansed it from the abundance of iniquity, ³³that it might recount Your wonders before all Your creatures. [. . .] the judgments of my afflictions, ³⁴and to humankind all the wonders which You have confirmed [. . .]

Hearken, ³⁵O wise men, you who meditate upon knowledge but are reckless. Be of steadfast mind [. . .] increase prudence. ³⁶O you righteous, put an end to injustice. All you whose way is perfect take hold of [. . .] of the destitute. ³⁷Be patient and do not reject any [of the commandments of God. But the fo]lish at heart do not understand ³⁸these things, but by the counsel of [Your] tru[th . . .] ³⁹[. . . and the brutal will gnash their teeth . . .]

Thanks to God for his salvation.

Col. 10 '[. . .] ²[. . .] ³[. . . (1QH + 4Q432 Frag. 3) You set straight] all the works of injustice [in my heart . . .] ⁴[. . . You] set [truth before me and the reprov]ers of righteousness in every [. . .] ⁵[. . .] crushed by bl[ow]s of [the comforters of . . .] and proclaimers of joy for [my] deep so[rr]ow, ⁶[proclaiming p]eace for all [my] destruction [. . .] the strong to make me lose heart, and those who increase ⁷[ago]ny before me. Then You give the appropriate reply to my unci[rcumcised] lips, and You support my soul by strengthening my loins ⁸and restoring my strength. You determine my steps within the domain of wickedness. So I become a trap for the rebellious, and a cure for all ⁹who turn from rebellion; prudence for the fool, and a steadfast mind for all the reckless. You have appointed me as an object of shame ¹⁰and derision to the faithless, but a foundation of truth and understanding for the upright. And because of the iniquity of the wicked, I have become ¹¹slander on the lips of the brutal, and scoffers gnash their teeth. I have become a taunt-song for the rebellious, ¹²and the assembly of the wicked have stormed against me. They roar like a gale on the seas, when their waves churn, ¹³they cast up slime and mud. But You have appointed me as a banner for the chosen of righteousness, and an informed mediator of wonderful mysteries, so as to test ¹⁴[the men] of truth and to try the lovers of correction. I have become a man of contention for the mediators of error, ¹⁵but a purveyor of peace unto all the seers of righteousness. I have become impassioned against those who seek flat[tery], ¹⁶[so that all] the men of deceit roar against me, as the sound of the thunder of mighty waters. [All] their thoughts are as the plots of Belial ¹⁷and they have transformed a man's life, whom You established by my word and whom You taught understanding, into a pitfall. ¹⁸You placed it in his heart to open up the source of knowledge to all who understand. But they

have changed them, through uncircumcised lips ¹⁹and a strange message, into a people with no understanding, that they might be ruined in their delusion.

Thanks to God for protection.

²⁰I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have placed me in the bundle of the living, ²¹and You protect me from all the snares of the pit. Brutal men seek my soul, while I hold fast ²²to Your covenant. They are the fraudulent council for the congregation of Belial, they do not know that my office is from You. ²³By Your mercies You save my life, my steps are with You. But because of You they attack ²⁴me, that You may be honored through the judgment of the wicked, and that You may strengthen me against the children ²⁵of men, for I stand in Your mercy. I myself have said, mighty men have camped against me, they have surrounded me with all ²⁶their weapons of war. Arrows burst forth without ceasing, and the blade of the spear devours trees as fire. ²⁷Like the roar of mighty waters is the uproar of their voice; a cloudburst and a downpour to destroy many. As catapults (?), wickedness and fraud burst out ²⁸when their waves pile up. As for me, when my heart melts like water, my soul becomes strong in Your covenant. ²⁹But as for them, the net, which they spread for me, will catch their own feet. And snares, which they hid for me, they themselves fall into. Meanwhile, "my foot stands on level ground. ³⁰Far from their congregation I will bless Your name" (Ps. 26:12).

Thanks to God for deliverance from persecution.

³¹I give thanks to You, O Lord, for Your eye sta[nds] over my soul, and You have delivered me from the jealousy of the mediators of lies ³²and from the congregation of those who seek flattery. You have redeemed the soul of the poor one, whom they planned to put to an end, ³³pouring out his blood because he served You. Because they [did not kn]ow that my steps are directed by You, they appointed me for shame ³⁴and scorn in the mouth of all those who seek deceit. But You, my God, have helped the soul of the destitute and the poor ³⁵against one stronger than he. You have redeemed my soul from the hand of the mighty. In the midst of their reviling You have not terrified me, ³⁶that I might abandon Your service for fear of ruin at the hands of the wicked, or exchange a steadfast mind which [. . .] for a delusion. ³⁷[. . .] statutes, and by the attestations given to their ears ³⁸[. . .] for all [their] offspring ³⁹[. . .] among Your disciples, and [. . .]

Thanks to God for deliverance from the torments of enemies.

Col. 11 ¹[. . .] and in me [. . .] ²[. . .] ³[. . .] You have made my face to shine [. . .] ⁴[. . .] for Yourself, with eternal glory together with all [. . .] ⁵[. . .] Your mouth, and You have delivered me from [. . .] and from [. . .] ⁶[. . .] now [my] soul [. . . for] they did [not] esteem me. They set [my] soul

as a boat in the depths of the sea,⁷ and as a fortified city befo[re her enemy]. I am in distress, as a woman about to give birth to her firstborn. For her pangs come over her,⁸ and she has excruciating pain at the mouth of her womb, writhing in the womb of the one who is pregnant. For children come into life through the breakers of death,⁹ and she who is pregnant with a male child is afflicted by her birth pains. For through the breakers of death she delivers a male child, through the pains of Sheol there bursts forth¹⁰ from the womb of the pregnant one, a wonderful counselor with his strength. A male child is safely delivered from the breakers. Into the one who is pregnant with him rush all¹¹ the breakers, and excruciating pains when they are born, and terror to their mothers. And when he is born, all pangs come suddenly¹² to the womb of the pregnant one. And she that is pregnant with wickedness experiences excruciating pain, and the breakers of the pit for all works of terror.¹³ And the foundations of the wall break as a ship upon the water, and the clouds thunder with a roar. Those who dwell in the dust,¹⁴ as well as those who go down to the sea are terrified by the roar of the water, and their wise men are for them as sailors on the deeps.¹⁵ For all their wisdom is swallowed up by the roar of the seas, when the ocean depths boil over the springs of water, and they are tossed up to the towering waves¹⁶ and breakers by their roar. And when they are tossed up, Sh[eo]l [and Abaddon] shall open. [And all] the arrows of the pit,¹⁷ when they descend into the deep, shout out, and the gates [of Sheol] open [for all] the works of wickedness.¹⁸ Then the doors of the pit shut up the one who is pregnant with injustice, and the eternal bars shut up the spirits of wickedness.

Thanks to God who delivers earthly man.

¹⁹I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have redeemed my soul from the pit. From Sheol and Abaddon ²⁰You have raised me up to an eternal height, so that I might walk about on a limitless plain, and know that there is hope for him whom ²¹You created from the dust for the eternal council. The perverse spirit You have cleansed from great transgression, that he might take his stand with ²²the host of the holy ones, and enter together (*or* in the *Yahad*) with the congregation of the sons of heaven. And for man, You have allotted an eternal destiny with the spirits ²³of knowledge, to praise Your name together with shouts of joy, and to recount Your wonders before all Your creatures. But I, a creature of ²⁴clay, what am I? Kneaded with water, for whom am I to be reckoned, and what is my strength? For I have taken my stand within the domain of wickedness,²⁵ and I am with the wretched by lot. The soul of the poor dwells with great tumults, thus great disasters accompany my steps.²⁶ When all the traps of the pit open, and all the wicked snares and the net of the wretched ones are spread out on the water,²⁷ when all the arrows of the pit fly off without returning and burst forth without hope, when the measuring line

falls upon judgment and the lot of wrath ²⁸upon the those who are abandoned, when the outpouring of wrath upon the pretenders and the time of anger for all which belongs to Belial, when the snares of death have surrounded with no escape, ²⁹then the torrents of Belial shall go over all the high banks, like a fire that devoured all their channels (?), so as to destroy every green tree ³⁰and dry tree alongside their tributaries. It spreads with sparks from the flames, until all that drink from them are gone. It devours the cliffs of clay ³¹and the plains; the foundations of the mountains are set to burning and the roots of flint become torrents of pitch. It devours right down to the great deep. ³²The torrents of Belial burst through into Abaddon, and the plotters from the deep make an uproar with the noise of those who belch forth slime. The earth ³³shouts out, because of the disaster which comes about in the world, and all its plotters scream. All who are upon it behave as if mad, ³⁴and they melt away in the great disaster. For God thunders with the roar of His strength and His holy dwelling roars forth in His glorious truth. ³⁵Then the heavenly hosts shall raise their voice and the everlasting foundations shall melt and quake. The war of the heroes ³⁶of heaven shall spread over the world and shall not return until an annihilation that has been determined from eternity is completed. Nothing like this has ever occurred.

Thanks to God for protection against the powers of destruction.

³⁷I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have become a wall of strength for me ³⁸[and You have rescued me from all] destroyers and all [. . .] You hide me from the terrifying disasters ³⁹[. . .] has not come [. . .] ⁴⁰[. . .] in the mysteries of [. . .] ⁴¹[. . .] in its environs lest [. . .]

Col. 12 ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] ³[. . . You set] my feet upon a rock [. . .]
⁴[. . . You lead me in] the everlasting way and on the paths which You have chosen [. . .]

Thanks to God for salvation through the covenant.

⁵I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have made my face to shine by Your covenant, and [. . .] ⁶[. . .] I seek You, and as an enduring dawning, as [perfe]ct ligh[t], You have revealed Yourself to me. But these Your people [go astray]. ⁷Fo[r] they flatter themselves with words, and mediators of deceit lead them astray, so that they are ruined without knowledge. For [. . .] ⁸their works are deceitful, for good works were rejected by them. Neither did they esteem me; even when You displayed Your might through me. Instead, they drove me out from my land ⁹as a bird from its nest. And all my friends and acquaintances have been driven away from me; they esteem me as a ruined vessel. But they are mediators of ¹⁰a lie and seers of deceit. They have plotted wickedness against me, so as to exchange Your law, which You spoke distinctly in my heart, for flattering words ¹¹directed to Your people. They hold back the drink of knowledge from those that thirst, and for their thirst they

give them vinegar to drink, that they might observe ¹²their error, behaving madly at their festivals and getting caught in their nets. But You, O God, reject every plan ¹³of Belial, and Your counsel alone shall stand, and the plan of Your heart shall remain for ever. They are pretenders; they hatch the plots of Belial, ¹⁴they seek You with a double heart, and are not founded in Your truth. A root producing poison and wormwood is in their scheming. ¹⁵With a willful heart they look about and seek You in idols. They have set the stumbling block of their iniquity before themselves, and they come ¹⁶to seek You through the words of lying prophets corrupted by error. With mocking lips and a strange tongue they speak to Your people ¹⁷so as to make a mockery of all their works by deceit. For they did not choose the wa[y of] Your [heart] nor attend to Your word, but they said ¹⁸concerning the vision of knowledge, 'It is not sure,' and concerning the way of Your heart, 'It is not the way.' But You, O God, shall answer them by judging them ¹⁹in Your strength [according to] their idols and the multitude of their transgressions, in order that they, who have turned away from Your covenant, might be caught in their own schemes. ²⁰You shall cut off in ju[dgm]ent all deceitful men; seers of error shall no longer be found. For there is no deception in any of Your works, ²¹and no deceit in the deliberation of Your heart. Those who are in harmony with You shall stand before You for ever, and those who walk in the way of Your heart ²²shall be secure for evermore. I myself, when I hold fast to You, stand up straight and arise against those who disdain me; my hands are against all who despise me. For ²³they esteem [me] not [though] You display Your might through me, and reveal Yourself to me in Your strength as perfect light. You do not cover with shame the faces ²⁴of all those who are sought by me, who are meeting together (*or* in the *Yahad*) in accordance with Your covenant. Those who walk in the way of Your heart have listened to me; they are drawing themselves up before You ²⁵in the council of the saints. You cause their judgment to endure for ever and truth to go forth without obstruction. You do not allow them to be led astray at the hand of the scoundrels ²⁶when they plot against them. You put the fear of them in Your people and You make them a war club to all the peoples of the lands so as to cut off in judgment all ²⁷those who transgress Your word. But by me You have illumined the face of many (*or* the general membership) and have strengthened them uncountable times. For You have given me understanding of the mysteries of ²⁸Your wonder, and in Your wondrous council You have confirmed; doing wonders before many (*or* the general membership) for the sake of Your glory, and making known ²⁹Your mighty deeds to all living. What is mortal man in comparison with this? And where is the vessel of clay that is able to carry out wondrous deeds? For he is sinful ³⁰from the womb and in the guilt of unfaithfulness until old age. I know that man has no righteousness, nor does the son of man walk in the perfect ³¹way. All the works of righteousness belong to

God Most High. The way of man does not last except by the spirit which God created for him,³² to perfect a way for the children of men so that they may know all His works by His mighty power and the abundance of His mercies upon all those³³ who do His will. But as for me, fear and trembling have taken hold of me and all my bones break apart. My heart melts as wax over the fire, and my knees become³⁴ as water which is poured down over a slope. For I remember my guilt together with the unfaithfulness of my fathers, when the wicked rise against Your covenant³⁵ and the scoundrels against Your word. I said in my transgression, I am abandoned by Your covenant. But, when I remembered the power of Your hand together with³⁶ the abundance of Your mercies, I stood upright and firm and my spirit grew strong to stand against affliction. For [I] rested³⁷ in Your mercies and the abundance of Your compassion. For You atone for iniquity and purif[y] man from guilt by Your righteousness.³⁸ But not for man, [but for] Your [glory] You have worked, for You created both the righteous and the wicked [. . .]³⁹ [. . .] I will show myself to be strong in Your covenant until [. . .]⁴⁰ [. . . befor]e You. For You are truth, and all [Your] w[orks] are righteousness [. . .]

Col. 13 ¹to the day with [. . .] ²Your forgiveness and the abundance [of Your mercies . . .], ³And when I realized this, [You] comforted [me . . .] ⁴in accordance with Your will, and by Your hand is the judgment of them all [. . .]

Thanks to God who has not forsaken his own.

⁵I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have not forsaken me while I sojourned among a people [. . . and not] according to my guilt have ⁶You judged me. Nor have You abandoned me to the plots of my evil inclination, but You have rescued my life from the pit. You have given [. . .] among ⁷lions, who are appointed for the children of guilt; lions, who break the bones of the mighty and drink the blo[od] of warriors. You assigned ⁸my dwelling with many fishermen, they who spread their net on the surface of the water, and hunt for the children of injustice. ⁹You have established me there for judgment. You have strengthened the counsel of truth in my heart, and waters (?) of the covenant for those that seek it. But You shut the mouth of the young lions whose ¹⁰teeth are like a sword, and whose fangs are as a sharp spear. All their evil plans for abduction are like the poison of serpents; they lie in wait, but have not ¹¹opened their mouths wide against me. For You, O my God, have concealed me from the children of men, and Your law You have hidden in [me] until the time ¹²You reveal Your salvation to me. For in my soul's distress You did not abandon me, but You heard my cry in the bitterness of my soul. ¹³You recognized my grievous cry by my sigh and You delivered the life of the destitute one from the den of lions who sharpen their

tongue as a sword. ¹⁴And You, O my God, have shut their teeth, lest they tear the soul of the destitute and poor to pieces. And their tongue is drawn in ¹⁵as a sword into its sheath, so that it might not strike the soul of Your servant. And so that you might make me great against the children of men, You have done wondrous deeds ¹⁶with the poor. You have brought him into the crucible like gold to be worked by the fire, and as silver, which is refined in the smelter of the smiths to be refined seven times. ¹⁷But the wicked of the people rush against me with their afflictions, and all the day long they crush my soul.

¹⁸But You, O my God, turn the tempest to a whisper, and the life of the distressed You have brought to safety as [. . .] prey from the power ¹⁹of lions.

Thanks to God, who does not forsake those who turn to him.

²⁰{I give thanks to You} Blessed are You, O Lord, for You have not abandoned the orphan, and You have not despised the poor. For Your strength [is unbound]ed and Your glory ²¹without measure. Your ministers are wondrous warriors. A humbled people are in the sweepings at [Your] feet [and You have done a miracle as well] with those heedless of ²²righteousness to bring them up from out of the desolation together with all of those {heedless} lacking mercy. But I myself have become [. . .], strife ²³and contentions for my fellows, jealousy and anger to those who have entered into my covenant, a grumbling and a complaining to all who are my comrades. Ev[en those who share] my bread ²⁴have lifted up their heel against me, and all those who have committed themselves to my counsel speak perversely against me with unjust lips. The men of my [coun]cil rebel ²⁵and grumble round about. And concerning the mystery which You hid in me, they go about as slanderers to the children of destruction. Because [You] have exal[ted Yourself] in me, ²⁶and for sake of their guilt, You have hidden in me the spring of understanding and the counsel of truth. But they devise the ruination of their heart; [(1QH + 4Q429 Frag. 1 Col. 3) and with the words of] Belial they have exhibited ²⁷a lying tongue; as the poison of serpents it bursts forth continuously. As those who crawl in the dust, they cast forth to sei[ze the cunning smiles (?) of serpents ²⁸which cannot be charmed. And it has become an incurable pain and a tormenting agony in the bowels of Your servant, causing [my spirit] to stumble and putting an end to ²⁹my strength so that I might not stand firm. They overtake me in narrow places, where there is no place of refuge, nor when they [. . .] They intone ³⁰their dispute against me on the lyre, and compose their complaint to music; together with ruin and desolation. Searing pains have se[ized me] and pangs as the convulsions of ³¹one giving birth. My heart is tormented within me. I have put on the garment of mourning, and my tongue clings to the roof of my mouth. For they have surrounded me [with . . .] of their heart, and their desire ³²has appeared to me as bitterness.

The light of my countenance becomes dark, and my splendor is transformed to gloom.

But You, O my God,³³ have opened a wide space in my heart, but they continue to press in, and they shut me up in deep darkness, so that I eat the bread of groaning,³⁴ and my drink is tears without end. For my eyes have become weak from anger and my soul by daily bitterness. Grief and misery³⁵ surround me, and shame is upon my face. My bread has become strife, and my drink contention. They enter my bones,³⁶ causing my spirit to stumble and putting an end to my strength. In accordance with the mysteries of transgression, they are perverting the works of God by their guilt. For I have been bound with ropes³⁷ which cannot be pulled loose, and with fetters which cannot be broken. A strong wall [surrounds me]; iron bars and [bronze] gates [which can no]t be opened.³⁸ My prison is reckoned with the deep without [escape . . . the torrents of]³⁹ [Be][i]al encompass my soul [. . .]

Col. 14 ¹[. . .] ²my heart in contempt [. . .] ³and disaster without bounds, destruction without [. . . But You, O my God,] ⁴have opened my ears [to the admon]ition of those who rebuke righteously, with [. . . You rescued me] ⁵from the congregation [of fra]ud and the council of violence, and brought me into the council of [Your holiness . . .] guilt. ⁶I know there is hope for those that turn from rebellion, and for those who abandon sin in [. . .] to walk ⁷in the way of Your heart without injustice. I am comforted despite the roar of the people and the clamor of kingdoms when they gather themselves together. [For] I [kn]ow that ⁸You will soon raise up survivors among Your people and a remnant among Your inheritance. You will refine them so that they may be cleansed from guilt. For all ⁹their works are in Your truth, and in Your mercies You will judge them with abundant compassion and bountiful forgiveness; teaching them according to Your word. ¹⁰According to Your upright truth You determined them in Your counsel for Your glory. For Your sake You have worked to make the law and truth great for [. . .] ¹¹the men of Your council among the children of men, to recount Your wonders to successive generations and [med]itate unceasingly on Your mighty works. ¹²All the peoples shall know Your truth and all nations Your glory. For You have brought [Your] t[ruth and g]lory ¹³to all the men of Your council, in the lot together with the angels of presence. And there is no mediator for [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] They will return at Your glorious word, and they shall be Your princes in the [eternal] lo[t . . . Your people] ¹⁵blossom as a flo[w]er . . .] for ever, to raise up a shoot to be the branches of an eternal planting. It will cast shade over all the wor[ld . . .] ¹⁶as far as the heaven[s . . .] and its roots reach to the depths. All the rivers of Eden [shall water] its [b]r[anch]es, and it shall become [a great tree without] ¹⁷bounds. [. . .] over the world without end, and as far as Sheol [. . .] the spring of light shall become an everlasting fountain ¹⁸without end. In its brilliant flames all the

child[ren of injustice] shall burn, [and it shall] become a fire which burns up all the men of ¹⁹guilt completely. They who committed themselves to my testimony have let themselves be seduced by [. . .] in the service of righteousness. ²⁰But You, O God, have commanded them to gain profit from their ways by [walking] in the way of [Your] holi[ness]. The uncircumcised, the defiled, and the violent ²¹do not traverse it. They stagger away from the way of Your heart, and in disaster [. . .] they yearn. Belial is the counselor ²²of their heart [. . .] schemes of wickedness, they wallow in guilt. [. . .] I have [become] as a sailor on a ship, when ²³the seas stir up their waves and all their breakers come over me. A staggering wind roars [without] calm to revive the soul nor any ²⁴paths to make a straight way over the waters. The depths roar to my groaning and [my] sou[l approaches] the gates of death. I am ²⁵as one who enters a fortified city and seeks shelter behind a high wall until his escape. I rejo[ice] in Your truth, my God. For You ²⁶set a foundation upon the rock, and beams upon a just measuring line, [ins]pecting the tested stones with a true plumb line so as to build a ²⁷strong [wall] which shall not be shaken. All who enter it shall not totter. For the stranger may not enter her [gat]es; armored doors do not allow ²⁸entry, and strong bolts, which do not shatter. A troop with its weapons of war may not enter in, though all the s[words] of ²⁹wicked wars be destroyed. Then the sword of God shall hasten to the time of judgment and all the children of His truth shall awaken to put an end to [the children of] ³⁰wickedness, and all the children of guilt shall be no more. The hero shall draw his bow, and the fortification shall open [. . .] ³¹as an open country without end. The eternal gates shall open to bring out the weapons of war, and they shall be migh[t]y from one end of the world to the other ³²[. . .] But there is no escape for the creatures of guilt, they shall be trampled down to destruction with no rem[nant. And there is no] hope in the abundance of [. . .], ³³and for all the heroes of war there is no refuge. For [victory belongs] to God Most High [. . .] ³⁴Raise the ensign, O you who lie in the dust, and let the worms of the dead lift a banner for [. . .] they cut [. . .] ³⁵in the battles of the arrogant. And He shall cause a raging flood to pass through, which shall not enter the fortified city [. . .] ³⁶. . . [. . .] for plaster and as a beam for [. . .] ³⁷truth [. . .]

Col. 15 '[. . .] I am speechless [. . .] these [. . .] ²[. . .] my [ar]m is shattered at the shoulder, and my foot has sunk in the mire. My eyes are sealed shut from seeing ³evil, my ears from hearing of bloodshed, and my heart is stupefied because of evil plotting. For Belial is manifest when the true nature of their being is revealed. ⁴All the foundations of my frame crumble. My bones are separated, and my bowels are like a ship in a raging ⁵storm. My heart roars as to destruction, and a spirit of staggering overwhelms me. All because of the ruin caused by their sin.

Thanks to God, who sustains his own.

⁶I give thanks to You, O Lord, for You have sustained me with Your strength, and Your holy spirit ⁷You have spread out over me so that I will not falter. You have strengthened me before the wars of wickedness, and in all their devastation ⁸You have not shattered me for the sake of Your covenant. You set me up as a strong tower; as a high wall. Upon the rock You have established ⁹my frame, and eternal foundations for my footing. All my walls are tested walls, which will not be shaken. ¹⁰[And] You, my God, have appointed me as a holy counsel to the weary. You [have taught me] Your covenant and my tongue is as one of Your disciples. ¹¹But there is no word for the spirit of disasters, nor a proper reply for any of the children of guilt. For lying lips shall be speechless. ¹²For all who attack me You will condemn to judgment, so that in me You might divide between the righteous and the ungodly. ¹³For You know the intention of every work, and every reply You discern. You have established my heart ¹⁴[in accordance with] Your [te]aching and Your truth, setting my steps straight in the paths of righteousness, so that I may walk in Your presence in the domain of ¹⁵[the righteous o]nes in paths of glory {and life} and peace without t[urning and ne]ver ceasing. ¹⁶But You know the inclination of Your servant, that [I have] not [relied on my own power] to exalt [myself], ¹⁷finding security in my strength. Nor have I any fleshly refuges [. . .] no works of righteousness to rescue myself from [. . .] ¹⁸[with]out forgiveness. I lean on the mult[it]itude of Your compassion and in the abundance of] Your mercy I await, causing ¹⁹the plant to blossom and a shoot to grow up; taking refuge in Your strength and [. . . For in] Your righteousness You have stood me ²⁰in Your covenant, and I have taken hold of Your truth. And Yo[u . . .] and You have appointed me as a father to the children of mercy ²¹and as a guardian to men of portent. They open the mouth wide like a nursing ch[ild . . .], and as a child delights in the embrace of ²²its guardian. And You have given me victory over all who condemn me, and the [rem]nant of those who warred against me are sh[attered]. Those who ²³prosecuted me are as chaff before the wind, and my dominion is over [. . . And You,] my [Go]d, have helped my soul, and You have exalted my horn ²⁴on high. I shine forth in sevenfold light, in l[ight which] You have [esta]blished for Your glory. ²⁵For You are as an [eter]nal light for me, and You establish my foot upon the level gr[ound . . .]

Thanks to God, the only wise and righteous one.

²⁶I give thanks [to You, O Lord], for You have given me discernment into Your truth, ²⁷and have made known the mysteries of Your wonder to me. [You have . . .] in Your mercies for a man of [. . .] in the abundance of Your compassion with those who are distressed of heart. ²⁸Who is like You

among the gods, O Lord? And who is as Your truth? And who can be justified before You, when he enters into judgment? ²⁹None of the spiritual hosts is able to answer to Your punishment, and none can stand firm before Your anger. But all the children ³⁰of Your truth You bring before You in forgiveness, cleansing them from their rebellious acts in the multiplicity of Your goodness, and by the abundance of Your compassion ³¹maintaining them before You for ever and ever.

For You are an eternal God, and all Your ways endure for eternity ³²without end; there is none beside You. And what then is the man of vacuity and the master of vanity, that he should clearly understand Your wondrous ³³mighty works?

Thanks to God, who treats the psalmist with mercy and forgiveness.

³⁴[I give thanks to Y]ou, O Lord, for You have not cast my lot in the fraudulent assembly, nor have You set my portion in the council of the pretenders. ³⁵But You call me to Your mercies and [Your] forgiveness [. . .] and in the abundance of Your compassion for all the judgments of ³⁶[. . . (1QH + 4Q428 Frag. 7) I have taught in . . .] injustice and by the statute ³⁷[. . . my anger, for an abundance of impurity, and from my youth in bloodshed and as far as . . . my God, You have established] ³⁸[my foot in the way . . . Your heart and for the report of . . . my ears and my heart to understand Your truth . . .] ³⁹[. . . ear with Your teaching until . . .]

Col. 16 ¹[. . . (1QH + 4Q428 Frag. 7) knowledge You established from my bowels and You glorified me . . . yet for me as a stumbling block] ²[of iniquity. For You . . .] Your righteousness endures for ever, for [You do] not [. . . ways of . . .] ³[. . .] You [. . .]

Thanks to God, who made the psalmist a fountain of blessing.

⁴I [give thanks to You, O Lord, for] You set me by a fountain which flows in a dry land, a spring of water in a desolate land, a well-watered ⁵garden [. . .] You [plan]ted a stand of juniper and pine together with cypress for Your glory; trees of ⁶life at the secret spring, hidden among all the trees by the water so that a shoot might grow up into an eternal planting. ⁷Taking root before they shoot up, they stretch out their roots to the watercourse, that its trunk might be open to the living water ⁸and become an eternal fountain. On its leafy branches every wild animal of the forest shall graze, and its trunk shall become a gathering place to all who pass ⁹and its branches roosts for all the birds. All the tre[es] by the water rise over it, for in their stand they grow tall, ¹⁰but they do not stretch out their root toward the watercourse. The shoot of h[o]liness grows up into a planting of truth, hidden ¹¹and not esteemed. And because it is not known its secret is sealed up.

But You, O [G]od, You protect its fruit with the mystery of powerful warriors, ¹²holy spirits, and the whirling flame of fire so that none may [come to

the] fountain of life, nor with eternal trees ¹³drink the waters of holiness, nor make his fruit flourish with [the plan]t of the heavens. Namely, the one though he sees has not recognized, ¹⁴and considering has not believed in the spring of life and so gives [. . .] eternal. I have become the mockery of flooding rivers, ¹⁵for they toss up their slime over me.

¹⁶But You, O my God, have placed Your words in my mouth, as showers of early rain, for all [who thirst] and as a spring of living waters. The heavens shall not fail to open, ¹⁷nor shall they run dry, but shall become a stream pouring out up[on . . .] water and then to seas without en[d]. ¹⁸Those hidden away flow suddenly [. . .] and they shall become a de[lu]ge for every] ¹⁹green and dry tree; a lake for every wild animal and bi[rd. . . . as] lead in mighty water[s], ²⁰ [. . .] fire and they dry up. But the planting of fruit [. . .] eternally, to a glorious Eden and fruit[. . .] ²¹And by my hand You have opened their spring with [its] channels [. . .] turning in accordance with the proper measurement, and the stand ²²of their trees according to the plumb line of the sun for [. . .] glorious branches. When I extend my hand to weed ²³its ditches, its roots stretch out into the flinty stone and [. . .] their trunk in the earth. In the time of heat it retains ²⁴its strength. But if I withdraw my hand, it shall become like a junip[er in the wilderness]; its trunk as nettles in a barren land, and its ditches ²⁵shall produce thorns and thistles, briars and weeds [. . . on] its banks turn into worthless trees. In ²⁶the heat its leaves wither and are not restored by the spri[ng of water . . . my] dwelling is with the sick, and [my] heart k[no]ws ²⁷agonies. I have become like a man who is forsaken by [. . .] there is no refuge for me. For my agony breaks out ²⁸to bitterness, and an incurable pain without stopping, [. . . ro]ars over me, like those who descend into Sheol. Among ²⁹the dead my spirit searches, for [my] li[fe] goes down to the pit [. . .] my soul is faint day and night ³⁰without rest. And my agony breaks out as a burning fire shut up within [my] b[ones] whose flame consumes for days on end, ³¹putting an end to my strength without ceasing and destroying my flesh without end. The billows break over me ³²and my soul is completely worn down. For my strength is departed from my body, my heart is poured out as water, ³³and my flesh is melted as wax. The strength of my loins has become a calamity, my arm is broken from the shoulder, [and I am no]t [able] to swing my hand. ³⁴My [foo]t is caught in fetters, my knees become as water, and I am not able to take a step; there is no sound to the tread of my feet. ³⁵ [. . .] are pulled loose by stumbling chains, and my tongue You had exalted in my mouth, but no longer. No more can ³⁶my [tong]ue give forth its voice for instru[ction] to revive the spirits of those who stumble, and to support the weary with a word. The voice of my lips is silent ³⁷[. . .] with chains of judgment [. . .] or in the bitterness [. . .] heart . . . dominion ³⁸[. . .] the earth [. . .] ³⁹[. . .] they have been silenced as not ⁴⁰[. . .] humankind, not [. . .]

Col. 17 ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] by night and [. . .] ³[. . .] without compassion. In wrath He awakes mistrust and completely [. . .] ⁴the breakers of death and Sheol are over my couch. My bed lifts up a lamentation, [and my pallet] a sound of groanings. ⁵My eyes are as a moth in a furnace, and my weeping is as brooks of water. My eyes fail for rest, [and . . .] stands ⁶at a great distance from me, and my life has been set aside. But as for me, from ruin to desolation, from pain to agony, and from travails ⁷to torments, my soul meditates on Your wonders. In Your mercy You have not rejected me. Time ⁸and time again my soul delights in the abundance of Your compassion. I give an answer to those who would wipe me out, ⁹and reproof to those who would cast me down. I will condemn his verdict, but Your judgment I honor, for I know ¹⁰Your truth. I shall choose my judgment, and with my agony I am satisfied, for I have waited upon Your mercy. You have put ¹¹a supplication in the mouth of Your servant, and You have not rebuked my life, nor have You removed my well-being. You have not forsaken ¹²my hope, but in the face of affliction You have restored my spirit. For You have established my spirit and know my deliberations. ¹³In my distress You have soothed me, and I delight in forgiveness. I shall be comforted for former sin. ¹⁴I know that there is hope in Your mercy, and an expectation in the abundance of Your power. For no one is justified ¹⁵in Your jud[g]ment, and no one is bl[ameless in] Your litigation. One man may be more righteous than another, or one person may be wiser [than his fellow], ¹⁶humanity is more honored than a vessel of c[lay], and one spirit may surpass another spirit; but as for Your mighty str[ength], no ¹⁷power can compare. To Your glory there are no [bounds, and] to Your wisdom there is no measure, nor is there [. . .]; ¹⁸and for everyone who has forsaken it [. . .]

But in You, I [. . .] ¹⁹with me, and not [. . .]. ²⁰And when they plot [. . .] against me, [. . .] and if the face shows shame [. . .] ²¹for me. And You [. . .] strengthened my enemy shall [not] prevail against me as a stumbling block to [. . .] ²²men of war [. . . sh]ame of face and reproach for those who grumble against me.

²³But You, O my God, for [. . .] You plead my case. For in the mystery of Your wisdom You have reproved me. ²⁴You hide the truth in [its time . . . until] its appointed time. Your chastisement has become joy and gladness to me, ²⁵and my agonies have become an et[ernal] healing and unending [. . .] The contempt of my enemies has become a glorious crown for me, and my stumbling, eternal strength. ²⁶For by [Your . . .] and Your glory, my light has shined forth, for You have caused light from darkness ²⁷to shine for me [. . . You bring healing for] my wounds; for my stumbling, wonderful strength; an infinite space ²⁸for the distress of [my] soul. [You are] my place of refuge, my stronghold, the rock of my strength and my fortress. In You ²⁹I take refuge from all [. . .] for an eternal escape. For You from my father ³⁰have

known me, from the womb [You have set me apart and from the belly of] my mother You have rendered good to me. From the breasts of she who conceived me, Your compassion ³¹has been mine. And in the embrace of my nurse [. . .] and from my youth You have shined the insight of Your judgment on me. ³²With a sure truth You have supported me, and by Your holy spirit You have delighted me; even until this day [. . .] ³³Your righteous chastisement is with my [. . .] and the protection of Your peace delivers my soul. With my steps is ³⁴abundant forgiveness and bountiful compassion when You enter into judgment with me. Until old age You shall provide for me, for ³⁵my father did not know me, and my mother abandoned me to You. For You are a father to all the children of Your truth, and You rejoice ³⁶over them as a loving mother over her nursing child. As a guardian with his embrace, You provide for all Your creatures.

Thanks to God for his strength and wisdom.

³⁸[I give thanks to You, O Lord, for] You have increased without num[ber] ³⁹[. . .] Your name by doing wonders [. . .] ⁴⁰[. . . with]out ceasing [. . .] ⁴¹[. . .] his insight and [they] praised [. . .]

Col. 18 ¹[. . .] the plan of Your heart [. . .] ²[. . .] and without Your will it shall not be. No one understands [Your] wisd[om] ³[and] Your [. . .] no one sees. What then is man? He is but dirt [. . .] ⁴[. . . from dust] he was formed and to dust he returns. But You give him insight into wonders such as these, and make him know the counsel [of Your] tr[uth]. ⁵I am but dust and ashes, what can I plan unless You delight in it? And what can I consider for myself ⁶apart from Your will? How can I show myself strong, unless You maintain me? How can I understand, unless You have formed it ⁷for me? What can I speak, unless You have opened my mouth? And how can I reply, unless You have given me insight?

⁸Behold, You are Chief of the gods and King of the glorious, Lord of every spirit and Ruler over every creature. ⁹Apart from You nothing is done, nor is there any knowing without Your will. There is no one beside You ¹⁰and no one approaches You in strength. No one can compare to Your glory and as to Your strength, there is no price. ¹¹Who among all the celebrated creatures of Your wonder can maintain the strength to take a stand before Your glory? ¹²So what then is he, who returns to his dust, that he should maintain str[en]gth? Only for Your glory have You done all of these things.

Thanks to God, who has revealed himself.

¹⁴Blessed are You, O Lord, God of compassion [and rich] in mercy, for You have made [th]e[se things] known that I might declare ¹⁵Your wondrous works, and not keep silent day and n[ight]. All power is Yours [. . .] ¹⁶by Your mercy, in Your great goodness and abun[dance of compassion. I] shall

delight in [Your] fo[r]giveness,¹⁷ for I rest in Your truth [. . .]¹⁸ from Your will and without [. . . and without] Your rebuke there is no stumbling [. . . nor any]¹⁹ agony except You know [. . .] Your [. . .]

²⁰And I, according to my knowledge of [Your] truth [. . .], and when I gaze upon Your glory, I tell of²¹ Your wonders. When I understand the [. . . and the ab]undance of Your compassion, and in Your forgiveness²² I hope. For You formed the spi[rit of Your servant and in] Your [wil]l You established me. You have not established²³ my sustenance upon unjust gain or wealth [. . .] and that which is made of flesh You have not established as my defense.²⁴ The strength of the mighty [is established] on the abundance of luxur[ies . . . and in] the abundance of corn, wine, and oil.²⁵ They exalt themselves with property and possession. [But the righteous are as] green [trees] by the watercourses, bearing leaves²⁶ and producing many branches. For You chose [them from the sons of] men that all may fatten themselves from the land.²⁷ To the children of Your truth You have given insight [. . .] for ever. And according to their knowledge one is honored²⁸ above another. Thus for the son of [Your] maid[servant (or son of m[an] . . .)] You have enlarged his inheritance²⁹ through the knowledge of Your truth. According to his knowledge and [his . . .] The soul of Your servant abhors wealth³⁰ and unjust gain, and in the height of luxury [has he not desired . . .] my heart rejoiced in Your covenant, and Your truth³¹ delighted my soul. I bloom as a lily, and my heart is opened to the eternal spring.³² My support is in the strength from on high, and [. . .] labor, and as a flower withers in [the heat.]³³ My heart behaves as if mad in anguish and my loins tremble. My groaning enters the depths³⁴ and completely searches out the chambers of Sheol. I am terrified when I hear of Your judgments with powerful warriors,³⁵ and Your dispute with the hosts of Your saints in [. . .]³⁶ and judgment against all Your creatures, and righteousness [. . .]³⁷⁻³⁹ [. . .]

Frag. 10, 34, 42 + 4Q427 Frag. 3 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] ²[. . . In] Your w[ill] I have obtained insight [. . .] ³[. . .] Your wo[nder] how can we repay? For You have rewarded us and [. . .] done wonders [. . .] ⁴[. . .] they are not able to understand the glory of [. . . and to decla]re [Your] wonder[s . . .] ⁵[. . .] its [d]eeds according to their insight. And according to Your knowledge [and] Your [g]lory [. . .] ⁶[. . .] unceasingly [. . .] they shall at last declare and in all ti[me . . .] ⁷[. . .] and we are gathered in the association (or in the *Yahad*) and with those who know, [we shall be admonis]hed by You and sing f[or joy . . .] ⁸[. . . lou]dly with Your mighty ones, and we will wondrously declare together in the knowledge [of God and with . . .] ⁹[. . .] and [You] make our offspring understand [. . .] the sons of man amon[g the sons of] man (or Adam) [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] great wonder [. . .]

[. . .] ¹¹[. . .] who understand the comma[ndment(s) . . . a loud] cry [for those who magnify the majesty of . . .] ¹²[. . .] ¹³[. . . a man . . .]

¹⁴[. . . light of dominion . . .] ¹⁵[. . . for it refines . . .] ¹⁶[. . . for ever. And the light of blessing . . .] ¹⁷[. . . anguish and grief . . .] ¹⁸[. . . You have compassion . . .]

Col. 19 'in terror [. . .] distress from my eyes and grief [. . .] ²in the meditation of my heart.

Thanks to God, who has given humans insight into their deeds.

³I thank You, O my God, for You have dealt wonderfully with dust, and You have worked so very powerfully with vessels of clay. As for me, what am I? For ⁴You have [enlighten]ed me in the counsel of Your truth, and You have given me insight into Your wonderful works. You put praises in my mouth, and upon my tongue ⁵[a psal]m; the utterance of my lips forms the foundation of joyous song. I shall praise Your mercy and consider Your strength all the ⁶day. I will bless Your name continually, and I will recount Your glory among the children of men; in the abundance of Your goodness ⁷my soul delights. I know that Your command is truth and that in Your hand is righteousness. In Your thoughts ⁸are all knowledge and in Your strength is all power; all glory is with You. In Your anger are all the agonizing judgments, ⁹but in Your goodness is an abundance of forgiveness. Your compassion is for all the children of Your will, for You have made them know the counsel of Your truth, ¹⁰and in the mysteries of Your wonder You have given them insight. For Your glory's sake You have cleansed man from transgression, so that he can purify himself ¹¹for You from all filthy abominations and the guilt of unfaithfulness, so as to be joined wi[th] the children of Your truth; in the lot with ¹²Your saints. That bodies, covered with worms of the dead, might rise up from the dust to an et[ernal] council; from a perverse spirit to Your understanding. ¹³That he might take his position before You with the eternal hosts and spirits [of truth], to be renewed with all ¹⁴that shall be and to rejoice together with those who know.

Thanks to God, who has given the psalmist understanding of God's righteousness.

¹⁵I thank You, O my God, I exalt You, my rock, and when You perform wonders [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] For You have made known to me the counsel of truth [. . .] ¹⁷[Yo]ur [wondr]ous works You have revealed to me, so that I might gaze upon [. . .] mercy. I know ¹⁸[that] righteousness belongs to You, and in Your mercy [. . .] and annihilation without Your compassion. ¹⁹But as for me, a fountain for bitter sorrow has been opened [. . .] distress is not hidden from my eyes ²⁰when I come to know the inclinations of man and [con- sider] the response of humankind [and recognize] sin and the grief of ²¹guilt. They enter into my heart and penetrate my bones. [. . .] and muttering a lament ^{22a}and a groan to the lyre of lamentation for all griev[ous] mourning [. . .] ²²torment and bitter wailing until injustice has ceased, and [. . .] and

there is no agony to make one weak. Then ²³I will sing praises on the lyre of salvation and to the harp of jo[y . . .] and the flute of praise without ²⁴ceasing. Who among all Your creatures is able to recount [. . . and] Your [wonders]? Your name shall be praised by every mouth ²⁵for ever and ever. They shall bless You according to [their] insight [. . . and the meek] shall declare together ²⁶with the voice of rejoicing. There is no grief nor groaning, and injustice [shall be found no longer]. You shall make Your truth to shine forth ²⁷for eternal glory and everlasting peace.

Blessed are You, [O God, f]or You have given to Your servant ²⁸the insight of knowledge to understand Your wonders [. . . and to] recount the abundance of Your mercy. ²⁹Blessed are You, O God of compassion and grace in accordance with Your grea[t pow]er and the abundance of Your truth, and the profusion ³⁰of Your mercy for all Your creatures. Gladden the soul of Your servant with Your truth and cleanse me ³¹in Your righteousness. For just as I waited for Your goodness, so I hope in Your mercy and Your forgiveness. ³²You have relieved my adversities and in my grief You have comforted me, for I depended upon Your compassion. Blessed are You, ³³O Lord, for You have done these things, and You place hymns of thanksgiving in the mouth of Your servant [. . .] ³⁴and a supplication for favor as well as a suitable reply. And You have established for me [. . .] ³⁵And I shall restr[ain . . .] ³⁶And You [. . .] ³⁷tru[th . . .] ³⁸and I [. . .]

Col. 20 ¹[. . .] my soul is broad [. . .] ²[. . . I will dwell] safely in a ho[ly] dwelling, [in] quietness and in ease ³[with the eternal spirits] in the tents of glory and salvation. I will praise Your name among those that fear You.

Hymns of thanksgiving and prayer for the Instructor.

⁴[For the Instructor: hymns of than]ksgiving and prayer, to cast oneself down and appeal for grace unceasingly, at all times. With the coming of the light ⁵from [its] dwe[lling], through the course of the day in respect to its plan in accordance with the laws of the great light; as the day turns to evening with the departure of ⁶the light at the beginning of the rule of darkness; the time appointed for the night. And then according to its course, when night turns to morning, at the time ⁷it is gathered to its dwelling before the light, at the departure of the night and the coming of the day. This occurs continually, at all ⁸the birthings of the seasons from the foundation of time. And the change of seasons in their order is determined by their signs, for all ⁹their dominion by the faithful plan of the mouth of God and the destiny of that which exists shall continue. ¹⁰There is nothing other, and beside it there has not been, nor shall it be otherwise, for the God of knowledge ¹¹has determined it and there is no other beside Him.

And I, the Instructor, have known You, O my God, by the spirit ¹²which You gave me, and I have listened faithfully to Your wondrous counsel by Your

holy spirit. ¹³You have opened within me knowledge in the mystery of Your insight, and a spring of [Your] strength [. . .] ¹⁴There shall be an abundance of mercy, but a ruinous zeal and [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] the majesty of Your glory as an etern[al] light [. . .] ¹⁶[. . . shall] fear wickedness, and there is no deceit [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] appointed times of desolation. For there is no [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] there is [n]o more insolence. For before Yo[ur] anger [. . .] ¹⁹[. . .] my trembling. There is none righteous beside You [. . .] ²⁰[to] give insight in all Your mysteries, and to give an answer [. . .] ²¹[. . .] for Your condemnation, and for Your goodness they watch. For in [Your] mercy [. . .] ²²and they know You. In the time of Your glory they rejoice, and according to [. . .] According to their insight ²³You bring them near, and according to their authority they serve You in [their] divisions. [. . .] from You ²⁴not to transgress Your word. But I was taken from dust [and from clay] I was [fo]rmed ²⁵as a fountain of filth and obscene shame, a pile of dust and kneaded [with water . . .] and the abode ²⁶of darkness. And a return to dust for a vessel of clay at the end of [. . .] in the dust ²⁷to the place from where it was taken. And what shall the dust answer and [. . . and what] shall it understand ²⁸[of] its [works]? And how shall it stand its ground before the one who rebukes it [. . . ho]lliness ²⁹[. . .] eternal, and stores of glory and a fountain of knowledge and streng[h . . .] ³⁰[. . . they are not able] to recount all Your glory, nor to take a stand before Your anger, nor is it possible to give an answer to ³¹Your chastisement. For You are righteous and there is none to compare with You. So what then is the one who returns to its dust? ³²As for me, I am speechless. What shall I say concerning this? According to my knowledge I speak. But I am mere spit (?), a vessel of clay, what ³³shall I speak unless You open my mouth? How shall I understand unless You give me insight? What shall I s[ay] ³⁴unless You reveal it to my heart? How shall I make the way straight except [You] determine [my steps? How shall my foot] ³⁵stand fast be[fore You except I be] strengthened with power? How shall I rise up [. . .] ³⁶And all [. . .] ³⁷the [. . .] ³⁸as [. . .] ³⁹and [. . .]

Col. 21 ¹[. . . tra]nsgression of one born of a wo[man] ²[. . .] Your righteousness ³[. . .] I have seen this ⁴[. . . How] shall I see unless You have uncovered my eyes or hear ⁵[unless You have unstopped my ears? . . .] my [h]eart was made desolate. For to the uncircumcised of ear, a word is revealed and the heart ⁶[. . .] I know that for Yourself You have done these things, O my God. What is mere humankind ⁷[. . . to] do wonderfully. In Your plan to confirm and determine everything for Your glory ⁸[. . .] the host of knowledge, to recount powerful deeds to a mere human, and sure laws for one who is born of ⁹[a woman . . . You have brou]ght [. . .] into a covenant with Yourself and You have uncovered the heart of dust to guard itself ¹⁰[. . .] from the traps of judgment corresponding to Your compassion. I am a creature ¹¹[of clay . . . of du]st and a heart of stone. With whom am I to be

reckoned until this occurs? For ¹²[. . .] You have [gi]ven [. . .] to ears of dust, and You have engraved eternity on the heart ¹³[of stone . . .] You have ceased [. . .] so as to bring him into a covenant with Yourself and to establish ¹⁴[(1QH + 4Q427 Frag. 5) him before the judgments of the watchers (?)] in the eternal abode, as a light of the perfect light for ever; and [there is no] darkness ¹⁵[. . . without] end, and times of peace without bo[unds . . .] ¹⁶[. . .] I am a vessel of dust [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] I open [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .]

Frag. 3 ¹[. . . (1QH + 4Q427 Frag. 6) a deceitful] trap is [spr]ead [. . . snares of . . .] ²[. . .] a way was opened to [. . .] ³[. . .] paths of peace, and with mere human flesh to deal wonderfully [with . . .] ⁴[. . .] and my steps are upon the hiding places of her (?) traps and [those who] spread [the net and . . .] ⁵[. . .] I keep the vessel of dust from being shattered and in the midst of wax as [it melts before the fire . . .] ⁶[. . .] ash heaps. How shall I stand before the rag[ing] wind [. . . As for me, He establishes me in . . .] ⁷[. . .] and He keeps him for the mysteries of His delight. For He knows [. . .] ⁸[. . . unt]il annihilation, and they hide trap after trap, the snares of wickedness [. . .] ⁹[. . .] with injustice, and every deceitful vessel is destroyed. For not [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] there is not, and the unjust intention is no more and the works of deceit [. . .] ¹¹[. . .]

I am a vessel of [clay . . .] ¹²[. . .] How shall he strengthen himself before You? You are the God of [. . .] ¹³[. . .] You have made them, and apart from You nothing is made [. . .] ¹⁴[. . . I am a vess]el of dust. I know, by the spirit which You have given me [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] injustice and deceit are poured out, and arrogance ceased [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] the works of filth lead to sicknesses, agonizing judgments, and destruction [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] anger and [. . .] zeal are Yours [. . .] ¹⁸[. . . and I am a] vessel of cl[ay . . .]

Col. 22 Frag. 1 ¹[. . . in the holly] [habitation] which is in heaven ²[. . . gr]eat and it is a wonder. But they are not able ³[. . .] Your [wonder]s and they are not able to know all ⁴[. . . retu]rns to its dust. I am a rebellious man and defiled ⁵[. . .] the guilt of wickedness. And I, in the times of wrath ⁶[. . .] raised up in the face of my agonies, and guarding myself ⁷[. . . You] made me [kno]w these things. For there is hope for man ⁸[. . . You] abhor. I, a vessel of clay, depend ⁹[. . .] my God. I know that ¹⁰Your command is true [. . . You do not go] back [on Your word.] I, in my appointed time, take hold of ¹¹[Your] covenan[t . . .] in my office You have appointed me. For ¹²[. . .] man, and You restore him; and for what [. . .] ¹³[. . .] vessel [. . .], You are mighty and [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] in . . . without hop[e . . .] ¹⁵[. . .] I am a vessel of [clay . . .]

Frag. 4 ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] which [. . .] ³[. . . ev]ening and morning with [. . .] ⁴[. . .] man and from [. . .] ⁵[. . .] they watch, and upon their courses [. . .] ⁶[. . .] You rebuke every adversary who ruins and [. . .] ⁷[. . .] and You have uncovered my ear. For [. . .] ⁸[. . .] the men of the

covenant were deceived by them. And [they] shall go [. . .]⁹[. . .] before You. I have feared Your judgment [. . .]¹⁰[. . .] Your [. . .] Who shall stand blameless in Your judgment? And what [then is man . . .]¹¹[. . .] I in the judgment. The one who returns to his dust, what [. . .]¹²[. . .] You have opened my heart to Your understanding, and You open [my] e[ars . . .]¹³leaning upon Your goodness. But my heart groans [. . .]¹⁴[. . .] and my heart melts as wax because of transgression and sin.¹⁵[. . .] Blessed are You, O God of knowledge, because You have determined [. . .]¹⁶[. . .] and this happened to Your servant for Your sake. For I know¹⁷[. . .] Your [. . .] I hope with all my being, and Your name I bless continuously.¹⁸[. . .] Your [. . .] do not forsake me in times of¹⁹[. . .] and Your glory and [Your] go[od . . .]²⁰[. . .] upon [. . .]

Col. 23 ¹Your light, and You set the lumi[naries . . .] ²Your light without cea[sing . . .] ³For with You is light for [. . .] ⁴and You open the ear of dust [. . .] ⁵evil plan which [. . .] and You established it in the ea[rs] ⁶of Your servant for ever [. . .] the reports of Your wonder to shine out ⁷before the eyes of all that hear [You . . .] by Your strong right hand, to lead [. . .] ⁸by Your mighty power [. . .] for Your name, and he magnified himself by [Your] glor[y]. ⁹Do not withdraw Your hand [. . . in order] that he may become one who holds fast to Your covenant,¹⁰and stands before You [. . .] You have opened [a foun]tain in the mouth of Your servant, and on his tongue ¹¹You engraved with a measuring line [. . . to] declare to the human vessel his lack of understanding, and as a interpreter in these things ¹²to dust like myself. And You open a foun[tain] to reprove the vessel of clay of his way, and the guilt of one born ¹³of a woman according to his works; that he might open a fo[untain] of Your truth to the vessel whom You have sustained with Your strength.¹⁴[. . .] according to Your truth, bringing news of [. . .] Your goodness, bringing news to the humble in accordance with the abundance of Your compassion,¹⁵[. . .] from the fountain [. . . for the] troubled of spirit, and mourning into eternal rejoicing.¹⁶[. . .]

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] Your spoil [. . .] ³[. . .] Your land and among the sons of gods and the sons of [. . .] ⁴[. . .] Your [. . .] and to declare all Your glory. As for me, what am I? For from dust I was taken and [to dust I return . . .] ⁵[. . . for] Your [gl]ory You have done all these things. According to the abundance of Your mercy appoint a guard over Your righteousness ⁶[. . .] continually until the deliverance, and mediators of knowledge for my every step, and reprovers of truth ⁷[. . .] For what is dust in [. . .] are they not [. . .] ashes in their hand? But You ⁸[. . . vessel of] clay, and [. . .] Your will; and by the sons (?) You test me ⁹[. . .] and for You [. . .] for my words. Over the dust You have spread out [Your holy] spirit ¹⁰[. . .] in the slime [. . . the so]ns of gods, to unite with the sons of heaven ¹¹[. . . fo]rever and the darkness has no response. For ¹²[. . .] and light You

have revealed, but not to return ¹³[. . .] Your [ho]lly [spirit] You have spread out, atoning for guilt ¹⁴[. . .] with Your hosts, and those who walk ¹⁵[. . .] before You, for they are determined in Your truth. ¹⁶[. . .] You have wonderfully done these things for Your glory, and from righteousness ¹⁷[. . .] injustice of an abhorred vessel ¹⁸[. . .] abhorred vessel.

Col. 24 ¹⁻³[. . .] ⁴[. . .] ⁵[. . .] a vessel of flesh ⁶[. . .] Your appointing ⁷in his judgment [. . .] to the angels of ⁸[. . .] and the mysteries of transgression, changing ⁹flesh to [. . .] shall soar about in it all ¹⁰the angels of p[ea]ce . . .] as cords of the spirit. You have humbled ¹¹the gods from the foundation [. . .] Your [. . .] in the dwelling of Your glory. And You, ¹²O man, upon [. . .] I turn away until the time of Your will, ¹³sending [. . .] heights of power and the abundance of flesh to condemn ¹⁴at the time of [. . .] to determine in counsel together with You ¹⁵[. . .] bastards, all [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .]

Frag. 45 ¹[. . .] justice and [. . .] ²[the one abh]orred to the pit at the time of his punishment [. . .] ³[. . .] every adversary and destroyer [. . .] ⁴[. . .] in their wickedness, sending them away, a nation [. . .] ⁵[. . .] the arrogant man with those who increase unfaithfulness and o[pp]ression . . .] ⁶[. . .] many in the flesh (?) for all the spirits of [. . .] ⁷[. . .] they will be condemned during their lives [. . .] ⁸[. . .]

Frag. 2 Col. 2 + Frag. 6 ⁴[. . .] ungodly ⁵[. . .] and with judgments ⁶[. . .] bastards to condemn the flesh ⁷[. . .] their spirit to save ⁸[. . .] the wonder of Your mysteries You have revealed ⁹[. . .] to the flesh. I know ¹⁰for [. . .] iniquity at the time of ¹¹all [. . .] and for every one that gazes ¹²[. . .] and it is not hidden ¹³[. . .] You have served more than the children of ¹⁴God [. . . the] unjust acts of the peoples, ¹⁵to strengthen them [. . . to make] guilt great ¹⁶in their inheritance [. . .] You have forsaken them in the hand of ¹⁷every [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] ¹⁹over [. . .]

Col. 25 Frag. 5 ¹[. . .] just [judgme]nt [. . .] ²[. . .] he dispersed them from the position of [. . .] ³[. . .] with the assembly of Your saints when [You] wondrously [. . .] ⁴[f]or ever. And the spirits of wickedness shall dwell [. . .] ⁵shall no longer be, and You will destroy the place of [. . .] ⁶spirits of injustice, which are devastated by mourning [. . .] ⁷and delight to eternal generations. When wickedness has arisen to [. . .] ⁸great, I will increase them for destruction, and against all Your works [. . .] ⁹Your mercy, and to know all things by Your glory and to [. . .] ¹⁰the judgment of Your truth. You have opened the ear of the flesh and [. . .] ¹¹Your heart, and You have made the time of testimony known to [my] heart [. . .] ¹²and with the inhabitants of the land upon the land and also [. . .] ¹³darkness. You contend to just[ify] the just and to con[demn] the wicked . . .] ¹⁴and not to separate [. . .] blessing [. . .] ¹⁵to [. . .]

Col. 26 4Q427 Frag. 7 Col. 1 ⁶[. . .] ⁷[. . .] ⁸[. . .] among the gods ⁹[. . .] with the tongue he will arouse (?) me ¹⁰[. . .] evil to the holy ones

and it shall not come ¹¹[. . . to] my [glor]y no one compares. For as for me, [my] office is among the gods, ¹²[and glory and majes]ty is not as gold [. . .] for me. Neither pure gold or precious metal ¹³[. . . for me . . .] shall [not] be reckoned to me. Sing praise, O beloved ones, sing to the King ¹⁴[of glory, rejoice in the congre]gation of God. Sing for joy in the tents of salvation, praise in the [holy] habitation. ¹⁵[E]xalt together with the eternal hosts, ascribe greatness to our God and glory to our King. ¹⁶[Sanct]ify His name with mighty speech, and with eminent oration lift up your voice together. ¹⁷[At a]ll times proclaim, speak it out, exult with eternal joy. There shall be no ¹⁸[ce]asing to bow down together in assembly. Bless the One who performs majestic wonders, **1QH Frag. 55 (+ 4Q427 Frag. 7 Col. 1)** ¹[and makes known the strength of His hand by sealing up myster]ies, revealing hidden things, by r[aising up those who stumble] ²[and fall (?) . . . behavior, those who wait for knowledge, and by brin]ging down the exalted appointments of the prou[d, forever]. **4Q427 Frag. 7 Col. 1** ²¹[by . . .] mysteries of m[ajesty . . .] and by est[abl]ishing the wond]ers of glory. He who judges with the deadly wrath ²²[. . .] with mercy, justice and the abundance of compassion, supplication ²³[. . .] compassion to those who cultivate His great goodness, and a fountain [. . .]

Col. 27 4Q427 Frag. 7 Col. 2 (+ 4Q431 Frag. 1) ²[. . . wickedness comes to an end . . .] ³[. . . in]solence [has ceased, the combatant ceases with his indignation . . .] ⁴deceit [has ended] and there is no ignorant perverse-ness. Light shines out and j[oy pours forth]. ⁵Mourning [has ended] and grief flees. Peace is manifest, fear ceases, a fountain for [eternal] b[lessing] opens, ⁶and healing for all the eternal ages. Iniquity is ended, agony ceases as there is no sickne[ss, injustice is taken away] ⁷[and guilt shall be no] **1QH Frag. 7 Col. 2 (+ 4Q427 Frag. 7 Col. 2)** ¹more. [Proclaim] and s[ay, God, who does wonders, is great. For He brings low the haughty of] ²spirit so that none remain. He rai[s]es the oppressed from the dust . . . and to the heavens] ³and high in stature. And with [the gods in the congregation of the association (*or* of the *Yahad*) . . . for an] ⁴eternal [destruction].

They that fall to the ground He shall rai[se up without price, and strength . . . their step,] ⁵and eternal joy in t[heir] dwellings, [perpetual glory without ceasing. And they shall say, Blessed is God, who . . . arrogance,] ⁶{to make strength known} and who does gr[eat things to make manifest His wondrous strength . . . in the knowledge of all his creatures and good . . . before them] ⁷that they might know the covenant of [His] mercy [. . . His mercy for all the children of His truth. We have known You,] ⁸a God of righteousness and You have given [us] insight [. . . the glory. For we have seen Your zeal] ⁹in strong power, and [we] have recognized [. . . compassion and wonderful forgive-ness]. ¹⁰What is mere humankind to these things? Wh[at shall . . . recounting these things for ever] ¹¹and standing in place [before You . . . the sons of

heaven. There is no mediator] ¹²to give an answer in [. . . to You. For You have established us] ¹³according to [Yo]ur wi[ll] and [. . .] **4Q427 Frag. 7 Col. 2** ^{20a}to hear Your wonders [. . .] ²⁰strength to answer You [. . .] ²¹we speak to You and not to a cham[pion (or intermedi[ary]) . . . You have inclined] ²²an ear to the utterance of our lips. Procl[aim, saying, blessed is the God of knowledge, who stretched out] ²³the heavens with His strength, and all their designs He [determines by] His might, the earth by [His] power [. . .]

—M.G.A.

4. A COMMENTARY ON HABAKKUK

1QpHab

Almost all of the Dead Sea Scrolls that are not themselves copies of biblical books are still connected in some way with the Scriptures of Israel. The poetic compositions, however creative, are still suffused with biblical phrases; the legal texts are based openly or implicitly on scriptural precedents; and the narratives of the past or predictions of the future are retellings or refashionings of sacred stories or prophecies.

The biblical connection comes to expression most clearly in texts that specifically attempt to explain or decipher biblical texts. Sometimes the ancients “explained” the text by rewriting or paraphrasing it, as in text 2, *Tales of the Patriarchs*, or text 9, *The Words of Moses*. Often, though, they simply commented on the Bible, verse by verse. Sometimes the texts under consideration are chosen because of their relevance to a particular theme, as in text 23, *The Last Days*, which consists of explanations of verses about Israel’s future destiny; sometimes continuous passages or books are treated in order, as in the present text, *A Commentary on Habakkuk*.

Very characteristic of the Dead Sea sect was the view that the Bible was a puzzle to be solved or an enigma to be unraveled. Its characteristic word for the activity of interpretation was *peshet*, which as a rule refers to the interpretation of dreams. The biblical Daniel serves as the ideal interpreter of this type: he interprets dreams (Dan. 2, 4) and visions (the “handwriting on the wall,” Dan. 5) not through native ability, but because God has revealed the secrets to him. The Qumran scribes understood their task in the same way: to penetrate the secrets of Scripture not through reflection on the text itself, but through openness to the revelation of God.

The result of this activity is a series of commentaries (perhaps “interpretations” is a better word) that themselves often partake of the unreality of dreams.

The writers saw their own group's history in the words of Scripture, foretold long ago, but are cautious about naming names. Instead, they use symbolic titles with biblical overtones: the Teacher of Righteousness, the Wicked Priest, the Man of the Lie. When they find these characters in the words of the Bible, the disconcerting outcome is not a decoded message, but one code translated into another code.

The *Commentary on Habakkuk* was among the first cache of scrolls from Cave 1 and has itself been the subject of several commentaries. The first step in understanding the commentary is to understand the background of the original book. Habakkuk delivered his prophecy in the sixth century B.C.E. His native Judah was then threatened by two forces: the Chaldeans, or Babylonians, under Nebuchadnezzar, who were then in the process of conquering the small kingdoms of the Near East, and internal religious strife between the pious worshipers of the Lord and the ungodly. The main thrust of the biblical book is to ask where God is in the midst of this misery and whether there is a divine plan.

The Qumran writer uses the biblical book as a pattern to understand his own times. As in the biblical book, Israel is again threatened by a foreign power: not the Chaldeans this time, but a group he calls the "Kittim," or "Westerners," in the opinion of most scholars today, the Romans. And again, Israel is suffering from internal strife between the wicked and the pious, exemplified by the conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and his opponents, the Man of the Lie and the Wicked Priest. All the statements in the first two chapters of Habakkuk are made to refer to these circumstances (the third chapter, consisting of a hymn of praise, is not included in the commentary).

The modern attempt to decode the Qumran "recoding" of Habakkuk has centered on the identification of the Kittim. As noted, most now agree that the Kittim are the Romans, and their arrival in Israel—so dreaded by the writer of the commentary—in fact took place in 63 B.C.E. The *Commentary on Habakkuk* must have been written around that time, and the latest carbon-14 tests in fact point to the first century B.C.E. as the period when the Cave 1 copy was made. (The paleographic date places the scroll late in the first century B.C.E.) That the activity of the Teacher, the Priest, and the Man of the Lie also belongs to this period is still disputed (see the Introduction, pp. 26–34).

The first portion of the commentary focuses on the religious strife in Israel. Unfortunately, the first column survives only in fragments.

Col. 1 ¹["The oracle that the prophet Habakkuk saw. How long have I] cried out, and ²[You do not hear? I cry out 'Injustice!' and You do not liberate us" (1:1–2).]

[This refers to the en]treaty of the generation ³[. . . the events to] come upon them ⁴[. . . they] cried out for ⁵[. . .].

["Why do You let me see such wickedness, why do You be]hold such [tur]moil?" (1:3a).

⁹[This refers to . . . those who rejected the Law of] God with tyranny and treason.

⁷["Robbery and injustice are in front of me; strife and conflict continue" (1:3b).]

⁸[This refers to . . .] in[justice] and strife [. . .] ⁹[. . . conten]tion and [. . .] is ¹⁰[. . .].

"Therefore Law declines, ¹¹[and true judgment never comes forth" (1:4a).]

[This means] that they rejected God's Law ¹²[. . .].

["For the wicked man hems in] the righteous man" (1:4b).

¹³[The "wicked man" refers to the Wicked Priest, and "the righteous man"] is the Teacher of Righteousness ¹⁴[. . .].

["There]fore judgment comes out ¹⁵[perverted" (1:4c).]

[This means that . . .] not [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .].

The following passage expresses something of the writer's view of Israel's history. He believes that "traitors" to God's law trouble the nation at crucial times: the present (those who disbelieve in the Teacher), the past (the unfaithful at the time of Israel's return from Exile, the "New Covenant"), and the future (those who disbelieve in the Anointed Priest, the Messiah of Aaron).

["Look, traitors, and see,] ¹⁷[and be shocked—amazed—for the Lord is doing something in your time that you would not believe it if] **Col. 2** 'told" (1:5).

[This passage refers to] the traitors with the Man of the ²Lie, because they have not [obeyed the words of] the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of ³God. It also refers to the trai[tors to the] New [Covenant], because they did not ⁴believe in God's covenant [and desecrated] His holy name; ⁵and finally, it refers [to the trai]tors in the Last ⁶Days. They are the cru[el Israel]ites who will not believe ⁷when they hear everything that [is to come upon] the latter generation that will be spoken by "the Priest in whose [heart] God has put [the ability] to explain all ⁸the words of His servants the prophets, through [whom] God has foretold ¹⁰everything that is to come upon His people and [His land].

The coming of the Romans. Their cruelty and military prowess was already legendary.

"For I am now about to raise up ¹¹the Chaldeans, that br[utal and reckle]ss people" (1:6a).

¹²This refers to the Kittim, w[ho are] swift and mighty ¹³in war, annihilat[ing] [many people, and . . .] in the authority of ¹⁴the Kittim and [the wicked . . .] and have no faith in ¹⁵the laws of [God.]

¹⁶["They range across the land to seize dwellings not their own" (1:6b).]

¹⁷[This refers to the Kittim . . .] **Col. 3** ¹and they cross the plain, attacking and pillaging the cities of the land, ²for that is what it means when it says, “to seize dwellings not their own.”

“Dire ³and dreadful are they; their law and their fame come from themselves alone” (1:7).

⁴This refers to the Kittim, the fear and [dread] of whom are on all ⁵nations. By intention their only thought is to do evil, and in deceit and trickery ⁶they conduct themselves with all the peoples.

“Swifter than panthers their horses, faster ⁷than desert wolves. Their horses, galloping, spread out, from afar ⁸they fly like a vulture intent on food, all of them bent on violence, ⁹their faces ever forward” (1:8–9a).

[This refers to] the Kittim, who ¹⁰trample the land with [their] horses and with their beasts. From far away ¹¹they come, from the seacoasts, to eat up all the peoples like an ¹²insatiable vulture. In anger and [hostility] and in wrath and arrogance ¹³they speak with all [the peoples, for] that is what it means when ¹⁴it says, [“their faces ever forward.”]

[“They will gather] captives [like sand” (1:9b).]

¹⁵[This refers to . . . ¹⁶ . . . ¹⁷ . . .].

[“At kings] **Col. 4** ¹they mock, potentates they laugh to scorn” (1:10a).

This means that ²they sneer at leaders and deride the nobility; ³they jeer at kings and princes, and ridicule a throng of people.

“They ⁴laugh at every fortress; they just pile up dirt and capture it” (1:10b).

⁵This refers to the rulers of the Kittim, who deride ⁶the fortresses of the peoples and with a sneer laugh at them. ⁷With a great army they surround them to capture them, and with fear and terror ⁸the fortresses fall into their power. Then they destroy them because of the crimes of those who dwell ⁹there.

The arrival of the Romans in Israel was, in the commentator's words, “by the advice of a family of criminals.” Both of the warring factions in Israel in the first century B.C.E. had an interest in Roman intervention. From the commentator's standpoint, no good, beyond the manifestation of God's judgment, can come of the Roman presence.

“Then a wind passes and they are gone, having made might ¹⁰their god” (1:11).

This refe[rs t]o the rulers of the Kittim, ¹¹who enter the land by the advice of a family of criminals: each ¹²in his turn, [their] rulers come, one after the other, ¹³to devastate the la[nd. When it says] “they made might their god,”

¹⁴this means [. . . a]ll the peoples ¹⁵[. . .] ¹⁶[. . .].

The only solution for the faithful, as in Habakkuk's day, is to remain loyal to God's law.

[“But You ¹⁷are eternal, O LORD, my holy God, we will not die.] **Col. 5**

¹You have marked them for judgment; O Rock, You have made them for

rebuke. Eyes too pure ²to see evil, you cannot even watch wrongdoing” (1:12–13a).

³This passage means that God will not exterminate his people through the Gentiles; ⁴on the contrary, He will give the power to pass judgment on the Gentiles to his chosen, and it is at their rebuke that ⁵all the wicked of His people shall be condemned. The chosen are those who have observed His commandments ⁶in the time of their distress, for that is what it means when it says, “eyes too pure to see ⁷evil”: that means that they have not let their eyes lead them into fornication during the time of ⁸wickedness.

The reference to the “family of Absalom” in the following passage has puzzled scholars for decades. Is “Absalom” another code name or a real historical figure? The biblical Absalom was a son of King David who revolted against his father’s rule. But there was also an Israelite nobleman named Absalom in the first century B.C.E. who was the uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus II (see the Introduction, pp. 28–31) and presumably a member of the Sadducean faction. It is possible that he is the one the text refers to.

“How can you look on silently, you traitors, when ⁹the wicked destroys one more righteous than he?” (1:13b).

This refers to the family of Absalom ¹⁰and the members of their party, who kept quiet when the Teacher of Righteousness was rebuked, ¹¹and they did not help him against the Man of the Lie, who had rejected ¹²the Law in the presence of their entire [company].

The assertion that the Kittim sacrifice to their “standards” (military insignia bearing likenesses of the gods or of divinized kings, mounted on a staff) is one of the clearest indications that they are the Romans. It is well documented that the Roman legions burned incense to their standards.

“You made humanity as helpless as fish in the sea, ¹³like something a worm could rule over. He draws them [all] out [with a hook], pulls them in with his net, ¹⁴gathers them [with his dragnet. Therefore he sacrifices] to his net, therefore he is happy ¹⁵[and rejoices and burns incense to his dragnet; for by them] his lot in life [is enriched ¹⁶and his food is wholesome” (1:14–16).]

[This refers to . . .] ¹⁷[. . .] **Col. 6** ¹⁸the Kittim, and they added to their wealth by all their plunder ¹⁹like the fish of the sea. And when it says, “therefore he sacrifices to his net ²⁰and burns incense to his dragnet,” this means that they ²¹sacrifice to their standards, and that their weapons are ²²what they worship. “For by them his lot in life is enriched and his food is wholesome” ²³means that they impose the yoke of their ²⁴taxes—this is “their food”—on all the peoples yearly, ²⁵thus ruining many lands.

“Therefore he keeps his sword always drawn ²⁶to kill nations without pity” (1:17).

¹⁰This refers to the Kittim, who destroy many people with the sword, including ¹¹boys, the weak, old men, women, and children. Even on the child in the ¹²womb they have no mercy.

According to this section, the Teacher himself, like Daniel, received divine communications explaining the words of the prophets. He himself may have pioneered the pesher approach to biblical interpretation.

“So I will stand on watch ¹³and station myself on my watchtower and wait for what He will say ¹⁴to me, and [what I will reply to] His rebuke. Then the LORD answered me ¹⁵[and said, Write down the vision plainly] on tablets, so that with ease ¹⁶[someone can read it” (2:1–2).]

[This refers to . . . ¹⁷ . . .] **Col. 7** ¹then God told Habakkuk to write down what is going to happen to ²the generation to come; but when that period would be complete He did not make known to him. ³When it says, “so that with ease someone can read it,” ⁴this refers to the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known ⁵all the mysterious revelations of his servants the prophets.

“For a prophecy testifies ⁶of a specific period; it speaks of that time and does not deceive” (2:3a).

⁷This means that the Last Days will be long, much longer than ⁸the prophets had said; for God’s revelations are truly mysterious.

Again, as in the comment to Habakkuk 1:12–13, the writer exhorts the righteous to remain faithful and patient throughout the time of suffering.

⁹“If it carries, be patient, it will surely come true and not ¹⁰be delayed” (2:3b).

This refers to those loyal ones, ¹¹obedient to the Law, whose hands will not cease from ¹²loyal service even when the Last Days seems long to them, for ¹³all the times fixed by God will come about in due course as He ordained ¹⁴that they should by his inscrutable insight.

“See how bloated, not smooth, ¹⁵[his soul is]!” (2:4a).

This means that [. . .] will be twice as much for them ¹⁶[. . . and they will not] find favor when they come to judgment [. . . ¹⁷ . . .].

The writer here contemplates the final judgment. How may one escape the wrath to come? By obedience to the Law and loyalty to the Teacher. It is not clear if the Teacher here mentioned is the founder of the sect, or a Teacher who will appear later. The sect appeared to believe both in a present and future Teacher of Righteousness. Whether they were one and the same is still debated.

[“As for the righteous man, by loyalty to him one may find life” (2:4b).]

Col. 8 ¹This refers to all those who obey the Law among the Jews whom ²God will rescue from among those doomed to judgment, because of their suffering and their loyalty ³to the Teacher of Righteousness.

The Teacher's nemesis, the Wicked Priest, is here introduced. Because he was both a priest and also a "ruler of Israel" (ll. 9–10 below) most scholars believe that he must have been one of the Hasmonean priest-kings of the second and first centuries B. C. E. He appears to have been originally a figure that the Teacher and his followers could trust (he had a "reputation for reliability," literally "was called by the name of truth"), but then he proved to be proud, selfish, and greedy.

"And indeed, riches betray the arrogant man and he will not 'last; he who has made his throat as wide as Hades, and who, like Death, is never satisfied. ⁵All the Gentiles will flock to him, and all the peoples will gather to him. ⁶Look, all of them take up a taunt against him, and invent sayings about him, ⁷saying, 'You who grow large on what is not yours, how long will you burden yourself down "with debts?"' (2:5–6).

This refers to the Wicked Priest who ⁹had a reputation for reliability at the beginning of his term of service; but when he became ruler ¹⁰over Israel, he became proud and forsook God and betrayed the commandments for the sake of ¹¹riches. He amassed by force the riches of the lawless who had rebelled against God, ¹²seizing the riches of the peoples, thus adding to the guilt of his crimes, ¹³and he committed abhorrent deeds in every defiling impurity.

The fate of the Wicked Priest. He fell into the hands of his enemies and was tortured; yet it would be his successors, the "later priests of Jerusalem," who would lose their riches to the Romans. It is not clear if the Wicked Priest died as a result of his mistreatment.

"Look, suddenly ¹⁴your creditors will appear, your enemies will rouse themselves and you will become booty for them. ¹⁵Yes, you yourself have plundered many nations, now the rest of the peoples will plunder you" (2:7–8a).

¹⁶[This refers to] the priest who rebelled ¹⁷[and violated] the commandments of [God . . . they mis]treated him [. . .] **Col. 9** ¹inflicting upon him the punishments due to such horrible wickedness, perpetrating upon him painful ²diseases, acts of retaliation against his mortal body. But the verse that ³says, "Yes, you yourself have plundered many nations, now the rest of ⁴the peoples will plunder you," refers to the later priests of Jerusalem, ⁵who will gather ill-gotten riches from the plunder of the peoples, ⁶but in the Last Days their riches and plunder alike will be handed over to ⁷the army of the Kittim, for they are "the rest of the peoples."

"For the murder of human beings and injustice in the land and all who live in it" (2:8b).

⁹This refers to the Wicked Priest. Because of the crime he committed against the Teacher of ¹⁰Righteousness and the members of his party, God handed him over to his enemies, humiliating him ¹¹with a consuming affliction with despair, because he had done wrong ¹²to His chosen.

“Ah, you who amass plunder to the harm of your own house, placing¹³ your perch in a high place to escape the clutch of disaster—you have given shameful advice¹⁴ to your house, destroying many peoples and the sinners of your soul. Surely even¹⁵ the sto[ne]work from the] wall will denounce you, a rafter in the ceiling [will echo it” (2:9–11).]

¹⁶[This refers] to the p[riest] who [. . . ¹⁷ . . .] **Col. 10** ¹that its stones were laid by tyranny and the wooden rafters by robbery. The verse that ²says, “destroying many peoples and the sinners of your soul” ³refers to those doomed to judgment, when God will pronounce ⁴sentence in the presence of many peoples; from there He will bring him up for sentencing, ⁵and in their presence He will condemn him and punish him with fire and brimstone.

The Man of the Lie, or the Spreader of Lies, was the leader of a rival party to that of the Teacher. He and his group—possibly the Pharisees—held a competing interpretation of the Law of Moses.

“Woe to ⁶you who build a city by bloodshed, who found a town by vice! Indeed ⁷this prophecy is from the LORD of Hosts: peoples will toil just for enough fire, ⁸nations will wear themselves out for nothing” (2:12–13).

⁹This refers to the Spreader of Lies, who deceived many, ¹⁰building a worthless city by bloodshed and forming a community by lies ¹¹for his own glory, making many toil at useless labor, teaching them ¹²to do false deeds. In the end, their toil will be for nothing. As a result, they will undergo ¹³fiery punishments because they blasphemed and reviled God’s chosen ones.

¹⁴“The earth will be full of the LORD’s glory as waters ¹⁵cover the sea” (2:14).

This means [that] ¹⁶when they repent [. . . ¹⁷ . . . Spreader of] **Col. 11** ¹Lies, and afterwards true knowledge will be revealed to them, as water of ²the sea for abundance.

The Priest persecutes the Teacher. This paragraph has been intensely studied for clues to the identity of both Priest and Teacher. It appears that the Teacher, after his “rebuke” (see above, 5:10), went into exile; but the Priest, wishing to finish off the Teacher and his followers, hunted him down and confronted the Teacher and his followers on the Day of Atonement. Since it is unlikely that the Priest, if he were high priest, would be hunting his enemies on that holy day, when he had important ritual duties to perform, the day referred to must have been celebrated according to the sectarian calendar.

“Woe to the one who gets his friend drunk, pouring out ³his anger, making him drink, just to get a look at their holy days” (2:15).

⁴This refers to the Wicked Priest, who ⁵pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to destroy him in ⁶the heat of his anger at his place of exile. At the time set aside for the repose of ⁷the Day of Atonement he appeared to them to

destroy them ⁸and to bring them to ruin on the fast day, the Sabbath intended for their repose.

More on the fate awaiting the Wicked Priest.

“You are satisfied with ⁹disgrace, not honor? So go ahead and drink until you stagger; ¹⁰the cup of the LORD’s right hand will come around for you, and then shame ¹¹will cover your honor” (2:16).

¹²This refers to the priest whose disgrace became greater than his honor, ¹³because he had not circumcised his heart’s foreskin, and he lived ¹⁴extravagantly to bring to naught those who had but little. But the cup of God’s wrath ¹⁵will destroy him, increas[ing only his dis]honor and pain [. . .] ^{16–17}[. . .].

[“For the crimes perpetrated against Lebanon he will bury you, for the robbery of beasts,] **Col. 12** ¹he will smite you; because of murder and injustice in the land, the city and all who live in it” (2:17).

²The passage refers to the Wicked Priest, that he will be paid back ³for what he did to the poor, for “Lebanon” refers to ⁴the society of the *Yahad*, and “beasts” refers to the simple-hearted of Judah who obey ⁵the Law. God will condemn him to utter destruction, ⁶just as he planned to destroy the poor. As for the verse that says, “because of murder in the ⁷city and injustice in the land,” “the city” refers to Jerusalem, ⁸where the Wicked Priest committed his abhorrent deeds, defiling the ⁹Temple of God. “Injustice in the land” refers to the cities of Judah where ¹⁰he stole the assets of the poor.

The commentary ends with straightforward condemnation of Gentile idolatry.

“What good is an idol? An idol that someone makes is only ¹an image, a source of false teaching—though indeed the manufacturer trusts his own products, ²making for himself false gods without a voice!” (2:18).

This refers to all ³idols of the Gentiles that they made to worship and bow down to, ⁴though they will not save them on the day of judgment.

“Woe ⁵to those [who say] to mere wood, ‘Be alert,’ or [‘Wake up,’ to] dumb [stone]. ⁶“[Can it enlighten you? It may indeed be covered with gold and silver, ⁷but there is no life in it. But the LORD really is in his holy temple.] **Col. 13** ¹Keep silence before him, all the earth” (2:19–20).

This refers to all the Gentiles ²who have worshiped stone and wood. In the day of ³judgment God will exterminate all those who worship false gods, ⁴as well as the wicked, from the earth.

—E.M.C.

5. CHARTER OF A JEWISH SECTARIAN ASSOCIATION

1QS, 4Q255–264a, 5Q11

Discovery can be a deceitful process. What is discovered, and when, frequently depends on nothing so much as sheer chance. Unavoidably and often, the order of discovery is a decisive factor in historical reconstructions—to the detriment occasionally of accurate understanding. The fortuitous is not always fortunate. Fortunately, that is not the case with the present text.

It was among the first seven scrolls found and has been central to discussions about the Dead Sea Scrolls ever since. But this work's centrality has depended less on the accident that it was among the first scrolls discovered (though that has been a factor) than on its character and on the fact that the Cave 1 copy was virtually intact. Also, the sheer number of copies of this work discovered in the caves—thirteen, almost as many as copies of Genesis and Exodus, and more than almost any of the other books of the Bible—dictates this work's centrality in any attempt to understand the phenomenon of the scrolls. Clearly sectarian, this writing uses striking language and imagery to express the mind-set of outsiders.

Scholars commonly refer to this work as the "Community Rule." According to the "Standard Model" described in the Introduction, this work is supposed to have governed a community living at Qumran. But that idea is at least partly wrong; the work itself refers to various groups or chapters scattered throughout Palestine. Therefore it did not attach specifically to the site of Qumran (whatever the connection of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the site may be, and whatever the nature of that site may be). This text does not merely reflect a small community living there. Since "community" usually implies a definite and restricted geographical location and thereby calls this mistaken notion to mind, it seems better to find a different word for the text's users. As we explained in the Introduction, to avoid the misleading connotations of various possible English semi-equivalents we have decided to use one of the association's most common self-designations, *Yahad*, "unity."

The present text is essentially a constitution or charter for the *Yahad*. That it is a charter becomes clear by comparison with charters from elsewhere in the contemporary Greco-Roman world. Research by Moshe Weinfeld and Matthias Klinghardt, among others, has shown that virtually every structural element of this ancient Jewish writing has analogs in the charters of guilds and religious associations from Egypt, Greece, and Asia Minor. Yet it seems that something more is going on in this writing than simply chartering a club.

Josephus, the first-century Jewish historian, described the major Jewish groups as philosophical schools, not clubs. His portrayal is usually dismissed by scholars as a misleading adaptation of the true Jewish situation, done for the sake of his Greek-reading audience. If, however, we give the historian's characterization a bit more credence, we note that in some ways the group described by our text was indeed more like a philosophic academy than a club. Such academies were more all-embracing than clubs generally tended to be, more definitive of the members' total worldview; clubs were more nearly analogous to our guilds or unions. In his classic 1933 study, *Conversion*, A. D. Nock delineated the hallmarks of the philosophies: they offered intelligible explanations of phenomena, offered a life with discipline, fostered ideal types (saints), had the influence of a living teacher, made a literary appeal, and demanded a change in lifestyle akin to the Judeo-Christian concept of conversion. All of these elements are present here. Thus, though the group described by our charter was *formed* like a club, it *functioned* more like a philosophic academy.

As the work describes it, the association is made up of priests, Levites (a secondary priestly order), "Israel," and Gentile proselytes. In this context "Israel" means not the generality of Jews, but only those who accept the teachings of the group. Other Jews, along with the surrounding Gentile nations, are considered "Men of Perversity" who "walk in the wicked way." Entry into the group is through conversion. Following repentance from sin, the initiate begins a two-year process leading to full membership. During this period he (women are not specifically mentioned) receives instruction in the group's secret knowledge and passes through progressively higher stages of purity. Some of the convert's wealth (according to 7:6-8 he retained an unspecified portion of his funds) is merged with that of the group, a practice markedly similar to that of early Christians described in the New Testament book of Acts. Eventually the association assigns him a rank based upon his obedience to the Law of Moses as they understand it. Rank and advancement in group life depends in large measure upon doing "works of the Law" (Hebrew *maase ha-torah*), a phrase significant also in writings of the apostle Paul.

Each chapter of the association has a leader known as the Instructor, probably the foremost priest, who guides deliberations about rules for the group's government, association funds, and biblical interpretation. Indeed, the heading of the text from Cave 1 states that this copy belonged to an Instructor, who may well have referred to the work when instructing new converts.

Decisions are by majority rule. The local chapters comprise at least ten men who meet for meals and Bible study. Each year they conduct a full review of the membership. At that time a man's rank can change, for better or worse, according to his behavior and biblical understanding.

The use of military terminology is notable. Members are described as "volunteers" and are organized into groups of thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. The

method of organization is that used in the holy war conducted under Moses and Joshua when Israel first attacked the Canaanites and took possession of the land of Israel. This choice of terminology was, of course, deliberate. The group thought of itself as warriors awaiting God's signal to begin the final war against the nations and the wicked among the Jews. Meanwhile they sought to live in a heightened state of purity, as the Bible required for holy warriors.

Among the Jews, similar purity groups are known from rabbinic literature. Designated by the Hebrew term *haburot*, these other Jewish purity groups (perhaps made up of Pharisees) required an oath of admittance and ate their meals together. Further similarities between our group and the *haburot* include a period of probation for prospective members and separation from the generality of Jews. Some early Christian groups also organized themselves in similar fashion, so far as the details are described in the book of Acts.

Many of this work's theological ideas are familiar to us from other Jewish writings and early Christianity (which was, of course, itself a Jewish movement when it began). As with Christianity, members of the association envision themselves as entering a new covenant with God, truly fulfilling the old Mosaic covenant. The charter calls this new covenant variously the Covenant of Mercy, the Covenant of the Eternal *Yahad*, the Eternal Covenant, and the Covenant of Justice. Believers are presently living in an era when Satan (here called Belial) rules the world. The New Testament terms Satan "the Prince of this world." Ultimately, that fact explains why believers, who know and live by the truth, have such difficulties in this world. Believers are Children of Light, nonbelievers Children of Darkness—terminology also used in the New Testament. Among other names, the association calls itself "The Way" (e.g., 9:18), a self-designation that some of the first Christians also used (Acts 9:2).

In the future the charter anticipates a "gracious visitation" of God. Then adherents will enter into the Day of Vengeance, and this world's power structures will be overturned: the last shall be first and the first, last. Those who enter the *Yahad* of God can anticipate long life, bountiful peace, multiple progeny, and eventually life everlasting. One passage of the text may speak of the hope of resurrection (11:16–17). Believers will one day receive a "crown of glory" and a "robe of honor." On the other hand, everyone not belonging to the group is fated to everlasting damnation, an eternity of torture by the evil "angels of perdition," all the while burning in utter darkness. The charter's long descriptive passages on hell and the fate of unbelievers are chilling, their detail doubtless a reflection of the almost palpable hatred of outsiders.

Particularly striking is the notion of hidden teaching, called the "mystery." Early Christianity and rabbinic Judaism also embraced similar but distinct notions of "continuing revelation" not known to outsiders. This is the idea that God continued to reveal new truth in their own day and that the Bible was neither the only, nor the final, repository of his communication with humankind. Paul speaks

often of "the mystery that has been hidden throughout the ages and generations but has now been revealed to his saints" (Col. 1:26). The rabbis thought of themselves as tradents, "handers-down" of additional revelation given to Moses at Sinai, the "oral law"—passed on from generation to generation only by word of mouth. This revelation could not be found in the Bible. Likewise, the mystery cults of the Greco-Roman world promised their initiates insight into some otherwise unattainable secret to life. In no small part this common emphasis on mysterious new revelation expressed a dissatisfaction with centuries-old cults and religious teachings. Among Jews, for example, many thinking people in the period of the New Testament had difficulties with the notion of animal sacrifice. As the New Testament book of Hebrews formulates the issue, "It is impossible for the blood of bulls and goats to take away sins" (10:4). Thus, for the author of Hebrews, sacrifices are ineffectual and pointless in the light of what Jesus has accomplished.

The members of this charter's association likewise believed that sacrifice was in itself ineffectual. They were not so radical as the early Christians, however, and could not simply discontinue sacrifice altogether, since it was, after all, commanded by God and regulated in great detail by the writings of Moses. They conceived of themselves as atoning for sin through sacrifice offered in the context of prayer, righteousness, and blameless behavior (9:4-5). Without the proper inner attitude, sacrifice meant nothing (3:11).

Perhaps the most striking conceptual—even verbal—similarity between early Christian thought and that of this charter is the notion of community as temple. Paul speaks of the believers being "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the cornerstone. In him the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built together spiritually into a dwelling place for God" (Eph. 2:20-22). Our text describes the believers as a "temple for Israel and . . . Holy of Holies . . . the tested wall, the precious cornerstone whose foundations shall neither be shaken nor swayed . . . a blameless and true house in Israel" (8:5-9). Thus both early Christians and members of this association conceived of themselves abstractly as the true temple. They had replaced the physical structure in Jerusalem. This was an idea with a transcendent implication, since the Bible could be read as saying that God lived in the Jerusalem Temple. For both of these groups, God did not dwell in that mere hollow edifice built by human hands. He lived in them.

The work begins by characterizing the covenant to which members are to commit themselves. The author further describes the ideal community in general terms and explains the role to be taken by an Instructor as a teacher for the community.

Col. 1 'A text belonging to [the Instructor, who is to teach the Holy] Ones how to live according to the book of the *Yahad's* Rule. He is to teach them to seek ²God with all their heart and with all their soul, to do that

which is good and upright before Him, just as ³He commanded through Moses and all His servants the prophets. He is to teach them to love everything ⁴He chose and to hate everything He rejected, to distance themselves from all evil ⁵and to hold fast to all good deeds; to practice truth, justice, and righteousness ⁶in the land, and to walk no longer in a guilty, willful heart and lustful desires, ⁷wherein they did every evil thing. He is to induct all who volunteer to live by the laws of God ⁸into the Covenant of Mercy, so as to be joined to God's society and walk faultless before Him, according to all ⁹that has been revealed for the times appointed them. He is to teach them both to love all the Children of Light—each ¹⁰commensurate with his rightful place in the council of God—and to hate all the Children of Darkness, each commensurate with his guilt ¹¹and the vengeance due him from God.

All who volunteer for His truth are to bring the full measure of their knowledge, strength, and ¹²wealth into the *Yahad* of God. Thus will they purify their knowledge in the verity of God's laws, properly exercise their strength ¹³according to the perfection of His ways, and likewise their wealth by the canon of His righteous counsel. They are not to deviate in the smallest detail ¹⁴from any of God's words as these apply to their own time. They are neither to advance their holy times nor to postpone ¹⁵any of their prescribed festivals. They shall turn aside from His unerring laws neither to the right nor the left.

Next is described a ceremony for initiating new members into the community.

¹⁶All who enter the *Yahad's* Rule shall be initiated into the Covenant before God, agreeing to act ¹⁷according to all that He has commanded and not to backslide because of any fear, terror, or persecution ¹⁸that may occur during the time of Belial's dominion. While the initiates are being inducted into the Covenant, the priests ¹⁹and the Levites shall continuously bless the God of deliverance and all His veritable deeds. All ²⁰the initiates into the Covenant shall continuously respond "Amen, amen."

²¹The priests are to rehearse God's gracious acts made manifest by mighty deeds, ²²heralding His loving mercies on Israel's behalf. The Levites in turn shall rehearse ²³the wicked acts of the children of Israel, all their guilty transgressions and sins committed during the dominion ²⁴of Belial. All the initiates into the Covenant are to respond by confessing, "We have been wicked, ²⁵transgressed, and [sin]ned. We have been wicked—we and our fathers before us—walking ²⁶[in rebellion to the laws] of truth and righteousness, [wherefore God] has judged us, both we and our fathers. **Col. 2** ¹Yet He has also required us with the loving deeds of His mercy, long ago and forevermore."

Then the priests are to bless all ²those foreordained to God, who walk faultless in all of His ways, saying "May He bless you with every ³good thing and preserve you from every evil. May He enlighten your mind with wisdom

for living, be gracious to you with the knowledge of eternal things, ⁴and lift up His gracious countenance upon you for everlasting peace." The Levites in turn shall curse all those foreordained to ⁵Belial. They shall respond, "May you be damned in return for all your wicked, guilty deeds. May the ⁶God of terror give you over to implacable avengers; may He visit your offspring with destruction at the hands of those who recompense ⁷evil with evil. May you be damned without mercy in return for your dark deeds, an object of wrath ⁸licked by eternal flame, surrounded by utter darkness. May God have no mercy upon you when you cry out, nor forgive so as to atone for your sins. ⁹May He lift up His furious countenance upon you for vengeance. May you never find peace through the appeal of any intercessor." ¹⁰All the initiates into the Covenant shall respond to the blessers and cursers, "Amen, amen."

Many movements founded on repentance face the problem of the initiate who is not truly converted. The following section addresses this problem.

¹¹Then the priests and Levites shall go on to declare, "Damned be anyone initiated with unrepentant heart, ¹²who enters this Covenant, then sets up the stumbling block of his sin, so turning apostate. It shall come to pass, ¹³when he hears the words of this Covenant, that he shall bless himself in his heart, saying 'Peace be with me, ¹⁴though I walk in the stubbornness of my heart' (Deut. 29:18–19). Surrounded by abundant water, his spirit shall nevertheless expire thirsty, without ¹⁵forgiveness. God's anger and zeal for His commandments shall burn against him for eternal destruction. All the ¹⁶curse of this Covenant shall cleave to him, and God shall separate him out for a fate befitting his wickedness. He shall be cut off from all the Sons of Light because of his apostasy ¹⁷from God, brought about by unrepentance and the stumbling block of sin. He shall cast his lot with those damned for all time." ¹⁸The initiates are all to respond in turn, "Amen, amen."

Annual review of the membership.

¹⁹They shall do as follows annually, all the days of Belial's dominion: the priests shall pass in review ²⁰first, ranked according to their spiritual excellence, one after another. Then the Levites shall follow, ²¹and third all the people by rank, one after another, in their thousands and hundreds ²²and fifties and tens. Thus shall each Israelite know his proper standing in the *Yahad* of God, ²³an eternal society. None shall be demoted from his appointed place, none promoted beyond his foreordained rank. ²⁴So shall all together comprise a *Yahad* whose essence is truth, genuine humility, love of charity, and righteous intent, ²⁵caring for one another after this fashion within the holy society, comrades in an eternal fellowship.

Who is to be excluded from God's society and why.

Anyone who refuses to enter ²⁶[the society of G]od, preferring to continue in his willful heart, shall not [be initiated into the *Yahad* of His truth, inasmuch as his soul **Col. 3** ¹has rejected the disciplines foundational to knowledge: the laws of righteousness. He lacks the strength to repent. He is not to be reckoned among the upright. ²His knowledge, strength, and wealth are not to enter the society of the *Yahad*. Surely, he plows in the muck of wickedness, so defiling stains ³would mar his repentance. Yet he cannot be justified by what his willful heart declares lawful, preferring to gaze on darkness rather than the ways of light. With such an eye ⁴he cannot be reckoned faultless. Ceremonies of atonement cannot restore his innocence, neither cultic waters his purity. He cannot be sanctified by baptism in oceans ⁵and rivers, nor purified by mere ritual bathing. Unclean, unclean shall he be all the days that he rejects the laws ⁶of God, refusing to be disciplined in the *Yahad* of His society.

For only through the spirit pervading God's true society can there be atonement for a man's ways, all ⁷of his iniquities; thus only can he gaze upon the light of life and so be joined to His truth by His holy spirit, purified from all ⁸iniquity. Through an upright and humble attitude his sin may be covered, and by humbling himself before all God's laws his flesh ⁹can be made clean. Only thus can he really receive the purifying waters and be purged by the cleansing flow. Let him order his steps to walk faultless ¹⁰in all the ways of God, just as He commanded for the times appointed to him. Let him turn aside neither to the right nor the left, nor yet ¹¹deviate in the smallest detail from all of His words. Then indeed will he be accepted by God, offering the sweet savor of atoning sacrifice, and then only shall he be a party to the Covenant of ¹²the eternal *Yahad*.

A theoretical discussion of the two spirits that control humankind and determine who is good and who is evil, why upright people sin and why the good suffer, and what the manifestations are of both spirits.

¹³A text belonging to the Instructor, who is to enlighten and teach all the Sons of Light about the character and fate of humankind: ¹⁴all their spiritual varieties with accompanying signs, all their deeds generation by generation, and their visitation for afflictions together with ¹⁵eras of peace.

All that is now and ever shall be originates with the God of knowledge. Before things come to be, He has ordered all their designs, ¹⁶so that when they do come to exist—at their appointed times as ordained by His glorious plan—they fulfill their destiny, a destiny impossible to change. He controls ¹⁷the laws governing all things, and He provides for all their pursuits.

He created humankind to rule over ¹⁸the world, appointing for them two spirits in which to walk until the time ordained for His visitation. These are the spirits ¹⁹of truth and falsehood. Upright character and fate originate with the Habitation of Light; perverse, with the Fountain of Darkness. ²⁰The

authority of the Prince of Light extends to the governance of all righteous people; therefore, they walk in the paths of light. Correspondingly, the authority of the Angel ²¹of Darkness embraces the governance of all wicked people, so they walk in the paths of darkness.

The authority of the Angel of Darkness further extends to the corruption ²²of all the righteous. All their sins, iniquities, shameful and rebellious deeds are at his prompting, ²³a situation God in His mysteries allows to continue until His era dawns. Moreover, all the afflictions of the righteous, and every trial in its season, occur because of this Angel's diabolic rule. ²⁴All the spirits allied with him share but a single resolve: to cause the Sons of Light to stumble.

Yet the God of Israel (and the Angel of His Truth) assist all ²⁵the Sons of Light. It is actually He who created the spirits of light and darkness, making them the cornerstone of every deed, ²⁶their impulses the premise of every action. God's love for one spirit Col. 4 ¹lasts forever. He will be pleased with its actions for always. The counsel of the other, however, He abhors, hating its every impulse for all time.

²Upon earth their operations are these: one enlightens a man's mind, making straight before him the paths of true righteousness and causing his heart to fear the laws ³of God. This spirit engenders humility, patience, abundant compassion, perpetual goodness, insight, understanding, and powerful wisdom resonating to each ⁴of God's deeds, sustained by His constant faithfulness. It engenders a spirit knowledgeable in every plan of action, zealous for the laws of righteousness, holy ⁵in its thoughts, and steadfast in purpose. This spirit encourages plenteous compassion upon all who hold fast to truth, and glorious purity combined with visceral hatred of impurity in its every guise. It results in humble deportment ⁶allied with a general discernment, concealing the truth, that is, the mysteries of knowledge. To these ends is the earthly counsel of the spirit to those whose nature yearns for truth.

Through a gracious visitation all who walk in this spirit will know healing, ⁷bountiful peace, long life, and multiple progeny, followed by eternal blessings and perpetual joy through life everlasting. They will receive a crown of glory ⁸with a robe of honor, resplendent forever and ever.

⁹The operations of the spirit of falsehood result in greed, neglect of righteous deeds, wickedness, lying, pride and haughtiness, cruel deceit and fraud, ¹⁰massive hypocrisy, a want of self-control and abundant foolishness, a zeal for arrogance, abominable deeds fashioned by whorish desire, lechery in its filthy manifestation, ¹¹a reviling tongue, blind eyes, deaf ears, stiff neck, and hard heart—to the end of walking in all the ways of darkness and evil cunning.

The judgment ¹²of all who walk in such ways will be multiple afflictions at the hand of all the angels of perdition, everlasting damnation in the wrath of God's furious vengeance, never-ending terror and reproach ¹³for all eternity,

with a shameful extinction in the fire of Hell's outer darkness. For all their eras, generation by generation, they will know doleful sorrow, bitter evil, and dark happenstance, until ¹⁴their utter destruction with neither remnant nor rescue.

The struggle of good and evil, and good's ultimate triumph.

¹⁵The character and fate of all humankind reside with these spirits. All the hosts of humanity, generation by generation, are heirs to these spiritual divisions, walking according to their ways; the outworking of every ¹⁶deed inheres in these divisions according to each person's spiritual heritage, whether great or small, for every age of eternity. God has appointed these spirits as equals until the ¹⁷last age, and set an everlasting enmity between their divisions. False deeds are thus an abomination to the truth, whereas all the ways of truth are for perversity equally a disgrace. Fierce ¹⁸dispute attends every point of decision, for they can never agree. In his mysterious insight and glorious wisdom God has countenanced an era in which perversity triumphs, but at the time appointed ¹⁹for visitation He shall destroy such forever. Then shall truth come forth in victory upon the earth. Sullied by wicked ways while perversity rules, at ²⁰the time of the appointed judgment truth shall be decreed. By His truth God shall then purify all human deeds, and refine some of humanity so as to extinguish every perverse spirit from the inward parts ²¹of the flesh, cleansing from every wicked deed by a holy spirit. Like purifying waters, He shall sprinkle each with a spirit of truth, effectual against all the abominations of lying and sullyng by an ²²unclean spirit. Thereby He shall give the upright insight into the knowledge of the Most High and the wisdom of the angels, making wise those following the perfect way. Indeed, God has chosen them for an eternal covenant; ²³all the glory of Adam shall be theirs alone. Perversity shall be extinct, every fraudulent deed put to shame.

Until now the spirits of truth and perversity have contended within the human heart. ²⁴All people walk in both wisdom and foolishness. As is a person's endowment of truth and righteousness, so shall he hate perversity; conversely, in proportion to bequest in the lot of evil, one will act wickedly and ²⁵abominate truth. God has appointed these spirits as equals until the time of decree and renewal. He foreknows the outworking of their deeds for all the ages ²⁶[of eternity]. He has granted them dominion over humanity, so imparting knowledge of good [and evil, de]ciding the fate of every living being by the measure of which spirit predominates in hi[m, until the day of the appointed] visitation.

Rules for the conduct of the community. In the first section the rules are general and abstract.

Col. 5 ¹This is the rule for the men of the *Yahad* who volunteer to repent from all evil and to hold fast to all that He, by His good will, has commanded.

They are to separate from the congregation of ²perverse men. They are to come together as one with respect to Law and wealth. Their discussions shall be under the oversight of the Sons of Zadok—priests and preservers of the Covenant—and according to the majority rule of the men of ³the *Yahad*, who hold fast to the Covenant. These men shall guide all decisions on matters of Law, money, and judgment.

They are to practice truth together with humility, ⁴charity, justice, loving-kindness, and modesty in all their ways. Accordingly, none will continue in a willful heart and thus be seduced, not by his heart, ⁵neither by his eyes nor yet by his lower nature. Together they shall circumcise the foreskin of this nature, this stiff neck, and so establish a foundation of truth for Israel—that is to say, for the *Yahad* of the Eternal ⁶Covenant. They are to atone for all those in Aaron who volunteer for holiness, and for those in Israel who belong to truth, and for Gentile proselytes who join them in community. Both by trial and by verdict ⁷they are to condemn any who transgress a regulation.

General foundational precepts regarding entry into the group's new Covenant.

These are the regulations that govern when they are gathered together as a community. Every initiate into the society of the *Yahad* ⁸is to enter the Covenant in full view of all the volunteers. He shall take upon himself a binding oath to return to the Law of Moses (according to all that He commanded) with all ⁹his heart and with all his mind, to all that has been revealed from it to the Sons of Zadok—priests and preservers of the covenant, seekers of His will—and the majority of the men of their Covenant ¹⁰(that is, those who have jointly volunteered for His truth and to live by what pleases Him). Each one who thus enters the Covenant by oath is to separate himself from all of the perverse men, those who walk ¹¹in the wicked way, for such are not reckoned a part of His Covenant. They “have not sought Him nor inquired of His statutes” (Zeph. 1:6) so as to discover the hidden laws in which they err ¹²to their shame. Even the revealed laws they knowingly transgress, thus stirring God's judgmental wrath and full vengeance: the curses of the Mosaic Covenant. He will bring against them ¹³weighty judgments, eternal destruction with none spared.

The mention of outsiders inspires a digression criticizing them. Clearly involvement with such people was a dangerous attraction for some members of the community.

None of the perverse men is to enter purifying waters used by the Men of Holiness and so contact their purity. (Indeed, it is impossible to be purified ¹⁴without first repenting of evil, inasmuch as impurity adheres to all who transgress His word.) None is to be yoked with such a man in his work or wealth, lest “he cause him to bear ¹⁵guilt” (Lev. 22:16). On the contrary, one must keep far from him in every respect, for thus it is written: “Keep far from

every false thing" (Exod. 23:7). None belonging to the *Yahad* is to discuss ¹⁶with such men matters of Law or legal judgment, nor to eat or drink what is theirs, nor yet to take anything from them ¹⁷unless purchased, as it is written "Turn away from mere mortals, in whose nostrils is only breath; for of what account are they?" (Isa. 2:22). Accordingly, ¹⁸all who are not reckoned as belonging to His covenant must be separated out, along with everything they possess; the Man of Holiness must not rely upon futile ¹⁹actions, whereas all who do not know His Covenant are futility itself. All those who despise His word, He shall destroy from upon the face of the earth. Their every deed is an abomination ²⁰before Him, all that is theirs being infested with impurity.

Stipulations governing the examination of initiates.

When anyone enters the Covenant—to live according to all these ordinances, to make common cause with the Congregation of Holiness—they ²¹shall investigate his spiritual qualities as a community, each member taking part. They shall investigate his understanding and works vis-à-vis the Law, guided both by the Sons of Aaron, who have jointly volunteered to uphold ²²His Covenant and to observe all of the ordinances that He commanded them to execute, and by the majority of Israel, who have volunteered to return, as a community, to His Covenant. ²³They are to be enrolled by rank, one man higher than his fellow—as the case may be—by virtue of his understanding and works. Thus each will obey his fellow, the inferior his superior. They shall ²⁴examine spiritual qualities and works annually, promoting a man because of his understanding and perfection of walk, or demoting him because of failure.

How shall those higher in rank reprove their inferiors? Several rules govern this potentially divisive issue.

Each man is to reprove ²⁵his fellow in truth, humility, and loving-kindness. He should not speak to him in anger, with grumbling, ²⁶with a [stiff] neck or with a wickedly [zealous] spirit. He must not hate him because of his own [uncircumcised] heart. Most assuredly he is to rebuke him on the day of the infraction so that he does not **Col. 6** ¹continue in sin. Also, no man is to bring a charge against his fellow before the general membership unless he has previously rebuked that man before witnesses.

General principles of organization intended to govern the various local chapters of the community in their joint meals and study of the Bible.

By these rules ²they are to govern themselves wherever they dwell, in accordance with each legal finding that bears upon communal life. Inferiors must obey their ranking superiors as regards work and wealth. They shall eat, ³pray, and deliberate communally. Wherever ten men belonging to the society of the *Yahad* are gathered, a priest must always ⁴be present. The men shall sit

before the priest by rank, and in that manner their opinions will be sought on any matter. When the table has been set for eating or the new wine readied ⁵for drinking, it is the priest who shall stretch out his hand first, blessing the first portion of the bread or the new wine. ⁶In any place where is gathered the ten-man quorum, someone must always be engaged in study of the Law, day and night, ⁷continually, each one taking his turn. The general membership will be diligent together for the first third of every night of the year, reading aloud from the Book, interpreting Scripture, and ⁸praying together.

Procedural rules for the public meetings of the chapters.

This is the rule for the session of the general membership, each man being in his proper place. The priests shall sit in the first row, the elders in the second, then the rest ⁹of the people, each in his proper place. In that order they shall be questioned about any judgment, deliberation, or matter that may come before the general membership, so that each man may state his opinion ¹⁰to the society of the *Yahad*. None should interrupt the words of his comrade, speaking before his brother finishes what he has to say. Neither should anyone speak before another of ¹¹higher rank. Only the man being questioned shall speak in his turn. During the session of the general membership no man should say anything except by the permission of the general membership, or more particularly, of the man ¹²who is the Overseer of the general membership. If any man has something to say to the general membership, yet is of a lower rank than whoever is guiding the deliberations of the society of the ¹³*Yahad*, let him stand up. He should then say, "I have something to say to the general membership." If they permit, he may speak.

The work returns yet again to the topic of initiates into the community. Elaborated here are specific procedures for a two-year process of admission by steps into full membership.

If anyone of Israel volunteers ¹⁴for enrollment in the society of the *Yahad*, the man appointed as leader of the general membership shall examine him regarding his understanding and works. If he has the potential for instruction, he is to begin initiation ¹⁵into the Covenant, returning to the truth and repenting of all perversity. He shall be made to understand all the basic precepts of the *Yahad*. Subsequently in the process, he must stand before the general membership and the whole chapter shall interrogate him ¹⁶about his particulars. According to the decision of the society of the general membership, he shall either proceed or depart.

If he does proceed in joining the society of the *Yahad*, he must not touch the pure food ¹⁷of the general membership before they have examined him as to his spiritual fitness and works, and not before a full year has passed. Further, he must not yet admix his property with that of the general membership. ¹⁸When he has passed a full year in the *Yahad*, the general membership

shall inquire into the details of his understanding and works of the Law. If it be ordained, ¹⁹in the opinion of the priests and the majority of the men of their Covenant, then he shall be initiated further into the secret teaching of the *Yahad*. They shall also take steps to incorporate his property, putting it under the authority of the ²⁰Overseer together with that of the general membership, and keeping an account of it—but it shall not yet be disbursed along with that of the general membership.

The initiate is not to touch the drink of the general membership prior to ²¹passing a second year among the men of the *Yahad*. When that second year has passed, the general membership shall review his case. If it be ordained ²²for him to proceed to full membership in the *Yahad*, they shall enroll him at the appropriate rank among his brothers for discussion of the Law, jurisprudence, participation in pure meals, and admixture of property. Thenceforth the *Yahad* may draw upon his counsel and ²³judgment.

A penal code, setting forth case-by-case violations and penalties. Many of these have to do with breaches of discipline and order, while others concern ethical shortcomings. The code begins with laws governing speech.

²⁴These are the rules by which cases are to be decided at a community inquiry.

If there be found among them a man who has lied ²⁵about money and done so knowingly, they shall bar him from the pure meals of the general membership for one year; further, his ration of bread is to be reduced by one-fourth.

Anyone who answers ²⁶his comrade defiantly or impatiently, thereby rejecting the instruction of his fellow and rebelling against the orders of his higher-ranked comrade, ²⁷has usurped authority; he is to be punished by reduced rations and [exclusion from the pure meals] for one year.

Anyone who speaks aloud the M[ost] Holy Name of God, [whether in . . .] or **Col. 7** 'in cursing or as a blurt in time of trial or for any other reason, or while he is reading a book or praying, is to be expelled, ²never again to return to the society of the *Yahad*.

If anyone speaks angrily against one of the priests who are inscribed in the book, he is to be punished by reduced rations for ³one year and separated from the pure meals of the general membership, eating by himself. If, however, he spoke without premeditation, he shall suffer reduced rations for only six months.

Anyone who knowingly lies ⁴is to be punished by reduced rations for six months.

The man who accuses his comrade of sin, fully aware that he cannot prove the charge, is to suffer reduced rations for one year ⁵and be separated from the pure meals.

Laws governing fraud and grudges.

Whoever speaks with his companion deceitfully or knowingly practices fraud is to be punished by reduced rations for six months.

If a man is "drawn unawares into a fraudulent scheme by his comrade, then he is to be punished by reduced rations for only three months.

If money belonging to the *Yahad* is involved in a fraudulent scheme and lost, the man responsible must repay the sum ⁷from his own funds. ⁸If he lacks sufficient resources to repay it, then he is to suffer reduced rations for sixty days.

Whoever nurses a grudge against his companion—in blatant disregard of the *Yahad* statute about reproof on the selfsame day—is to be punished by reduced rations for six months <one year>. ⁹The same applies to the man who on any matter takes vengeance into his own hands.

Laws governing public meetings and communal meals of the chapters. Coarse behavior, public indecency, spitting, and gesturing with the left hand are all forbidden; spitting and using the left hand carried overtones of sorcery in the ancient world.

Whoever speaks foolishness: three months.

Anyone interrupting his companion while in session: ¹⁰ten days.

Anyone who lies down and sleeps in a session of the general membership: thirty days.

The same applies to the man who leaves a session of the general membership ¹¹without permission and without a good excuse three times in a single session. Up to the third time he shall be punished by reduced rations only ten days. But if they have risen for prayer ¹²when he leaves, then he is suffer thirty days' reduced rations.

Anyone who walks about naked in the presence of a comrade, unless he be sick, is to be punished by reduced rations for six months.

¹³A man who spits into the midst of a session of the general membership is to be punished by reduced rations for thirty days.

Anyone who brings out his penis from beneath his clothing—that is, his clothing is ¹⁴so full of holes that his nakedness is exposed—is to be punished by thirty days' reduced rations.

Anyone who bursts into foolish horselaughter is to be punished by reduced rations for thirty ¹⁵days.

A man who draws out his left hand to gesture during conversation is to suffer ten days' reduced rations.

Laws concerning various degrees of rebellion against the community and its teaching.

The man who gossips about his companion ¹⁶is to be barred for one year from the pure meals of the general membership and punished by reduced ra-

tions. But if a man gossips about the general membership, he is to be banished from them ¹⁷and may never return.

The man who murmurs against the secret teaching of the *Yahad* is to be banished, never to return. But if he murmurs against a comrade ¹⁸and cannot prove the charges, he is to be punished by reduced rations for six months.

The man whose spirit deviates from the secret teaching of the *Yahad*, such that he forsakes the truth and ¹⁹walks in the stubbornness of his heart—if he repents, he is to be punished by two years of reduced rations. During the first, he is not to touch the pure food of the general membership; ²⁰during the second, he is not to touch their drink. He shall rank lower than all the men of the *Yahad*. When ²¹two full years have passed, the general membership shall inquire into his particulars. If they allow him to proceed, he shall be enrolled at the appropriate rank and thereafter take part in discussions of community precepts.

²²Any man who, having been in the society of the *Yahad* for ten full years, ²³backslides spiritually so that he forsakes the *Yahad* and leaves ²⁴the general membership, walking in his willful heart, may never again return to the society of the *Yahad*.

Also, any man belonging to the *Yahad* who shares ²⁵with him his own pure food, his own wealth [or that of] the *Yahad*, is to suffer the same verdict: he is to be expelled.]

This section of the text bears an uncertain relationship to the previous portions. Some scholars believe that an "inner council" of elite members is here described; others, that this and several following sections of the text represent an early, original manifesto that was later expanded. On this second understanding, the whole community, not just an elite, is being described. Several Cave 4 copies of the Charter suggest that this second understanding or some more nuanced version of it is indeed correct.

Col. 8 ¹In the society of the *Yahad* there shall be twelve laymen and three priests who are blameless in the light of all that has been revealed from the whole ²Law, so as to work truth, righteousness, justice, loving-kindness, and humility, one with another. ³They are to preserve faith in the land with self-control and a broken spirit, atoning for sin by working justice and ⁴suffering affliction. They are to walk with all by the standard of truth and the dictates proper to the age.

When such men as these come to be in Israel, ⁵then shall the society of the *Yahad* truly be established, an "eternal planting" (*Jubilees* 16:26), a temple for Israel, and—mystery!—a Holy ⁶of Holies for Aaron; true witnesses to justice, chosen by God's will to atone for the land and to recompense ⁷the wicked their due. They will be "the tested wall, the precious cornerstone" (*Isa.* 28:16) whose ⁸foundations shall neither be shaken nor swayed, a fortress, a Holy of Holies ⁹for Aaron, all of them knowing the Covenant of Justice and thereby

offering a sweet savor. They shall be a blameless and true house in Israel, ¹⁰upholding the covenant of eternal statutes. They shall be an acceptable sacrifice, atoning for the land and ringing in the verdict against evil, so that perversity ceases to exist.

When these men have been grounded in the instruction of the *Yahad* for two years—provided they be blameless in their conduct— ¹¹they shall be set apart as holy in the midst of the men of the *Yahad*. No biblical doctrine concealed from Israel but discovered by the ¹²Interpreter is to be hidden from these men out of fear that they might backslide.

When such men as these come to be in Israel, ¹³conforming to these doctrines, they shall separate from the session of perverse men to go to the wilderness, there to prepare the way of truth, ¹⁴as it is written, “In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God” (Isa. 40:3). ¹⁵This means the expounding of the Law, decreed by God through Moses for obedience, that being defined by what has been revealed for each age, ¹⁶and by what the prophets have revealed by His holy spirit.

Rules for community discipline, more general than those previously stipulated in the penal code. Notably harsher at points, they may constitute an earlier version of that code.

No man belonging to the Covenant of the ¹⁷*Yahad* who flagrantly deviates from any commandment is to touch the pure food belonging to the holy men. ¹⁸Further, he is not to participate in any of their deliberations until all his works have been cleansed from evil, so that he is again able to walk blamelessly. They shall admit him ¹⁹into deliberations by the decision of the general membership; afterwards, he shall be enrolled at an appropriate rank. This is also the procedure for every initiate added to the *Yahad*.

²⁰These are the rules by which the men of blameless holiness shall conduct themselves, one with another. ²¹Any covenant member of the *Yahad* of Holiness (they who walk blamelessly as He commanded) ²²who transgresses even one commandment from the Law of Moses intentionally or deviously is to be expelled from the society of the *Yahad*, ²³never to return. Further, none of the holy men is to do business with that man or advise him on any ²⁴matter whatsoever.

But if the sinner transgressed unintentionally, then he is to be separated from the pure food, community deliberations, ²⁵and jurisprudence for two years. He may return to study sessions and deliberations if he does not again sin by inadvertence for two full years. **Col. 9** ¹A single unintentional sin may be punished by this two-year process, but the intentional sinner shall never again return. Only the accidental sinner ²shall be tested by the general membership over a two-year period for blameless conduct and right understand-

ing. Afterwards, he may be enrolled at the appropriate rank within the *Yahad* of Holiness.

The purpose of the community, its manifesto, is reiterated. This statement ends by looking forward to the arrival of a prophet—perhaps the “prophet like Moses” predicted by the book of Deuteronomy, or perhaps a herald such as John the Baptist became for early Christians—and two messiahs, one priestly and one presumably in the royal line of David.

³When, united by all these precepts, such men as these come to be a community in Israel, they shall establish eternal truth ⁴guided by the instruction of His holy spirit. They shall atone for the guilt of transgression and the rebellion of sin, becoming an acceptable sacrifice for the land through the flesh of burnt offerings, the fat of sacrificial portions, and ⁵prayer, becoming—as it were—justice itself, a sweet savor of righteousness and blameless behavior, a pleasing freewill offering.

At that time the men ⁶of the *Yahad* shall withdraw, the holy house of Aaron uniting as a Holy of Holies, and the synagogue of Israel as those who walk blamelessly. ⁷The sons of Aaron alone shall have authority in judicial and financial matters. They shall decide on governing precepts for the men of the *Yahad* ⁸and on money matters for the holy men who walk blamelessly. Their wealth is not to be admixed with that of rebellious men, who ⁹have failed to cleanse their path by separating from perversity and walking blamelessly. They shall deviate from none of the teachings of the Law, whereby they would walk ¹⁰in their willful heart completely. They shall govern themselves using the original precepts by which the men of the *Yahad* began to be instructed, ¹¹doing so until there come the Prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel.

Rules for the Instructor who is to teach the Yahad.

¹²These are the statutes for the Instructor. He is to conduct himself by them with every living person, guided by the precepts appropriate to each era and the value of each person. ¹³He is to work the will of God according to what has been revealed for each period of history, studying all the wise legal findings of earlier times, as well as every ¹⁴statute applying to his own time. He is to discern who are the true Sons of Righteousness and to weigh each man's spiritual qualities, sustaining the chosen ones of his own time in keeping with ¹⁵His will and what He has commanded. In each case he shall decide what a man's spiritual qualities mandate, letting him enter the *Yahad* if his virtue and understanding of the Law ¹⁶measure up. By the same standards he shall determine each man's rank.

The Instructor must not reprove the Men of the Pit, nor argue with them about proper biblical understanding. ¹⁷Quite the contrary: he should conceal his own insight into the Law when among perverse men. He shall save

reproof—itsself founded on true knowledge and righteous judgment—for those who have chosen ¹⁸the Way, treating each as his spiritual qualities and the precepts of the era require. He shall ground them in knowledge, thereby instructing them in truly wondrous mysteries; if then the secret Way is perfected among ¹⁹the men of the *Yahad*, each will walk blamelessly with his fellow, guided by what has been revealed to them. That will be the time of “preparing the way ²⁰in the desert” (Isa. 40:3). He shall instruct them in every legal finding that is to regulate their works in that time, and teach them to separate from every man who fails to keep himself ²¹from perversity.

These are the precepts of the Way for the Instructor in these times, as to his loving and hating: eternal hatred ²²and a concealing spirit for the Men of the Pit! He shall leave them their wealth and profit like a slave does his master—presently humble before ²³his oppressor, but a zealot for God’s law whose time will come: even the Day of Vengeance. He shall work God’s will when he attacks the wicked and ²⁴exercise authority as He has commanded, so that He is pleased with all that is done, as with a freewill offering. Other than God’s will he shall delight in nothing, ²⁵finding pleasure only in [ev]ery word of His mouth. He shall desire nothing that He has not command[ed,] ceaselessly seeking the [la]ws of God. ²⁶He shall bless his Creator [for all of His good]ness, and re[count His loving-kindness] in all that is to be.

The times when the Instructor is to lead in prayer.

[With pray]er shall he bless Him **Col. 10** ¹at the times ordained of God: when light begins its dominion—each time it returns—and when, as ordained, it is regathered into its dwelling place; when night begins ²its watches—as He opens His storehouse and spreads darkness over the earth—and when it cycles back, withdrawing before the light; ³when the luminaries show forth from their holy habitation, and when they are regathered into their glorious abode; when the times appointed for new moons arrive, and when, as their periods require, ⁴each gives way to the next. Such renewal is a special day for the Holy of Holies; indeed, it is a sign that He is unlocking eternal loving-kindness each time ⁵these cycles begin as ordained, and so it shall be for every era yet to come.

A lengthy sample prayer of the sort that the Instructor was to deliver in celebration of holy times. This prayer is clearly connected in language and style to the Thanksgiving Psalms (text 3). The times specified are particularly related to the solar calendar found in so many of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

On the first of each month in its season, and on holy days laid down for a memorial, in their seasons ⁶by a prayer shall I bless Him—a statute forever en-

graved. When each new year begins and when its seasons turn, fulfilling the law ⁷of their decree, each day as set forth, day after day: harvest giving way to summer, planting to the shoots of spring, seasons, years, and weeks of years.

⁸When weeks of years begin, Jubilee by Jubilee, while I live, on my tongue shall the statute be engraved—with praise its fruit, even the gift of my lips.

⁹With knowledge shall I sing out my music, only for the glory of God, my harp, my lyre for His holiness established; the flute of my lips will I lift, His law its tuning fork. ¹⁰At break of day and darkling sky shall I enter the covenant of God, and when they depart I shall recite His laws; then shall I prescribe ¹¹my bounds, never to turn back.

By His law shall I convict myself, my wickedness the measure, my sin before my eyes, as a statute engraved. To God shall I say “O, my Righteousness,” ¹²to the Most High “O, Seat of my good, source of knowledge and Fount of holiness; height of glory, Almighty, eternal Splendor.” What He teaches me, ¹³that shall I choose; as He judges me, so shall I delight.

When first I begin campaign or journey, His name shall I bless; when first I set out or turn to come back; ¹⁴when I sit down or rise up, when I spread my bed, then shall I rejoice in Him.

I will bless Him with the offering, the issue of my lips when in ranked array; ¹⁵before I lift hand to mouth to savor the delightful bounty of the earth; when fear or terror break out, in habitation of dire straits or desolation, ¹⁶Him shall I praise.

Upon His miracles and deeds of power shall I meditate; upon His loving-kindness I shall rely all the day. Then shall I know that in His hand resides the judgment ¹⁷of all the living, and all His works are truth. When distress breaks out I shall praise Him, and in His salvation shall I rejoice.

The prayer turns from holy times to ethical behavior, with a focus on the coming “Day of Vengeance.” This term refers to the time of war when the people of God will rise up and take their rightful place at the head of the nations.

To no man shall I return ¹⁸evil for evil, I shall pursue a man only for good; for with God resides the judgment of all the living, and He shall pay each man his recompense. My zeal shall not be tarnished by a spirit ¹⁹of wickedness, neither shall I lust for riches gained through violence.

The multitude of evil men I shall not capture until the Day of Vengeance; yet my fury shall not ²⁰abate from Men of the Pit, and I shall never be appeased until righteousness be established.

I shall hold no angry grudge against those repenting of sin yet neither shall I love ²¹any who rebel against the Way; the smitten I shall not comfort until their walk be perfected. I shall give no refuge in my heart to Belial.

Next the focus turns to the use of the tongue. This portion is reminiscent of the New Testament book of James (3:1–12) and its warnings on the danger of an uncontrolled tongue.

In my mouth shall be heard ²²neither foolishness nor sinful deceit; neither fraud nor lies shall be discovered between my lips. Rather, the fruits of holiness will be upon my tongue—abominations ²³will not be found thereon.

For thanksgiving shall I open my mouth, the righteousness of God shall my tongue recount always. Human rebellion, made full ²⁴by sin, as vain I shall purge from my lips; impure and crafty design I shall expunge from my mind.

Counseled by wisdom, I shall recount knowledge; ²⁵both prudent and wise, I shall compass it close about, so to preserve faith and strict judgment—conforming to the righteousness of God.

I shall mete out ²⁶the statute by the measure proper to each time and . . . [dispense] righteousness and loving-kindness to those cast down, even strong encouragement to those who are fearful.

Col. 11 'I shall teach] the errant of spirit understanding, instructing those who murmur with wisdom—so humbly to answer the haughty with broken spirit, those who ²oppress, scorn, speak vainly, and are zealous only for wealth.

God is the source of whatever goodness the worshiper may claim, and the truths that he possesses—hidden from other people—are given by God.

As for me, my justification lies with God. In His hand are the perfection of my walk and the virtue of my heart. ³By His righteousness is my transgression blotted out. For from the fount of His knowledge has my light shot forth; upon his wonders has my eye gazed—the light of my heart upon the mystery ⁴of what shall be.

He who is eternal is the staff of my right hand, upon the Mighty Rock do my steps tread; before nothing shall they retreat. For the truth of God— ⁵that is the rock of my tread, and His mighty power, my right hand's support. From His righteous fount comes my justification, the light of my heart from His wondrous mysteries.

Upon the eternal ⁶has my eye gazed—even that wisdom hidden from men, the knowledge, wise prudence from humanity concealed. The source of righteousness, gathering ⁷of power, and abode of glory are from fleshly counsel hidden.

To them He has chosen all these has He given—an eternal possession. He has made them heirs in the legacy ⁸of the Holy Ones; with the Angels has He united their assembly, a *Yahad* society. They are an assembly built up for holiness, an eternal Planting for all ⁹ages to come.

As for me, to evil humanity and the counsel of perverse flesh do I belong. My transgressions, evils, sins, and corrupt heart ¹⁰belong to the counsel of wormy rot and those who walk in darkness.

Surely a man's way is not his own; neither can any person firm his own step. Surely justification is of God; by His power ¹¹is the way made perfect. All that shall be, He foreknows, all that is, His plans establish; apart from Him is nothing done.

As for me, if ¹²I stumble, God's loving-kindness forever shall save me. If through sin of the flesh I fall, my justification will be by the righteousness of God which endures for all time.

¹³Though my affliction break out, He shall draw my soul back from the Pit, and firm my steps on the way. Through His love He has brought me near; by His loving-kindness shall He provide ¹⁴my justification.

By His righteous truth has He justified me; and through His exceeding goodness shall He atone for all my sins. By His righteousness shall He cleanse me of human ¹⁵defilement

And the sin of humankind—to the end that I praise God for His righteousness, the Most High for His glory.

The prayer closes by reflecting on the greatness of God and human unworthiness.

Blessed are You, O my God, who has opened to knowledge ¹⁶the mind of Your servant. Establish all of his works in righteousness; raise up the son of Your handmaiden—if it please You—to be among those chosen of humankind, to stand ¹⁷before You forever.

Surely apart from You the way cannot be perfected, nor can anything be done unless it please You. You teach ¹⁸all knowledge and all that shall be, by Your will shall it come to pass. Apart from You there is no other able to contest Your counsel, fathom ¹⁹the design of Your holiness, penetrate the depth of Your mysteries, or apprehend Your wonders and surpassing ²⁰power.

Who can Your glory measure? Who, indeed, is man among Your glorious works? ²¹As what can he, born of a woman, be reckoned before You? Kneaded from dust, his body is but the bread of worms; he is so much spit, ²²mere nipped-off clay—and for clay his longing. Shall clay contest, the vessel plumb counsel?

—M.O.W.

6. CHARTER FOR ISRAEL IN THE LAST DAYS

1QSa, 1Q28a

This short work—only two columns of Hebrew text—was inscribed as an appendix to the Cave 1 copy of the foregoing *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (text 5). Only this one copy exists; no additional copies were discovered in the other caves. The work reflects many of the same ideas as the longer charter, but unlike that writing, this composition is specifically intended for an ideal

future, which it calls the “Last Days.” The author imagines that when this millennium fully breaks forth, the *Yahad* will lead a final war against the Gentiles. All Israel—including here women and children—will mobilize and, now realizing their error in not earlier accepting the group’s views, come to the *Yahad* and join it for Armageddon. This composition is a blueprint for central aspects of military organization in the coming war, and in both language and concept it is closely related to the *War Scroll* writings (see text 8).

Two aspects of this text are particularly remarkable. First, it describes a banquet or feast in which all Israel will take part in the Last Days. The feast is associated with the arrival of the “Messiah of Israel” and is comparable with the early Christian *agape*, or “love,” feasts described by such ancient writers as Hippolytus. These Christian meals were attached to the sacrament of Communion. We read in the New Testament and other early Christian literature of disorderly behavior associated with these meals. Thus the strict regulation of the banquet described here finds a context. Doubtless this future banquet was an idealization of the *Yahad*’s ordinary practice. According to text 5, it regularly held less exalted communal meals. The connection of the meal here to the arrival of the messiah further recalls Christian imagery of the “marriage supper of the Lamb,” the great banquet where believers are said to join Jesus after all evil has been vanquished (Rev. 19:6–9).

The second remarkable aspect of this writing is its possible reference in 2:11 to God’s “fathering” of the Messiah of Israel, that is, the war leader who was to arise from the line of David. The Hebrew verb used here is *holid*, the same verb used in the biblical “begetting” passages. Because it has been damaged, this passage of our text has long been controversial. The reading of the Hebrew letters is difficult, but the scholars who saw the manuscript when it was first discovered (when it was more legible than it is today; the texts have deteriorated) agreed on this reading. Yet the most recent examinations of the difficult passage continue to breed controversy. Geza Vermes of Oxford wrote in 1994, “This reading, which has been queried by many, including myself in [the past], seems to be confirmed by computer image enhancement.”¹ But in the same year Émile Puech, also relying upon improved photographic technology, came to a different conclusion: the difficult letters should be read as another verb meaning “be revealed.” The matter requires further study.

If the traditional reading is correct, then this Qumran text is describing a messianic figure who is in a special way a “son of God.” The notion that a messiah would be such is, of course, an idea held in common with early Christianity.

General instructions for the final incorporation of all Israel into the Yahad.

Col. 1 'This is the rule for all the congregation of Israel in the Last Days, when they are mobilized [to join the *Yahad*. They must]live ²by the law of

¹G.Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 4th ed. (New York: Penguin, 1995), 121.

the Sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of their Covenant, they who ce[ased to walk in the w]ay ³of the people. These same are the men of His Council who kept His Covenant during evil times, and so aton[ed for the lan]d.

⁴As they arrive, all the newcomers shall be assembled—women and children included—and read ⁵all the statutes of the Covenant. They shall be indoctrinated in all of their laws, for fear that otherwise they may sin accidentally.

Rules for the childhood education of the troops. The mysterious "Book of Meditation" is also mentioned in the Damascus Document (text 1) and in the Secret of the Way Things Are (text 88).

⁶The following is the policy for all the troops of the congregation, and it applies to every native-born Israelite. From [early ch]ildhood each boy ⁷is to be instructed in the Book of Meditation. As he grows older, they shall teach him the statutes of the Covenant, and [as his ability permits,] ⁸they shall [gro]und him in their laws. For ten years (starting at age ten) he is to be considered a youth.

Male rite of passage into adulthood and the army at age twenty. Female incorporation at marriage.

Then, at age twenty, [he shall be enrolled] ⁹[in] the ranks and take his place among the men of his clan, thereby joining the holy congrega[tion.] He must not app[roach] ¹⁰a woman for sexual intercourse before he is fully twenty years old, when he knows [right] ¹¹from wrong. With the marriage act she, for her part, is received into adult membership. From this time on he may bear witness to the statutes of the Law, and take his place among the ranks for the ceremonial proclamation of the ordinances.

Rules governing eligibility for service to the congregation and the army at ages twenty-five, thirty, and older.

¹²At age twenty-five, he is eligible to take his place among the pillars of the holy ¹³congregation and to begin serving the congregation.

When he is thirty years old, he may begin to take part in legal disputes. ¹⁴Further, he is now eligible for command, whether of the thousands of Israel, or as a captain of hundreds, fifties, or ¹⁵tens, or as a judge or official for their tribes and clans. Command appointments shall [be decided by] the Sons of ¹⁶[Aar]on, the priests, advised by all the heads of the congregation's clans. Anyone so destined must take his pla[ce] in service publicly, ¹⁷[and likewise go for]th to battle and return while the congregation looks on.

In proportion to his intelligence and the perfection of his walk, let each man strengthen his loins for his assignm[ent among the tr]oops, ¹⁸for the

performance of his works among his brothers. [What]ever his rank, high or low, let [ea]ch man seek honor for himself, striving to outdo his fellow.

¹⁹When a man is advanced in age, let him be assigned a task in the se[rvi]ce of the congregation that is commensurate with his remaining strength.

The place of the dull-witted.

No dull-witted man ²⁰is to be ordained to office as a leader of the congregation of Israel; neither may he be a le[ga]l disputant, nor perform a task for the congregation. ²¹He may not receive command in the war that will bring the Gentiles to their knees. Still, he may be enlisted in the ranks of his clan ²²and serve as a laborer or such, as his capacities permit.

The role of the Levites.

Now the Sons of Levi shall each receive a specific assignment ²³from the Sons of Aaron. In general, they shall lead the whole congregation out to battle and back, each man in ranked array, commanded by the heads of ²⁴the congregation's clans: officers and judges and officials, in the number required by their armies. The Levites shall be overseen by the Sons of Aaron, the priests, ²⁵and all the heads of the congregation's clans.

Whenever the entire congregation is required to assemble, whether to deliver a legal verdict, ²⁶as a society of the *Yahad*, or as a war council, then the Levites shall consecrate them for three days, insuring that everyone who comes ²⁷is properly prep[ared for the council].

Membership in the society of the Yahad.

These are the men appointed to the society of the *Yahad*: all the ²⁸[wis]e of the congregation, the understanding and knowledgeable—who are blameless in their behavior and men of ability—together with the ²⁹tri[bal officials,] all judges, magistrates, captains of thousands, [hundreds,] **Col. 2** ¹fifties, and tens, and the Levites, each a full mem[ber of his div]ision of service. These are ²the men of reputation, who hold commissions in the society of the *Yahad* in Israel ³that sits before the Sons of Zadok, the priests.

Those excluded from assemblies. Some are disallowed because of cultic impurity, others because of physical infirmity, which was regarded as a mark of sin.

No man who suffers from a single one of the uncleannesses ⁴that affect humanity shall enter their assembly; neither is any man so afflicted ⁵to receive an assignment from the congregation. No man with a physical handicap—crippled in both legs or ⁶hands, lame, blind, deaf, dumb, or possessed of a visible blemish in his flesh—⁷or a doddering old man unable to do his share in the congregation—⁸may en[ter] to take a place in the congregation of the m[e]n of reputation. For the holy ⁹angels are [a part of] their congregation.

If [one] of these people has some[thing] to say to the holy congregation, ¹⁰let an oral [de]position be taken, but the man must n[ot] enter [the congregation,] for he has been smitten.

The messianic banquet. The Yahad believed that in the Last Days two messiahs would emerge from their own ranks, one a priest, the other a royal commander for the armies.

¹¹The procedure for the [mee]ting of the men of reputation [when they are called] to the banquet held by the society of the *Yahad*, when [God] has fa[th]ered(?) ¹²the Messiah (or, when the Messiah has been revealed) among them: [the Priest,] as head of the entire congregation of Israel, shall enter first, trailed by all ¹³[his] brot[hers, the Sons of] Aaron, those priests [ap- pointed] to the banquet of the men of reputation. They are to sit ¹⁴be[fore him] by rank. Then the [Mess]iah of Israel may en[ter], and the heads ¹⁵of the th[ousands of Israel] are to sit before him by rank, as determined by [each man's comm]ission in their camps and campaigns. Last, all ¹⁶the heads of [the con]gregation's cl[ans], together with [their] wis[e and knowledgeable men], shall sit before them by ¹⁷rank.

[When] they gather [at the] communal [tab]le, [having set out bread and w]ine so the communal table is set ¹⁸[for eating] and [the] wine (poured) for drinking, none [may re]ach for the first portion ¹⁹of the bread or [the wine] before the Priest. For [he] shall [bl]ess the first portion of the bread ²⁰and the wine, [reac]hing for the bread first. Afterw[ard] the Messiah of Israel [shall re]ach ²¹for the bread. [Finally,] ea[ch] member of the whole congregation of the *Yahad* [shall give a bl]essing, [in descending order of] rank.

This procedure shall govern ²²every me[al], provided at least ten me[n are ga]thered together.

—M.O.W.

7. PRIESTLY BLESSINGS FOR THE LAST DAYS

1Q28b, 1QSb

This collection of blessings expresses important aspects of the *Yahad's* ideology regarding the Last Days. The leader of the *Yahad*, called "the Instructor," was to recite these blessings, perhaps upon the occasion (described in text 6) when all Israel was being mustered as new members. He would bless first the general membership, then the high priest or priestly messiah, the priests more generally, and finally the Leader of the Congregation or military messiah.

In this text we find mention of the group's belief that they would someday be joined to the angels. The priests, in particular, are envisioned as serving in a future temple with the "Angels of the Presence." With these exalted beings the priests

would "order destiny," that is, determine the course of events on earth. Thus the group held no mean view of their own importance. We also read of the group's intense hatred for their enemies and of their confident belief in ultimate victory, not only over other Jews, but over the entire earth. As in text 6, the notion of a final war against the Gentiles is prominent, and selected portions of the Bible are understood as applying to the son of David who will lead that campaign.

A blessing for the full membership of the Yahad.

Col. 1 ¹Words of blessing belonging to the Instructor, by which to bless those who fear [God, those who do] His will and keep His commandments, ²who hold fast to His holy co[ven]ant and walk blameless [in all the paths of] His [truth,] whom He chose for an ³eternal covenant th[at should en]dure forever.

May the L[ord] bless you [from His holy habitation;] may He throw open for you an everla[st]ing fount from hea[ven], ⁴ne[ver fail]ing. [. . .] ⁵May He [gra]ce you with every blessing [of the heavenlies]; [may He teach] you the knowledge of the angels! ⁶[. . . May He open for you] an eternal [fou]nt; may He never wi[thhold living water from] the thirsty. You sha[ll be] ⁷[. . . May He] deliver you from all [your enemies; may He smite] whom you hate so that none sur[vive].

Remnants of a blessing for the high priest of the Last Days.

Col. 2 ²²[. . .] May the Lord grace you with the [holy] sp[irit . . . with all] ²³His [rewa]rds may He delight you; May He grace you [with . . .] ²⁴May He grace you with the holy spirit and loving[-kindness . . .] ²⁵and with an eternal covenant may He grace you, causing [you] greatly to rejoice [. . .] ²⁶May He grace you with righteous judgment, [. . . that you not] stumb[le . . .] ²⁷May He look graciously upon all your works [. . . May He grace you] ²⁸[with] eternal truth [. . . May He look graciously] upon all your descen[dants . . .]

Col. 3 ¹⁴"May the Lord lift up His countenance upon you" (Num. 6:26); [may He delight in] the savor [of your sacrifices]. May He choose all who abide in [your] pries[thood]. ²May He be specially present at all your holy times and fest[ivals . . .] all your seed. May He lift up ³His countenance toward your entire congregation! May He place [a crown] upon your head [. . .] ⁴with [perpetual] glo[ry. May He] sanctify your descendants with glory without end! May He lif[t up His countenance toward . . .] ⁵[. . .] May He grant you eter[na]l [pea]ce and a kingdom of [. . .] ⁶[. . .] from the flesh, and with the h[oly] angels [. . .] ⁷May He wage war [at the head] of your thousands [to exterminate] a perver[se] generation [. . .]

¹⁸[. . . to bring to their kn]ees ma[n]y pe[opl]es on your behalf, and not ¹⁹[. . .] all the wealth of the earth to turn you away from the [eternal] fount

²⁰[. . . S]eek him, for God has laid all the foundations of ²¹[. . .] He has established peace for you forever and ever.

A blessing for the priests, the Sons of Zadok.

²²Words of blessing belonging to the Inst[ru]ctor, by which to bless] the Sons of Zadok, the priests, chosen ²³by God to uphold His covenant for[ever, to pr]ove His precepts among His people, and to teach them ²⁴as He commanded. They have truly held fast [to His covenant], righteously observing all His statutes and walking as ²⁵He chose.

May the Lord bless you from His [ho]ly [habitation]! May He set you, perfected in honor, in the midst of ²⁶the Holy Ones; [may He re]new for you the [eternal] covenant of the priesthood. May He make a place for you in the holy [habitation]. ²⁷May He ju[dge a]ll princes by the measure of your works, all [leaders] of the nations by ²⁸what you say. May He make the first fruits of [every pleas]ing thing your inheritance; may He bless all mortal counsel by your hand!

Col. 4 ²²[. . . For] He has chosen you [. . .] ²³and to place you at the head of the Holy Ones and with you to bl[ess . . .] by your hand ²⁴the men of God's society, rather than by the hand of a prince [. . .] May you ²⁵[abide forever] as an Angel of the Presence in the holy habitation, to the glory of the God of host[s. May you] serve in the temple of ²⁶the kingdom of God, ordering destiny with the Angels of the Presence, a society of the *Yahad* [with the Holy Ones] forever, for all the ages of eternity!

Surely ²⁷[all] His [pr]ecepts are truth! May He establish you as holy among His people, as the "greater [light]" (Gen. 1:16) to illumine] the world with knowledge, and to shine upon the face of many ²⁸[with wisdom leading to life. May He establish you] as consecrated to the Holy of Holies! [You shall] indeed [be sanctified to Him, glorifying His name and His Holy Ones!

Col. 5 ¹⁷[. . . F]or He has ord[ained you to the priesthood . . .] ¹⁸[wi]th never [ending] time [and] with all the ages of eternity. May He never gi[ve] your glory [to another . . . May] ¹⁹God [put] the fear of you [upon] all who hear a report of you, and of your majesty [upon all who . . .]

A blessing for the Leader of the nation, a Davidic war leader who was to arise in the Last Days. Much of the language of this blessing is drawn from Isaiah 11, which has often been interpreted by both Jews and Christians as speaking of the Messiah.

²⁰(Words of blessing) belonging to the Instructor, by which to bless the Leader of the nation who [. . .] ²¹And He shall renew for him the Covenant of the [Ass]ociation, so as to establish the kingdom of His people forev[er, that "with righteousness He may judge the poor,] ²²[and] decide with equity for [the me]jek of the earth" (Isaiah 11:4), walk before Him blameless in all

the ways of [His heart,] ²³and establish His covenant as holy [against] the enemy of those who seek H[im.]

[May] the Lord li[ft] you up to an eternal height, a mighty tower in a wall ²⁴securely set on high! Thus may you “be r[ighteous] by the might of your [mouth,] lay waste the earth with your rod! With the breath of your lips ²⁵may you kill the wicked!” (Isa. 11:4, modified). May He give [you “the spirit of coun]sel” and may “eternal might [rest upon you], the spirit of knowledge and the fear of God” (Isa. 11:2). May “righteousness ²⁶be the belt [around your waist, and faithful]ness the belt around your loins” (Isa. 11:5). May He “make your horns iron and your hoofs bronze!” (Mic. 4:13). ²⁷May you gore like a bu[ll] . . . May you trample the nati[on]s like mud in the streets! For God has established you as “the scepter” (Num. 24:17) ²⁸over the rulers; bef[ore] you peoples shall bow down, and all nat[ion]s shall serve you. He shall make you mighty by His holy name, ²⁹so that you shall be as a li[on] among the beasts of the forest]; your [sword will devour] prey, with none to resc[ue]. Your [sw]ift steeds shall spread out upon [the earth . . .]

—M.O.W.

8. THE WAR SCROLL

1QM, 4Q491–496

Armageddon: the war to end all wars. These words stir up images of inevitable conflict, the final focus on the dark side of human nature, the ultimate catharsis that ushers in an age of peace. All of these issues come to a head in the *War Scroll*, a text that describes the eschatological last battle in gory detail as righteousness is fully victorious and evil is forever destroyed. This vivid account gives us insight into how, at about the time of Jesus, some Jews conceived of Armageddon.

The first lines of the scroll (1QM 1:1–7) lay the framework for a three-stage conflict between the Sons of Light—that is, members of the *Yahad* (see 1QS 3:13)—and the Sons of Darkness. The first battle finds the adversaries led by the Kittim of Assyria. (Although the name Kittim is often used in the scrolls as a reference to the Romans, its basic sense seems to have been “archetypical bad guys.”) The Kittim of Asshur come in alliance with the biblical enemies Edom, Moab, Ammon, and Philistia. Cooperating with this unholy alliance are the “violators of the covenant”: Jews who had spurned the message of the *Yahad* and in so doing aligned themselves with the Sons of Darkness. The second stage expands the war’s influence to the Kittim who dwelt in Egypt, and then finally to the Kings of the North.

Although this war is said to extend over forty years, the writer of the scroll was particularly concerned with the details of the very final day of battle. After six bloody engagements during this last battle, the Sons of Light and Sons of Dark-

ness are deadlocked in a 3–3 tie. In the seventh and final confrontation “the great hand of God shall overcome [Belial and all] the angels of his dominion, and all the men of [his forces shall be destroyed forever]” (1QM 1:14–15).

Along the way, in true apocalyptic fashion, the scroll goes into elaborate detail concerning the battle trumpets (2:15–3:11), banners (3:12–5:2), and operational matters (5:3–9:16). Priestly prayers for the various phases of the conflict are recorded next (9:17–15:3). Finally, the seven savage engagements of the final day of battle are detailed (15:4–18:8), culminating in a ceremony of thanksgiving on the day following the victory (18:10–19:14).

As with biblical representatives of apocalyptic literature, Ezekiel 38–39 and the Revelation of John as pertinent examples, one can easily lose sight of the primary purpose of the work. It is not to be found in the intricate and often mysterious details of the text. Rather, the author was concerned with the tribulation and hopelessness that his readers were currently experiencing. He built his encouragement on a biblical theology of rescue: the defeat of Goliath at the hand of David (1QM 11:1–2), and Pharaoh and the officers of his chariots at the Red Sea (11:9–10). Coupled with this aspect was his understanding that great suffering was part of God’s will for the redeemed. Indeed, God’s crucible (17:9) was seen as a necessary component of man’s existence so long as evil continued to exist in the world. Ultimately, God’s purpose was to exalt the Sons of Light and to judge the Children of Darkness. The message is one of hope. In the face of such perverse evil, the Sons of Light are encouraged to persevere to the end. God was preparing to intervene and bring a permanent solution for the problem of evil.

The scroll itself is one of the first seven texts found by the Bedouin in 1947. Nineteen columns of text are preserved, lacking only a few lines at the bottom edge and the final page or pages of the composition (see text 54). Although six additional manuscripts were found seven years later in Cave 4 (4Q491–496), they are only moderately helpful in reconstructing the missing portions of 1QM.

The description of the eschatological war.

Col. 1 ¹For the In[structor, the Rule of] the War. The first attack of the Sons of Light shall be undertaken against the forces of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial: the troops of Edom, Moab, the sons of Ammon, ²the [Amalekites], Philistia, and the troops of the Kittim of Asshur. Supporting them are those who have violated the covenant. The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, those exiled to the wilderness, shall fight against them ³with [. . .] against all their troops, when the exiles of the Sons of Light return from the Wilderness of the Peoples to camp in the Wilderness of Jerusalem. Then after the battle they shall go up from that place ⁴a[nd the king of] the Kittim [shall enter] into Egypt. In his time he shall go forth with great wrath to do battle against the kings of the north, and in his anger he shall set out to destroy and eliminate the strength of ⁵I[srael. Then the]re

shall be a time of salvation for the People of God, and a time of dominion for all the men of His forces, and eternal annihilation for all the forces of Belial. There shall be g[reat] panic ⁶[among] the sons of Japheth, Assyria shall fall with no one to come to his aid, and the supremacy of the Kittim shall cease, that wickedness be overcome without a remnant. There shall be no survivors ⁷of [all the Sons of] Darkness.

⁸Then [the Sons of R]igh[teousness shall shine to all ends of the world, continuing to shine forth until end of the appointed seasons of darkness. Then at the time appointed by God, His great excellence shall shine for all the times of ⁹e[ternity;] for peace and blessing, glory and joy, and long life for all Sons of Light. On the day when the Kittim fall there shall be a battle and horrible carnage before the God of ¹⁰Israel, for it is a day appointed by Him from ancient times as a battle of annihilation for the Sons of Darkness. On that day the congregation of the gods and the congregation of men shall engage one another, resulting in great carnage. ¹¹The Sons of Light and the forces of Darkness shall fight together to show the strength of God with the roar of a great multitude and the shout of gods and men; a day of disaster. It is a time of ¹²distress fo[r all] the people who are redeemed by God. In all their afflictions none exists that is like it, hastening to its completion as an eternal redemption. On the day of their battle against the Kittim, ¹³they shall g[o forth for] carnage in battle. In three lots the Sons of Light shall stand firm so as to strike a blow at wickedness, and in three the army of Belial shall strengthen themselves so as to force the retreat of the forces ¹⁴[of Light. And when the] banners of the infantry cause their hearts to melt, then the strength of God will strengthen the he[arts of the Sons of Light.] In the seventh lot the great hand of God shall overcome ¹⁵[Belial and all] the angels of his dominion, and all the men of [his forces shall be destroyed forever].

The annihilation of the Sons of Darkness and service to God during the war years.

¹⁶[. . .] the holy ones shall shine forth in support of [. . .] the truth for the annihilation of the Sons of Darkness. Then [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] a great [r]oar [. . .] they took hold of the implement[s of war . . .] ¹⁸[. . .] ¹⁹[. . . chiefs of the tribes . . . and the priests,] ²⁰[the Levites, the chiefs of the tribes, the fathers of the congregation . . . the priests and thus for the Levites and the courses of the heads of] **Col. 2** ¹the congregation's clans, fifty-two. They shall rank the chiefs of the priests after the Chief Priest and his deputy; twelve chief priests to serve ²in the regular offering before God. The chiefs of the courses, twenty-six, shall serve in their courses. After them the chiefs of the Levites serve continually, twelve in all, one to a ³tribe. The chiefs of their courses shall serve each man in his office. The chiefs of the tribes and fathers of the congregation shall support them, taking their stand continually at the gates of the sanctuary. ⁴The chiefs of their courses, from the age of fifty up-

wards, shall take their stand with their commissioners on their festivals, new moons and Sabbaths, and on every day of the year. ⁵These shall take their stand at the burnt offerings and sacrifices, to arrange the sweet smelling incense according to the will of God, to atone for all His congregation, and to satisfy themselves before Him continually ⁶at the table of glory. All of these they shall arrange at the time of the year of remission. During the remaining thirty-three years of the war the men of renown, ⁷those called of the Congregation, and all the heads of the congregation's clans shall choose for themselves men of war for all the lands of the nations. From all tribes of Israel they shall prepare ⁸capable men for themselves to go out for battle according to the summons of the war, year by year. But during the years of remission they shall not ready men to go out for battle, for it is a Sabbath ⁹of rest for Israel. During the thirty-five years of service the war shall be waged. For six years the whole congregation shall wage it together, ¹⁰and a war of divisions shall be waged during the twenty-nine remaining years. In the first year they shall fight against Mesopotamia, in the second against the sons of Lud, in the third ¹¹they shall fight against the rest of the sons of Aram: Uz, Hul, Togar, and Meshah, who are beyond the Euphrates. In the fourth and fifth they shall fight against the sons of Arpachshad, ¹²in the sixth and seventh they shall fight against all the sons of Assyria and Persia and the easterners up to the Great Desert. In the eighth year they shall fight against the sons of ¹³Elam, in the ninth year they shall fight against the sons of Ishmael and Keturah, and during the following ten years the war shall be divided against all the sons of Ham ¹⁴according to [their] c[lans and] their [terri]tories. During the remaining ten years the war shall be divided against all [sons of Japhe]th according to their territories.

The description of the trumpets.

¹⁶[The Rule of the Trumpets: the trumpets] of alarm for all their service for the [. . .] for their commissioned men, ¹⁷[by tens of thousands and thousands and hundreds and fifties] and tens. Upon the [trumpets . . .]

[. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] ¹⁹[. . . which . . .] ²⁰[. . . they shall write . . . the trumpets of] **Col. 3** ¹the battle formations, and the trumpets for assembling them when the gates of the war are opened so that the infantry might advance, the trumpets for the signal of the slain, the trumpets of ²the ambush, the trumpets of pursuit when the enemy is defeated, and the trumpets of reassembly when the battle returns. On the trumpets for the assembly of the congregation they shall write, "The called of God." ³On the trumpets for the assembly of the chiefs they shall write, "The princes of God." On the trumpets of the formations they shall write, "The rule of God." On the trumpets of the men of 'renown [they shall write], "The heads of the congregation's clans." Then when they are assembled at the house of meeting, they shall write, "The

testimonies of God for a holy congregation." On the trumpets of the camps they shall write, "The peace of God in the camps of His saints." On the trumpets for their campaigns they shall write, "The mighty deeds of God to scatter the enemy and to put all those who hate justice to flight and a withdrawal of mercy from all who hate God." On the trumpets of the battle formations they shall write, "Formations of the divisions of God to avenge His anger on all Sons of Darkness."⁷ On the trumpets for assembling the infantry when the gates of war open that they might go out against the battle line of the enemy, they shall write, "A remembrance of requital at the appointed time of God." On the trumpets of the slain they shall write, "The hand of the might of God in battle so as to bring down all the slain because of unfaithfulness." On the trumpets of ambush they shall write, "Mysteries of God to wipe out wickedness." On the trumpets of pursuit they shall write, "God has struck all Sons of Darkness, He shall not abate His anger until they are annihilated."⁸ When they return from battle to enter the formation, they shall write on the trumpets of retreat, "God has gathered." On the trumpets for the way of return from battle with the enemy to enter the congregation in Jerusalem, they shall write, "Rejoicings of God in a peaceful return."

The description of the banners.

⁹Rule of the banners of the whole congregation according to their formations. On the grand banner which is at the head of all the people they shall write, "People of God," the names "Israel" and ¹⁴"Aaron," and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel according to their order of birth. On the banners of the heads of the "camps" of three tribes ¹⁵they shall write, "the Spirit [of God," and the names of three tribes. On the banner of each tribe they shall write, "Standard of God," and the name of the leader of the [tribe . . .] ¹⁶of its clans. [. . . and] the name of the leader of the ten thousand and the names of the chief[s of . . .] ¹⁷[. . .] his hundreds. On the banner [. . .] ¹⁸⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 4** ¹On the banner of Merari they shall write, "The Offering of God," and the name of the leader of Merari and the names of the chiefs of his thousands. On the banner of the tho[us]and they shall write, "The Anger of God is loosed against ²Belial and all the men of his forces without remnant," and the name of the chief of the thousand and the names of the chiefs of his hundreds. And on the banner of the hundred they shall write, "Hundred ³of God, the power of war against all sinful flesh," and the name of the chief of the hundred and the names of the chiefs of his tens. And on the banner of the fifty they shall write, "Ended ⁴is the stand of the wicked [by] the might of God," and the name of the chief of the fifty and the names of the chiefs of his tens. And on the banner of the ten they shall write, "Songs of joy ⁵for God on the ten-stringed harp," and the name of the chief of the ten and the names of the nine men in his command.

⁶When they go to battle they shall write on their banners, "The truth of God," "The righteousness of God," "The glory of God," "The justice of God," and after these the list of their names in full. ⁷When they draw near for battle they shall write on their banners, "The right hand of God," "The appointed time of God," "The tumult of God," "The slain of God"; after these their names in full. ⁸When they return from battle they shall write on their banners, "The exaltation of God," "The greatness of God," "The praise of God," "The glory of God," with their names in full.

⁹The Rule of the banners of the congregation: When they set out to battle they shall write on the first banner, "The congregation of God," on the second banner, "The camps of God," on the third, ¹⁰"The tribes of God," on the fourth, "The clans of God," on the fifth, "The divisions of God," on the sixth, "The congregation of God," on the seventh, "Those called "by God," and on the eighth, "The army of God." They shall write their names in full with all their order. When they draw near for battle they shall write on their banners, ¹²"The battle of God," "The recompense of God," "The cause of God," "The reprisal of God," "The power of God," "The retribution of God," "The might of God," "The annihilation by God of all the vainglorious nations." And ¹³their names in full they shall write upon them. When they return from battle they shall write on their banners, "The deliverance of God," "The victory of God," "The help of God," "The support of God," ¹⁴"The joy of God," "The thanksgivings of God," "The praise of God," and "The peace of God."

¹⁵[The Length of the Banners. The banner of the whole congregation shall be fourteen cubits long; the banner of th[ree tribes, thir]teen cubits [long;] ¹⁶[the banner of a tribe,] twelve cubits; the banner of ten thousand, eleven cubits; the banner of a thousand, ten cubits; the banner of a hundred, [n]ine cubits; ¹⁷[the banner of a fifty, ei]ght cubits; the banner of a ten, sev[en cubits . . .].

The description of the shields.

¹⁸⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 5** ¹and on the sh[ie]ld of the Leader of the whole nation they shall write his name, the names "Israel," "Levi," and "Aaron," and the names of the twelve tribes of Israel according to their order of birth, ²and the names of the twelve chiefs of their tribes.

The description of the arming and deployment of the divisions.

³The rule for arranging the divisions for war when their army is complete to make a forward battle line: the battle line shall be formed of one thousand men. There shall be seven forward rows ⁴to each battle line, arranged in order; the station of each man behind his fellow. All of them shall bear shields of bronze, polished like ⁵a face mirror. The shield shall be bound with a border of plaited work and a design of loops, the work of a skillful workman; gold, silver, and bronze bound together ⁶and jewels; a multicolored brocade. It is the

work of a skillful workman, artistically done. The length of the shield shall be two and a half cubits, and its breadth a cubit and a half. In their hands they shall hold a lance ⁷and a sword. The length of the lance shall be seven cubits, of which the socket and the blade constitute half a cubit. On the socket there shall be three bands engraved as a border of plaited ⁸work; of gold, silver, and copper bound together like an artistically designed work. And in the loops of the design, on both sides of the band ⁹all around, shall be precious stones, a multicolored brocade, the work of a skillful workman, artistically done, and an ear of grain. The socket shall be grooved between the bands like ¹⁰a column, artistically done. The blade shall be of shining white iron, the work of a skillful workman, artistically done, and an ear of grain of pure gold inlaid in the blade; tapered towards ¹¹the point. The swords shall be of refined iron, purified in the furnace and polished like a face mirror, the work of a skillful workman, artistically done, with figures of ears of grain ¹²of pure gold embossed on both sides. The borders shall go straight to the point, two on each side. The length of the sword shall be a cubit ¹³and a half and its width four fingers. The scabbard shall be four thumbs wide, and four handbreadths up to the scabbard. The scabbard shall be tied on either ¹⁴side with thongs of five handbreadths. The handle of the sword shall be of choice horn, the work of a skillful workman, a varicolored design with gold and silver and precious stones.

¹⁶And when the [. . . take their] stand, they shall arrange seven battle lines, one behind the other, ¹⁷and there shall be a space [between . . . t]hirty cubits, where the infan[try] shall stand ¹⁸[. . .] forward [. . .] ¹⁹⁻²⁰[. . . they shall sling] **Col. 6** ¹seven times, and return to their position. After them, three divisions of infantry shall advance and stand between the battle lines. The first division shall heave into ²the enemy battle line seven battle darts. On the blade of the first dart they shall write, "Flash of a spear for the strength of God." On the second weapon they shall write, ³"Missiles of blood to fell the slain by the wrath of God." On the third dart they shall write, "The blade of a sword devours the slain of wickedness by the judgment of God." ⁴Each of these they shall throw seven times and then return to their position. After these, two divisions of infantry shall march forth and stand between the two battle lines, ⁵the first division equipped with a spear and a shield and the second division with a shield and a sword; to bring down the slain by the judgment of God, to subdue the battle line ⁶of the enemy by the power of God, and to render recompense for their evil for all the vainglorious nations. So the kingship shall belong to the God of Israel, and by the holy ones of His people He shall act powerfully.

The description of the deployment of the cavalry.

⁸Seven rows of horsemen shall also take position at the right and at the left of the battle line. Their ranks shall be positioned on both sides, seven hundred

⁹horsemen on one side and seven hundred on the other. Two hundred horsemen shall go out with one thousand men of the battle line of the infantry, and thus ¹⁰they shall take position on all sides of the camp. The total being four thousand six hundred men, and one thousand four hundred cavalry for the entire army arranged for the battle line; ¹¹fifty for each battle line. The horsemen, with the cavalry of the men of the entire army, will be six thousand; five hundred to a tribe. All the cavalry that go out ¹²to battle with the infantry shall ride stallions; swift, responsive, unrelenting, mature, trained for battle, ¹³and accustomed to hearing noises and seeing all kinds of scenes. Those who ride them shall be men capable in battle, trained in horsemanship, the range ¹⁴of their age from thirty to forty-five years. The horsemen of the army shall be from forty to fifty years old, and they ¹⁵[. . .], helmets and greaves, carrying in their hands round shields and a lance eight cubits long, . . .] ¹⁶[. . .] and a bow and arrows and battle darts, all of them prepared in [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] and to shed the blood of their guilty slain. These are the [. . .]

The recruitment and age of the soldiers.

¹⁸⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 7** ¹and the men of the army shall be from forty to fifty years old. The commissioners of the camps shall be from fifty to sixty years old. The officers ²shall also be from forty to fifty years old. All those who strip the slain, plunder the spoil, cleanse the land, guard the arms, ³and he who prepares the provisions, all these shall be from twenty-five to thirty years old. No youth nor woman shall enter their encampments from the time they leave Jerusalem to go to battle until their return. No one crippled, blind, or lame, nor a man who has a permanent blemish on his skin, or a man affected with ritual uncleanness of ⁵his flesh; none of these shall go with them to battle. All of them shall be volunteers for battle, pure of spirit and flesh, and prepared for the day of vengeance. Any ⁶man who is not ritually clean in respect to his genitals on the day of battle shall not go down with them into battle, for holy angels are present with their army. There shall be a distance ⁷between all their camps and the latrine of about two thousand cubits, and no shameful nakedness shall be seen in the environs of all their camps.

The ministry of the priests and Levites.

⁹When the battle lines are arrayed against the enemy—battle line against battle line—there shall go forth from the middle opening into the gap between the battle lines seven ¹⁰priests of the sons of Aaron, dressed in fine white linen garments: a linen tunic and linen breeches, and girded with a linen sash of twined fine linen, violet, ¹¹purple, and crimson, and a varicolored design, the work of a skillful workman, and decorated caps on their heads; the garments for battle, and they shall not take them into the sanctuary. ¹²The one

priest shall walk before all the men of the battle line to encourage them for battle. In the hands of the remaining six shall be ¹³the trumpets of assembly, the trumpets of memorial, the trumpets of the alarm, the trumpets of pursuit, and the trumpets of reassembly. When the priests go out ¹⁴into the gap between the battle lines, seven Levites shall go out with them. In their hands shall be seven trumpets of rams' horns. Three officers from among the Levites shall walk before ¹⁵the priests and the Levites. The priests shall blow the two trumpets of assem[bly . . . of ba]ttle upon fifty shields, ¹⁶and fifty infantrymen shall go out from the one gate and [. . .] Levites, officers. With ¹⁷each battle line they shall go out according to all [this] o[r]der. . . . men of the] infantry from the gates ¹⁸[and they shall take posi]tion between the two battle lines, and [. . .] the bat[tle . . .] ¹⁹⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 8** ¹the trumpets shall blow continually to direct the slingers until they have completed hurling seven ²times. Afterwards the priests shall blow on the trumpets of return, and they shall go along the side of the first battle line ³to take their position. The priests shall blow on the trumpets of assembly, and ⁴the three divisions of infantry shall go out from the gates and stand between the battle lines, and beside them the cavalrymen, ⁵at the right and at the left. The priests shall blow on their trumpets a level note, signals for the order of battle. ⁶And the columns shall be deployed into their formations, each to his position. When they have positioned themselves in three formations, ⁷the priests shall blow for them a second signal, a low legato note, signals for advance, until they draw near to ⁸the battle line of the enemy and take hold of their weapons. Then the priests shall blow on the six trumpets ⁹of the slain a sharp staccato note to direct the battle, and the Levites and all the people with rams' horns shall blow ¹⁰a great battle alarm together in order to melt the heart of the enemy. With the sound of the alarm, ¹¹the battle darts shall fly out to bring down the slain. Then the sound of the rams' horns shall quiet, but on the tru[m]pets ¹²the priests shall continue to blow a sharp staccato note to direct the signals of battle until they have hurled into the battle line ¹³of the enemy seven times. Afterwards, the priests shall blow for them the trumpets of retreat, ¹⁴a low note, level and legato. According to this rule the [pr]iests shall blow for the three divisions. When ¹⁵the first division throws, the [priests and the Levites and all the people with rams'] horns shall blow a great alarm ¹⁶to direct the bat[tle until they have hurled seven times. Afterwards,] the priests [shall blow] for them ¹⁷on the trumpe[ts of retreat . . . and they shall take their stan]d in their positions in the battle line, ¹⁸[. . .] and shall take up position ¹⁹[. . . the sl]ain, ²⁰[and all the people with rams' horns shall blow a very loud battle alarm, and as the sound goes out] **Col. 9** ¹their hands shall begin to bring down the slain, and all the people shall quiet the sound of alarm, but the priests shall continue sounding on the trumpets ²of the slain to direct the fighting, until the enemy is defeated and turns in retreat. The priests shall

blow the alarm to direct the battle,³ and when they have been defeated before them, the priests shall blow the trumpets of assembly, and all the infantry shall go out to them from the midst of⁴ the front battle lines and stand, six divisions in addition to the division which is engaged in battle: altogether, seven battle lines, twenty-eight thousand⁵ soldiers, and six thousand horsemen. All these shall pursue in order to destroy the enemy in God's battle; a total annihilation. "The priests shall blow for them the trumpets of pursuit, and they shall divide themselves for a pursuit of annihilation against all the enemy. The cavalry⁷ shall push the enemy back at the flanks of the battle until they are destroyed. When the slain have fallen, the priests shall continue blowing from afar and shall not enter⁸ into the midst of the slain so as to be defiled by their unclean blood, for they are holy. They shall not allow the oil of their priestly anointment to be profaned with the blood⁹ of the vainglorious nations.

The description of the maneuvers of the battle divisions.

¹⁰Rule for changing the order of the battle divisions, in order to arrange their position against [. . .] a pincer movement and towers, ¹¹an arc and towers, and as it draws slowly forward, then the columns and the flanks go out from the [t]wo sides of the battle line [that] ¹²the enemy might become discouraged. The shields of the soldiers of the towers shall be three cubits long, and their lances eight cubits [on]g. The towers ¹³shall go out from the battle line with one hundred shields on a side. F[or] they shall surround the tower on the three frontal sides, ¹⁴three hundred shields in all. There shall be three gates to a tower, one on [the right and] one on the left. Upon all the shields of the tower soldiers ¹⁵they shall write: on the first, "Mi[chae]l," [on the second, "Gabriel," on the third,] "Sariel," and on the fourth "Raphael."¹⁶ "Michael" and "Gabriel" on [the right, and "Sariel" and "Raphael" on the left].

¹⁷And [. . .] for to the four [. . . They] shall establish an ambush for the [battle line] of [. . .] ¹⁸and [. . . they shall fal]l on the s[lain . . .]

The address of the chief priest.

¹⁹⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 10** ¹of our camps, and to keep ourselves from any shameful nakedness, and he (Moses) told us that You are in our midst, a great and awesome God, plundering all of² our enemies befo[re u]s. He taught us from of old through all our generations, saying, "When you approach the battle, the priest shall stand and speak unto the people, ³saying, 'Hear O Israel, you are approaching the battle against your enemies today. Do not be afraid nor faint-hearted. 'Do not trem[ble, no]r be terrified because of them, for your God goes with you, to fight for you against your enemies, and to save⁵ you'" (Deut. 20:2-4). Our [of]ficers shall speak to all those prepared for battle, those willing of heart, to strengthen them by the might of God, to turn back all

“who have who have lost heart, and to strengthen all the valiant warriors together. They shall recount that which You s[poke] by the hand of Moses, saying: “And when there is a war ⁷in your land against the adversary who attacks you, then yo[u] shall sound an alarm with the trumpets that you might be remembered before your God ⁸and be saved from your enemies” (Num. 10:9).

The prayer of the chief priest.

Who is like You, O God of Israel, in he[av]en and on earth, that he can perform in accordance with Your great works ⁹and Your great strength. Who is like Your people Israel, whom You have chosen for Yourself from all the peoples of the lands; ¹⁰the people of the saints of the covenant, learned in the statutes, enlightened in understand[ing . . .] those who hear the glorious voice and see ¹¹the holy angels, whose ears are open; hearing deep things. [O God, You have created] the expanse of the skies, the host of luminaries, ¹²the task of spirits and the dominion of holy ones, the treasures of [Your] gl[ory . . .] clouds. He who created the earth and the limits of her divisions ¹³into wilderness and plain, and all her offspring, with the fru[its . . .], the circle of the seas, the sources of the rivers, and the rift of the deeps, ¹⁴wild beasts and winged creatures, the form of man and the gener[ations of] his [see]d, the confusion of language and the separation of peoples, the abode of clans ¹⁵and the inheritance of the lands, [. . . and] holy festivals, courses of years and times of ¹⁶eternity. [. . .] these we know from Your understanding which [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] Your [ears] to our cry, for [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] his house [. . .] ¹⁹⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 11** Truly the battle is Yours, and by the strength of Your hand their corpses have been broken to pieces, without anyone to bury them. Indeed, Goliath the Gittite, a mighty man of valor, ²You delivered into the hand of David, Your servant, because he trusted in Your great name and not in sword and spear. For the battle is Yours. ³He subdued the Philistines many times by Your holy name. Also by the hand of our kings You rescued us many times ⁴because of Your mercy; not according to our works, for we have acted wickedly, nor for the acts of our rebelliousness. The battle is Yours, the strength is from You, ⁵it is not our own. Neither our power nor the strength of our hand have done valiantly, but rather by Your power and the strength of Your great valor. Jus[t a]s You told ⁶us in time past, saying: “There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, a scepter shall rise out of Israel, and shall crush the forehead of Moab and tear down all sons of Sheth, ⁷and he shall descend from Jacob and shall destroy the remnant from the city, and the enemy shall be a possession, and Israel shall do valiantly” (Num. 24:17-19). By the hand of Your anointed ones, ⁸seers of things appointed, You have told us about the ti[m]es of the wars of Your hands in order that You may glorify Yourself {fight} among our enemies, to bring down the hordes of Belial, the seven ⁹vainglorious nations, at the hand of the ¹⁰oppressed whom You have redeemed

[with powe]r and retribution; a wondrous strength. A heart that melts shall be as a door of hope. You will do to them as You did to Pharaoh ¹⁰and the officers of his chariots in the Red Sea. You will ignite the humble of spirit like a fiery torch of fire in a sheaf, consuming the wicked. You shall not turn back until ¹¹the annihilation of the guilty. In time past You foretold [the app]ointed time for Your hand's powerful work against the Kittim, saying: "And Assyria shall fall by a sword not of man, and a sword, ¹²not of men, shall consume him" (Isa. 31:8).

¹³For into the hand of the oppressed You will deliver the [ene]mies of all the lands; into the hands of those who are prostrate in the dust, in order to bring down all mighty men of the peoples, to return the recompense ¹⁴of the wicked on the head of [. . .], to pronounce the just judgment of Your truth on all sons of man, and to make for Yourself an everlasting name among the people. ¹⁵[. . .] the wars, and to show Yourself great and holy before the remnant of the nations, so that [they] may know [that] ¹⁶[You are God . . . when You] carry out judgments on Gog and on all his company that are as[sem- bled] [about] [us . . .] ¹⁷[. . .], for You will do battle against them from the heave[ns . . .] ¹⁸[. . .] upon them for confusion [. . .] ¹⁹⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 12** ¹For You have a multitude of holy ones in the heavens and hosts of angels in Your exalted dwelling to pr[aise] Your [name]. The chosen ones of the holy people ²You have established for Yourself in a [community. The nu]mber (or The b)ook) of the names of all their host is with You in Your holy dwelling, and the n[umber of the holy one]s is in the abode of Your glory. ³Mercies of blessing [. . .] and Your covenant of peace You engraved for them with a stylus of life in order to reign o[ver them] for all time, ⁴commissioning the hos[ts of] Your [e]lect by their thousands and tens of thousands together with Your holy ones [and] Your angels, and directing them ⁵in battle [so as to condemn] the earthly adversaries by trial with Your judgments. With the elect of heaven [they] shall prev[ail].

⁷And You, O God, are awe[some] in the glory of Your dominion, and the company of Your holy ones is in our midst for etern[al] support. We [shall direc]t our contempt at kings, derision ⁸and disdain at mighty men. For the Lord is holy, and the King of Glory is with us together with the holy ones. Migh[ty men and] a host of angels are with our commissioned forces. ⁹The Hero of Wa[r] is with our company, and the host of His spirits is with our steps. Our horsemen are [as] the clouds and as the mist covering the earth, ¹⁰and as a steady downpour shedding judgment on all her offspring.

Rise up, O Hero, take Your captives, O Glorious One, take ¹¹Your plunder, O You who do valiantly. Lay Your hand upon the neck of Your enemies, and Your foot upon the backs of the slain. Crush the nations, Your adversaries, and may Your sword ¹²devour guilty flesh. Fill Your land with glory, and Your inheritance with blessing. An abundance of cattle in Your fields; silver and

gold and precious ¹³stones in Your palaces. O Zion, rejoice greatly, and shine with joyful songs, O Jerusalem. Rejoice, all you cities of Judah, open ¹⁴your gate[s] forever that the wealth of the nations might be brought to you, and their kings shall serve you. All they that oppressed you shall bow down to you, and the dust ¹⁵[of your feet they shall lick. O daughter]s of my people, shout out with a voice of joy, adorn yourselves with ornaments of glory. Rule over the ki[ngdom of the . . .], ¹⁶[. . . and I]srael to reign eternally.

¹⁷[. . .] them the mighty men of war, O Jerusalem [. . .] ¹⁸[Be exalt]ed above the heavens, O Lord, [and let Your glory be above all the earth . . .] ¹⁹[. . .]

The blessings of the war recited by all the leaders after the victory.

²⁰[. . . And then the Chief Priest shall stand] **Col. 13** ¹and his brothers the [pr]iests, the Levites, and all the elders of the Army with him. They shall bless, from their position, the God of Israel and all His works of truth, and they shall curse ²Be[li]al there and all the spirits of his forces. And they shall say in response: "Blessed is the God of Israel for all His holy purpose and His works of truth. And blessed are ³all those who serve Him righteously, who know Him by faith.

⁴And cursed is Belial for his contentious purpose, and accursed for his reprehensible rule. And cursed are all the spirits of his lot for their wicked purpose. ⁵Accursed are they for all their filthy dirty service. For they are the lot of darkness, but the lot of God is light ⁶[eterna]l.

⁷Y[o]u are the God of our fathers. We bless Your name forever, for we are an [eter]na[l] people. You made a covenant with our fathers, and will establish it for their seed ⁸throughout the ages of eternity. In all the testimonies of Your glory there has been remembrance of Your [kindness] in our midst as an assistance to the remnant and the survivors for the sake of Your covenant ⁹and to re[count] Your works of truth and the judgments of Your wondrous strength. And You, [O God], created us for Yourself as an eternal people, and into the lot of light You cast us ¹⁰in accordance with Your truth. You appointed the Prince of Light from of old to assist us, for in [His] l[ot are all sons of righteous]ness and all spirits of truth are in his dominion. You yourself ¹¹made Belial for the pit, an angel of malevolence, his [dominio]n is in darkne[ss] and his counsel is to condemn and convict. All the spirits ¹²of his lot—the angels of destruction—walk in accord with the rule of darkness, for it is their only [des]ire. But we, in the lot of Your truth, rejoice in ¹³Your mighty hand. We rejoice in Your salvation, and revel in [Your] hel[p and] Your [p]eace. Who is like You in strength, O God of Israel, and yet ¹⁴Your mighty hand is with the oppressed. What angel or prince is like You for [Your] effe[ctual] support, [fo]r of old You appointed for Yourself a day of gre[at] battle [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] to [sup]port truth and to destroy iniquity, to

bring darkness low and to lend might to light, and to [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] for an eternal stand, and to annihilate all the Sons of Darkness and bring joy to [all] [the Sons of Light. . . .] ¹⁷[. . .]

¹⁸[. . .] for You Yourself designated us for an app[ointed time . . .]
¹⁹⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 14** "like the fire of His fury against the idols of Egypt."

The blessings of the war recited by all the leaders in the morning before the battle.

²After they have withdrawn from the slain to enter the camp, all of them shall sing the hymn of return. In the morning they shall wash their clothes, cleanse themselves ³of the blood of the sinful bodies, and return to the place where they had stood, where they had formed the battle line before the slain of the enemy fell. There they shall all bless ⁴the God of Israel and joyously exalt His name together. They shall say in response: "Blessed is the God of Israel, who guards loving-kindness for His covenant and the appointed times ⁵of salvation for the people He redeems. He has called those who stumble unto wondrous [accomplishment]s, and He has gathered a congregation of nations for annihilation without remnant in order to raise up in judgment ⁶he whose heart has melted, to open a mouth for the dumb to sing [God's] mighty deeds, and to teach feeble [hands] warfare. He gives those whose knees shake strength to stand, ⁷and strengthens those who have been smitten from the hips to the shoulder. Among the poor in spirit [. . .] a hard heart, and by those whose way is perfect shall all wicked nations come to an end; ⁸there will be no place for all their mighty men. But we are the remn[ant of Your people. Blessed is] Your name, O God of loving-kindness, the One who kept the covenant for our forefathers. Throughout ⁹all our generations You have made Your mercies wondrous for the rem[nant of the people] during the dominion of Belial. With all the mysteries of his hatred they have not led us astray ¹⁰from Your covenant. His spirits of destruction You have driven [away from us. And when the me]n of his dominion [condemned themselves], You have preserved the lives of Your redeemed. You raised up ¹¹the fallen by Your strength, but those who are great in height You will cut dow[n to humble them. And] there is no rescuer for all their mighty men, and no place of refuge for their swift ones. To their honored men ¹²You will return shame, and all [their] vain existence [shall be as not]hing. But we, Your holy people, shall praise Your name for Your works of truth. ¹³Because of Your mighty deeds we shall exalt [Your] sp[lendor in all] epochs and appointed times of eternity, at the beginning of day, at night ¹⁴and at dawn and dusk. For Your [glorio]us p[urpose] is great and Your wondrous mysteries are in [Your] high heavens, to [raise u]p those for Yourself from the dust ¹⁵and to humble those of the gods.

¹⁶Rise up, rise up, O God of gods, and raise Yourself in power, [O King of Kings . . .] ¹⁷let all the Sons of Darkness [scatter from before You.] Let the

light of Your majesty shi[ne forever upon gods and men, as a fire burning in the dark places of the damned]. ¹⁶Let it burn [the damned of Sh]eol, as an [eternal] burning [among the transgressors . . . in all the appointed times of eternity.]”

¹⁷[They shall repeat all the thanksgiving hymns of battle there and then return to their camps . . .] ²⁰[. . .] **Col. 15** ¹For it is a time of distress for Isra[el, a fixed t]ime of battle against all the nations. The purpose of God is eternal redemption, ²but annihilation for all nations of wickedness. All those pr[epared] for battle shall set out and camp opposite the king of the Kittim and all the forces ³of Belial that are assembled with him for a day [of vengeance] by the sword of God.

The final battle—the first engagement.

⁴Then the Chief Priest shall stand, and with him his brothers the p[riests], the Levites, and all the men of the army. He shall read aloud ⁵the prayer for the appointed time of batt[le, as is written in the boo]k *Serekh Itto* (*The Rule of His Time*), including all the words of their thanksgivings. Then he shall form there ⁶all the battle lines, as writ[ten in the Book of the Wa]r. Then the priest appointed for the time of vengeance by ⁷all his brothers shall walk about and encourage [them for the battl]e, and he shall say in response: “Be strong and courageous as warriors. ⁸Fear not, nor be discoura[ged and let not y]our [heart be faint.] Do not panic, neither be alarmed because of them. Do not ⁹turn back nor [flee from the]m. For they are a wicked congregation, all their deeds are in darkness; ¹⁰it is [their] desire. [They have established all] their refuge [in a lie], their strength is as smoke that vanishes, and all ¹¹their vast assembly [is as chaff which blows away . . . de]solation, and shall not be found. Every creature of greed shall wither quickly away ¹²[like a flow]er at ha[rvest time. . . . Come,] strengthen yourselves for the battle of God, for this day is an appointed time of battle ¹³[for G]od against all the n[at]ions, . . . judgm]ent upon all flesh. The God of Israel is raising His hand in His wondrous [streng]th ¹⁴[against] all the spirits of wick[edness. . . . m]ighty ones of the gods are girding themselves for battl[e, and] the formation[s of the] h[o]ly ones ¹⁵[are rea]dying themselves for a day of [vengeance . . .] ¹⁶the God of I[srae]l [. . .] ¹⁷to remove Bel[ial . . .] ¹⁸in his hell [. . .] ¹⁹⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 16** ¹until every source [of . . . is come to an end. For] the God of Israel has called out a sword against all the nations, and by the holy ones of His people He will do mightily.”

³They shall carry out all this Rule [on] that [day] at the place where they stand opposite the camps of the Kittim. Then the priests shall blow for them the trumpets ⁴of remembrance. The gates of w[ar] shall open, [and] the infantry shall go out and stand in columns between the battle lines. The priests shall blow for them ⁵a signal for the formation and the columns [shall deplo]y

at the sound of the trumpets until each man has taken his station. Then the priests shall blow for them ⁶a second signal: [signs for confron]tation. When they stand near the battle line of the Kittim, within throwing range, each man shall raise his hand with his weapon of ⁷war. Then the six [priests shall blow on the tr]umpets of the slain a sharp staccato note to direct the fighting. The Levites and the all the people with ⁸rams' horns shall blow [a battle signa], a loud noise. As the sound goes forth, the infantry shall begin to bring down the slain of the Kittim, and all ⁹the people shall cease the signal, [but the priest]s shall continue blowing on the trumpets of the slain and the battle shall prevail against the Kittim.

The final battle—the second engagement.

¹¹When [Belial] prepares himself to assist the Sons of Darkness, and the slain among the infantry begin to fall by God's mysteries and to test by these mysteries all those appointed for battle, ¹²the priests shall blow the trumpets of assembly so that another battle line might go forth as a battle reserve, and they shall take up position between the battle lines. ¹³For those employed in battle they shall blow a signal to return. Then the Chief Priest shall approach and stand before the battle line, and shall encourage ¹⁴their heart by [the wondrous might of God and] fortify their hands for His battle.

¹⁵And he shall say in response: ["Blessed is God, for] He tests the he[ar]t of His people in the crucible. And not [. . .] have your slain [. . .]. For you have obeyed from of old ¹⁶the mysteries of God. [Now as for you, take courage and stand in the gap, do not fear when God strengthens . . .] ¹⁷⁻²⁰[. . .] **Col. 17** ¹and He shall appoint their retribution with burning [. . .] those tested by the crucible. He shall sharpen the implements of war, and they shall not become blunt until [all the nations of] wickedness [come to an end]. ²But, as for you, remember the judgment [of Nadab and Abi]hu, the sons of Aaron, by whose judgment God showed Himself holy before [all the people. But Eleazar] ³and Ithamar He preserved for Himself for an eternal covenant [of priesthood].

⁴But, as for you, take courage and do not fear them [. . . for] their end is emptiness and their desire is for the void. Their support is without st[rength] and they do not [know that from the God] ⁵of Israel is all that is and that will be. He [. . .] in all which exists for eternity. Today is His appointed time to subdue and to humiliate the prince of the realm ⁶of wickedness. He will send eternal support to the company of His redeemed by the power of the majestic angel of the authority of Michael. By eternal light ⁷He shall joyfully light up the covenant of Israel—peace and blessing for the lot of God—to exalt the authority of Michael among the gods and the dominion ⁸of Israel among all flesh. Righteousness shall rejoice on high, and all sons of His truth shall rejoice in eternal knowledge. But as for you, O sons of His covenant, ⁹take

courage in God's crucible, until He shall wave His hand and complete His fiery trials; His mysteries concerning your existence."

The final battle—the third engagement.

¹⁰And after these words the priests shall blow for them a signal to form the divisions of the battle line. The columns shall be deployed at the sound of the trumpets, ¹¹until each man has taken his station. Then the priests shall blow another signal on the trumpets, signs for confrontation. When ¹²the infan[try] has approached [the battle] line of the Kitt[im], within throwing range, each man shall raise his hand with his weapon. Then the priests shall blow on the trumpets ¹³of the slain [and the Levites and the al]l the people with rams' horns shall sound a signal for battle. The infantry shall attack the army ¹⁴of the Kittim, [and as the soun]d [of the si]gnal [goes forth], they shall begin to bring down their slain. Then all the people shall still the sound of the signal, while the priests ¹⁵continuously blow on [the trumpets of the slain], and the bat[tl]e p[revail]s against the K[it]tim, and the troops of Belia] are defeated before them. ¹⁶Thus in the th[ird] lot [. . .] to fall slain [. . .]

The final battle—the fourth, fifth, and sixth engagements. Nothing of these engagements is preserved.

The final battle—the seventh engagement.

Col. 18 ¹[and in the seven]th [lot], when the great hand of God shall be lifted up against Belial and against all the fo[rc]es of his dominion for an eternal slaughter ²[. . .] and the shout of the holy ones when they pursue Assyria. Then the sons of Japheth shall fall, never to rise again, and the Kittim shall be crushed without ³[remnant and survivor. So] the God of Israel shall raise His hand against the whole multitude of Belial. At that time the priests shall sound a signal ⁴[on the six trumpet]s of remembrance, and all the battle formations shall be gathered to them and divide against all the ca[m]ps of the Ki]ttim ⁵to completely destroy them. [And] when the sun hastens to set on that day, the Chief Priest and the priests and the [Levites] who are ⁶with him, and the chiefs [of the battle lines and the men] of the army shall bless the God of Israel there. They shall say in response: Blessed is Your name, O God [of god]s, for ⁷You have done wondrous things for Your people, and have kept Your covenant for us from of old. Many times You have opened the gates of salvation for us ⁸for the sak[e of] Your [co]venant. [And You provided f]or our affliction in accord with Your goodness toward us. You, O God of righteousness, have acted for the sake of Your name.

Thanksgiving for final victory.

¹⁰[. . .] You have [done w]onders upon wonders with us, but from of old there has been nothing like it, for You have known our appointed time. Today [Your] power has shined forth ¹¹for us, [and] You [have shown] us the

hand of Your mercies with us in eternal redemption, in order to remove the dominion of the enemy, that it might be no more; the hand of Your strength. ¹²In bat[tle You shall show Yourself strong aga]inst our enemies for an absolute slaughter. Now the day is pressing upon us [to] pursue their multitude, for You ¹³[. . .] and the heart of warriors You have broken so that no one is able to stand. Yours is the might, and the battle is in Your hand, and there is no ¹⁴[God like You . . .] Your [. . .] and the appointed times of Your will, and reprisal [. . .] Your [enemie]s, and You will cut off from [. . .] ¹⁵⁻¹⁹[. . .] ²⁰[. . . And we shall direct our contempt at kings,] **Col. 19** ¹[derision and disdain at mi]ghty men. For our Majestic One is holy. The King of Glory is with us and the h[ost of His spirits is with our steps. Our horsemen are] ²[as the clouds and as the mis]t covering the earth; as a steady downpour shedding judgment on a[ll her offspring.]

[Rise up, O Hero,] ³[Take Your captives, O Glorious One, and ta]ke Your plunder, O You Who do valiantly. Lay Your hand upon the neck of Your enemies, and Your fo[o]t [upon the backs of] ⁴[the slain. Crush the nations, Yo]ur [adversaries,] and let Your sword devour flesh. Fill Your land with glory, and Your inheritance with blessing. An ab[undance of cattle is] ⁵[in Your fields, silver and gold] in Your palaces. O Zion, rejoice greatly, and rejoice, all you cities of Ju[dah. Open] ⁶[your gates forever, so that] the wealth of the nations [might be brought to you, and their kings shall serve you. All they that oppressed] you shall bow down to you, ⁷[and they shall lick the dust of your feet. O dau]ghters of my [peo]ple, burst out with a voice of joy. Adorn yourselves with ornaments of glory, and r[ule] over the ki[n]gdom of the . . .] ⁸[. . .] Your [. . .]. and Israel for an [et]ernal dominion.

Ceremony after the final battle.

⁹[Then they shall gather] in the camp that n[ig]ht for rest until the morning. In the morning they shall come to the p[la]ce of the battle line, ¹⁰[where the mi]ghty men of the Kittim [fell], as well as the multitude of Assyria, and the forces of all the nations that were assembled unto them, to see whether [the mu]ltitude of slain [are dead] ¹¹[with none to bury them; those who] fell there by the sword of God. And the Hi[gh] Priest shall approach there [with] his [depu]ty, his brothers [the priests,] ¹²[and the Levites with the Leader] of the battle, and all the chiefs of the battle lines and [their officers . . .]

¹³[. . . together. When they stand before the s]lain of the Kitt[im, they shall pr]aise there the God [of Israel. And they shall say in response: . . .] ¹⁴[. . . to God most high and . . .]

4Q491 (4QMilhamah*)

In the publication by the original editors, the fragments of 4Q491 were considered to be the remains of a single work. This work was thought to be a form of

the *War Scroll*, one with extensive portions that found no exact match in the Cave 1 copy. A recent thorough study of the evidence, however, suggests that 4Q491 is instead three distinct manuscripts. The original editors had been deceived by the similar appearance of these manuscripts and had mistakenly grouped three texts together.

Thus reorganized, the manuscripts can now be characterized as follows. Manuscript A represents a text that is similar to the Cave 1 copy, but with a fuller representation of the seven engagements of the troops in the final battle. Manuscript B appears to be a shorter, "Reader's Digest" form of the Cave 1 composition. Manuscript C comprises a hymn that is not even related to the *War Scroll*. Rather, it is related to the *Thanksgiving Psalms* (text 3).

The original publication of Manuscript C's poem suggested that it was spoken by the Archangel Michael (cf. Dan. 10:13; Rev. 12:7), who features prominently in the *War Scroll* (1QM 17:6-7). The recently available manuscripts from Cave 4, however, now show that this notion is mistaken. Instead, the identity of the speaker here must be directly connected to that of the speaker in the *Thanksgiving Psalms*. Col. 26 of those psalms contains the same key elements we find here in Manuscript C. The first-person account, so characteristic of the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, is the form of address in both places. Moreover, in both poems the author makes the fantastic claim that none can be compared to him, because he is on equal footing with the heavenly beings (probably to be understood as angels)! If it is concluded that the Teacher of Righteousness wrote the *Thanksgiving Psalms*, he penned Manuscript C's text as well.

A variant of the blessings of the war recited by all the leaders in the morning before the battle. Compare 1QM.14:4-19 above.

4Q491 Manuscript A Frag. 10 Col. 2 7[. . .] "in the Kittim[. . .] "the infantrymen shall begin [to bring down the casualties of the Kittim . . . And the] "battle [shall prevail] against the Kittim [. . .] "the corpses of the place of refining [shall begin] to fall by [the mysteries] of God. And the p[riests shall sound the trumpets of assembly . . .] "battle among the Kittim. And to the first battle formation . . .] "And the priest designated for the battle shall draw near and stand [be]fore [the battle formation . . .] "and he shall strengthen their hands by recounting His wondrous deeds. Then he shall sa[y] in response [. . . fire of] "vengeance, to consume among gods and men. For [He shall] not [. . .] "flesh, except dust (?). For now [. . .] "and [the fire] shall consume as far as Sheol. And the council of wickedness [. . .]

Frag. 11-15 represent a variant of 1QM cols. 16-17 above.

Frag. 11 Col. 2 "14[. . . He is] faithful, and the relief which His redemption [. . .] "15[. . . son]s of truth and to remove the faint of heart and to

strengthen the he[art . . .] ¹⁶[. . . the batt]le today, the God of Isr[ael] shall subdue him (Belial?) [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] with no place to stand. And [the kingdo]m shall be for God and the salvatio[n] for His people [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] like as to Belial. But God's covenant is peace [for] Israel in all the times [of eternity . . .] ¹⁹And after these words the priests shall blow to order the second battle with the Kit[tim. And when each man has taken] ²⁰his station, then the priests shall blow a second signal for advance. When they have approached the ba[ttle line of the Kittim, within throwing range,] ²¹each man [shall raise his hand with his battle weapon. Then the priests shall b[low] on the tr[umpet]s of the [slain a staccato note] ²²[to direct the battle and the Levites] and the all the people with rams' horns shall so[und] a loud n[ote . . . And when] ²³[the sound of the blast is heard, they shall begin to bring do]wn the casualties of the guilty. The sound of the [. . .] ²⁴[. . .]

Frag. 13 ¹[. . . with the gods [. . .] ²[. . .] the smallest of you shall pursue a tho[usand . . .] ³[. . . And after] these [w]ords, [the priests] shall blow [to order the third battle with the Kittim and the columns] ⁴[shall deploy at the sound of the trum]pets. When each m[an] has taken [his position] by division, [the priest shall blow a second blast on the trumpets for] ⁵[advance. When] they [have approached] the battle line of the Kittim, within throwing range, [each man] shall raise his hand [with his battle weapon. The priests shall blow, to direct] ⁶[the battle, on the t]rumpets of the slain, a staccato note. Then the Levites and all [the people with rams' horns shall sound a battle blast, and the formations] ⁷[shall be figh]ting one behind the other with no space between them. For [. . .] ⁸[. . . and] all the people shall answer, raising [on]e voice, and say [. . .]

Frag. 15 ¹[. . .] and there is no [. . .] ²[. . .] and a processio[n . . .] ³And behold we are taking position to advance [. . .] ⁴[. . .]

⁵[. . . And] he shall say to them in response, "Be strong and courageous [. . .] ⁶[. . . For the] outstretched [hand] of God is upon all the Gentiles, [He shall] not [. . .] ⁷[. . .] kingship is [for God] Almighty and salvation is for His people. And y[ou . . .] ⁸[. . .] his [im]purity, the gods shall advance upon you with [. . .] ⁹[. . .] and to cast all [their] corpse[s . . .] ¹⁰[. . .] and all the spirits of [his] lot [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] eternal, together wi[th . . .] ¹²[. . .] war [. . .]

Manuscript B presents a much shorter version of the War Scroll than the one discovered in Cave 1.

4Q491 Manuscript B Frags. 1-3 ¹Korah and his congregation [. . .] judgment [. . .] ²before the whole congregation of [. . .] judgment as sign[s . . .] ³and the chief of his angels with their [forces,] to direct their hand

[in] battle. [. . .] for the chariotry and the hor[semen . . .] ⁴The hand of God shall strike [. . .] for eternal annihilation [. . .] they shall atone for you [. . .] all the princes [. . .] ⁵His holiness in eternal [jo]y [. . .] And after [. . .] the congregation and a[ll] the prince[s . . .] shall not go to the enemy battle lines [. . .]

⁶This is the rule when they camp and [. . . and in] their divisions [. . .] around, outside [. . .] and women, young boys, and any man who is aff[licted with impurity in his flesh shall not come near] ⁷[the battle] line. The craftsmen [and blacksm]iths and those enlisted as [. . .] for their watches [. . .] the battle line until they return.

And there shall be two thousand cubits between the [camps and the latrine, so] ⁸no nakedness might be seen in their surroundings. And when they set out to prepare for battle [so as to sub]due [the enemy], some of them [shall be] dismissed by lot from each tribe according to those enlisted for [each] day's duty. ⁹That day, men from each tribe [shall] go out from the camps to the house of me[eting . . . and] the [priest]s, the Levites, and all the chiefs of the camps [shall] go out to them. Then they shall pass before [them] there [. . .] ¹⁰by thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. Each man who is not [clean in regard to his genitals] that [nig]ht [shall] no[t] go out with them to battle. For the holy angels are with their battle lines [. . .] ¹¹[When] the formation standing ready to pass to all [. . .] of battle for that day [g]oes up [. . .], three formations shall stand one behind the other, and they shall establish a space between [each] battle formation. ¹²[Then they shall go out] to the battle in turn. These are the [infan]trymen and alongside them are [cavalry]men, [and they shall take their position between the battle] formations. But if they establish an ambush for a battle formation, the three ambushing formations shall [stay at a dist]ance and not ris[e up . . .] ¹³[. . .] the battle. When they [h]ear the trumpets of alarm, the [infantry]men [shall begin to bring do]wn the guilty casualties. Then the ambush shall rise up from its place and also order its [battle form]ations [. . .]

¹⁴The reassembly: from the right and left, from be[hind and before, the f]our direction[s . . .] in the battles of annihilation. All the battle formation[s] which engaged the en[emy] for battle [shall be gathered] ¹⁵together. The [fi]rst battle formation shall [set out to battle] and the second shall remain stand[ing] at their post. When their period is completed, the first shall return and s[tand . . .] ¹⁶The sec[ond foray . . .] when the battle is arrayed. When the second battle formation shall have completed their period, they shall return and t[ake their position.] ¹⁷And the t[hird foray . . .] Then the Chief Priest shall take his stand with his brothers the priests,) the Levites, and men [of the arm]y. And all the while the priests shall be sounding on the trumpets [. . .]

[. . .] ¹⁹A lin[en] sash [of twined fine linen, violet, purple, and crimson, and a varicolored design, the work of a skillful workman, and decorated c]aps [on their heads. And they shall not take them into the sanctuary,] f[or] they are garments for bat[tle].

¹⁹According to all [this] rule [. . .] chiefs of the camp [. . .] ²⁰for [. . .] all [. . .] they will completely annihilate [. . .]

This manuscript, mistakenly labeled as a copy of the War Scroll, is instead a copy of a hymn similar to the Thanksgiving Psalms.

4Q491 Manuscript C Frag. 11* Col. 1 ⁹[. . .] who does wondrous things [. . .] ⁹[. . . in the pow]er of his strength the rig[h]teous cry out, and the holy ones rejoice [. . .] justly ¹⁰[. . . I]srael. He established His truth from of old, and the mysteries of His cunning in eve[ry . . .] strength ¹¹[. . .] and the society of the oppressed as an eternal congregation [. . .] perfect of ¹²[. . .] eternal, a mighty throne in the congregation of the gods. None of the ancient kings shall sit on it, and their nobles [shall] not [. . . There are no]ne comparable ¹³[to me in] my glory, no one shall be exalted besides me; none shall associate with me. For I dwelt in the [. . .] in the heavens, and there is no one ¹⁴[. . .]. I am reckoned with the gods and my abode is in the holy congregation. [My] desi[re] is not according to the flesh, and everything precious to me is in the glory ¹⁵[of] the holy [habit]ation. [Wh]om have I considered contemptible? Who is comparable to me in my glory? Who of those who sail the seas shall return telling ¹⁶[of] my [equal]? Who shall [experience] troubles like me? And who is like me [in bearing] evil? I have not been taught, but no teaching compares ¹⁷[with my teaching]. Who then shall attack me when [I] ope[n my mouth]? Who can endure the utterance of my lips? Who shall arraign me and compare with my judgment ¹⁸[. . . Fo]r I am reck[oned] with the gods, [and] my glory with *that of* the sons of the King. Neither [refined go]ld, nor the gold of Ophir ¹⁹[. . .]

²⁰[. . .] righteous ones among the gods of [. . .] in the holy habitation. Praise Him in song [. . .] ²¹[. . . P]roclaim the meditation of joy [. . .] joyously forever. There is not [. . .] ²²[. . .] to raise up a horn of [. . .] ²³[. . .] to make known His hand in strength [. . .]

4Q493 (4QMilhamah^c)

This manuscript is reminiscent of 1QM 7:9–9:9, but it diverges markedly from the Cave 1 copy. Perhaps it represents another “deviant” version such as 4Q491 (Manuscripts A and B). But it is equally possible that this fragment may have been unrelated to the War Scroll literature, instead coming from a handbook on priestly duties.

*The number of this fragment suggests a physical connection with frag. 11 col. 2. The original publication proposed a join of two separate pieces of parchment that is not accepted here.

¹For the war: The priests, the sons of Aaron, shall take their stand before [the] battle formations ²and sound a blast on the trumpets of remembrance. Afterwards they shall open the gates for the ³infantrymen. Then the priests shall sound a blast on the trumpets of battle [to adva]nce on the battle line ⁴of the Gentiles. The priests shall go out from among the slain and stand on [ei-ther] side of the [. . .], ⁵beside the catapult (?) and the ballista (?). Thus they shall not profane the anointing of their priestly office [with the blood of the s]lai[n]. ⁶[And] they shall not approach any battle formation of the infantry. They shall sound an alarm—with a sharp note in order that the me[n of] battle ⁷might set out to advance between the battle lines—on the trumpets [of the slain]. Then [they] shall [beg]in ⁸to draw near to the battle. When their periods of engagement are completed, they shall sound a blast for them on the tru[m]p[et]s of withdrawal ⁹to enter the gates. Then the second formation shall set out. According to this entire rule the Le[vites] ¹⁰shall be signaling them at the proper time. When they set out, they shall blow a signal for them on the t[rumpets of assembly], ¹¹and when [they] have comple[te]d their foray], on the trumpets of alarm, [and when] they return, they shall sound a sig[nal for them on the trumpets] ¹²of as[sembly.] According to [this] ordin[ance] they sound the signal for ev[ery ba]ttle formation.

¹³[. . .] upon the trumpets of the Sabbaths [it is written . . .] ¹⁴[. . . for] the regular [grain offering] and the burnt offerings it is written, [. . .]

—M.G.A.

9. THE WORDS OF MOSES

1Q22

The authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls found the Bible a limitless source of wisdom and instruction, but on occasion they found it necessary to rewrite portions of it to enhance the message they found in it—or wanted to find in it. Sometimes biblical stories were rewritten—such as text 2, *Tales of the Patriarchs*—probably to increase their entertainment value. Other portions, such as text 131, the *Temple Scroll*, represent rewritten and expanded legal material with controversial or new laws added, highlighted, or explained.

The text here translated, *The Words of Moses*, follows a similar plan. Although fragmentary (and reconstructed with remarkable acumen by J. T. Milik), the scroll apparently was a rewriting of parts of Moses' last farewell as given in the book of Deuteronomy. Since most of the composition has perished, we can only guess what purpose lay behind its writing. The parts that remain emphasize the dangers of apostasy and the judgment that inevitably follows—a theme quite in keeping with the original book.

The introductory passage recalls Deuteronomy 1:3.

Col. 1 ¹[God called] to Moses [on the fortieth] year after the [children of] Israel left [the land of] Egypt, in the eleventh month, ²on the first day of the month, saying, [Convene] the entire nation and go up to [. . .] and stand there, you ³and Eleazar [son of] Aaron. Ex[plain to the family] heads, to the Levites, and all the [priests] and command the children of ⁴Israel the words of the Law that I have commanded [you] on Mount Sinai to command them in their hearing.

This passage recalls Deuteronomy 4:25–28, except that the author adds to the prediction of idolatry a further one concerning breaking the laws of the festival calendar—a topic much on the minds of the Yahad and earlier groups such as the circles that produced Jubilees.

⁵Explain thoroughly everything that I [demand] of them and [call as witnesses against] them Heaven and [Earth, for] ⁶what I command [them] will not be to their liking, or to their descendants' liking, [all] the days that they [live on the] land. Indeed ⁷I declare to you that they will abandon Me [and choose to follow the idols of the] Gentiles [and their] abominations and [their filthy] deeds, [and they will worship] the ⁸false gods, which will become a trap [and] snare, and they will violate [every sacred assembly] and covenant Sabbath [and the festivals], the very ones ⁹I am commanding them today to observe.

A paraphrase of Deuteronomy 28:15.

[They will suffer a] great [defeat] within the very land [that they] are about to cross ¹⁰the Jordan to possess. And so it will be, that all the curses will come upon them and catch them until they perish and until ¹¹they are [destroyed] and they will know [that] a just judgment has been [passed] on them.

In Deuteronomy 31:7 it is stated only that Moses summoned Joshua. The addition here of Eleazar the priest as a co-ruler of Israel is characteristic of the Dead Sea sect.

So Moses called Eleazar son of ¹²[Aaron] and Joshua [son of Nun] and said to] them, Repeat [all the words of the Law up to] the very end [. . .]

Here the author combines the gist of Deuteronomy 27:9–19 with Deuteronomy 6:10–11.

Col. 2 ¹Israel and hear! [This very] day [you become a] people belonging to the Lord [your God], so you should [observe my regulations] and my testimonies [and] my [commandments that] ²[I am] commanding you [to]day, [doing them just] as [you] are about to cross the [Jordan], and [I shall give] you ³large and [beautiful] cities and houses full of every [good thing, vineyards and olive trees] that [you did not plant and cis]terns [that you] did not

'dig; and you will eat and be satisfied. [Be careful] lest your heart grow proud and you [forget what] I [command you] today; ⁵[for] it is [your] life and length of [your] days.

Here the author combines themes and expressions from Deuteronomy 1:9–18 and 11:17.

[So] Moses [called] and [said to the children of] Israel, It is now forty ⁶[years] since we [came out of] the land of [Egypt. This very] day [the Lord] our God [has expressed these words] from his mouth: ⁷[all his] statutes and all his <regulations> (MS: statutes). How [shall I bear alone] your trouble [and your burdens and your quarreling]? So it shall be, ⁸[when I finish giving] the covenant and commanding [the] way [that you] should walk in, [appoint for yourself wise men who] should explain ⁹[to you and to your children] all [these] words of the [Law]. Be [very careful] of yourselves [to do them lest] his anger burn and his wrath ignite ¹⁰against you, and He closes the heavens above from raining [upon you], and the [waters below the earth] from giving you ¹¹[produce].

The joining of the last few fragments is too conjectural for translation.

Moses [spoke again] to the children of Israel, These are [the commandments that God commanded] to obey . . .

—E.M.C.

10. THE BOOK OF SECRETS

1Q27, 4Q299–301

“Where shall wisdom be found, and where is the place of understanding?” Such was the cry of the author of Job (28:12), and an entire literature, even a literary movement, stood behind that cry. “Wisdom books” are the biblical writings that embody this search for understanding: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes (or Koheleth), and Job. Indeed, almost every culture of the ancient Near East had its own representative books of “wisdom,” and the oldest collections of proverbs are not Israelite, but Egyptian, and go back to the late third millennium B.C.E.

Often the collections of proverbs are framed by what scholars call an “instruction,” that is, the literary device of a wise sage instructing his pupils or his children in the ways of wisdom. Sometimes the instruction is patently fictional, and the sage that “speaks” through the proverbs is anonymous; sometimes the teacher is a real historical figure, such as Jesus ben Sira, who wrote the book of Sirach, or Ecclesiasticus, in the second century B.C.E. At least two compositions among the Dead Sea Scrolls are wisdom instructions, *The Book of Secrets* and the longer work called *The Secret of the Way Things Are* (text 88). In *The Book of Secrets*, although the

name of the sage is not preserved, one can hear the distinctive voice of a real, and redoubtable, teacher.

The wisdom movement in Israel had fairly humble beginnings in homely proverbs but grew to produce intense speculation about God's ways of governing the world. The idea that a basic order lay hidden behind the apparent randomness and injustice of daily life was fundamental to the religion of the ancients, and this divine order was in Israel known as *hokhmah*, "wisdom." But the difficulty of grasping the essence of wisdom through practical maxims later led to deeper ruminations on God's way with the world. Ben Sira came to identify God's pattern with the Law revealed to Israel, in this way reconciling ancient "philosophy" with Israel's covenant faith.

The scroll writers generally took a different tack in their wisdom instructions. Although honoring the Law as much as Ben Sira, the hiddenness of the divine pattern impressed them as much as its splendor. It was clear to them that, unaided, the human mind could not grasp wisdom; it would have to be given to individuals as a gift. Certain men, then, were singled out to be the lucky recipients of revelation, and they would then know the "secrets" of God, especially the "secret of the way things are," a sectarian title for divine *hokhmah*. The scroll writers did not believe that the unaided human mind, however pious, could understand the ways of God. The path to true understanding was through revelation, not reason.

The "instructor" announces his intention to reveal his learning to all who are interested, even the benighted Gentiles.

4Q301 Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] I shall speak out freely, and I shall express my various sayings among you [. . .] ²[. . . those who would understand] parables and riddles, and those who would penetrate the origins of knowledge, along with those who hold fast to [the wonderful mysteries . . .] ³[. . .] those who walk in simplicity as well as those who are devious in every activity of the deeds of [humanity . . .] ⁴[those with a stiff] neck, [a hard] pate, [all] the mass of the Gentiles, with [. . .]

The instructor asks the motivation for learning. It must not be for worldly power and privilege.

4Q301 Frag. 2 ¹the customs of the fool, and the inheritance of the wise [. . .] Now what good is the riddle to you, you who search for the origins of knowledge? ²Why is the heart honored, for it is the dominion [. . .] a parable? Why is it splendid to you, for it is [. . .] Why is a prince [. . .] ³ruler? [. . .] without strength, and he dominates him with a whip that cost nothing. Who would say ⁴[. . .] who among you seeks the presence of Light and Illu[mination] ⁵[. . .] the plan of memory without [. . .] ⁶[. . .] by the angels of [. . .] ⁷[. . .] those who praise [. . .]

In times past people ignored this teaching and disaster came upon them.

4Q300 Frag. 3 ²so that they would know the difference between good and evil . . .] **1Q27 Col. 1** ²secrets of sin ³[. . .] but they did not know the secret of the way things are nor did they understand the things of old and they did not ⁴know what would come upon them, so they did not rescue themselves without the secret of the way things are.

The time for ignoring true wisdom is past. Those who have not reformed their lives by means of it will soon be eliminated.

⁵This shall be the sign that this shall come to pass: when the sources of evil are shut up and wickedness is banished in the presence of righteousness, as darkness in the presence of ⁶light, or as smoke vanishes and is no more, in the same way wickedness will vanish forever and righteousness will be manifest like the sun. ⁷The world will be made firm and all the adherents of the secrets of <sin> (MS: wonder) shall be no more. True knowledge shall fill the world and there will never be any more folly. ⁸This is all ready to happen, it is a true oracle, and by this it shall be known to you that it cannot be averted.

It is not enough simply to honor goodness or desire truth. The attainment of wisdom lies beyond human effort, and it is beyond the reach of the rich.

It is true that all ⁹the peoples reject evil, yet it advances in all of them. It is true that truth is esteemed in the utterances of all the nations— ¹⁰yet is there any tongue or language that grasps it? What nation wants to be oppressed by another that is stronger? Or who ¹¹wants his money to be stolen by a wicked man? Yet what nation is there that has not oppressed its neighbor? Where is the people that has not ¹²robbed the wealth [of another . . .]

Even the so-called righteous have fallen short of the ideals of true wisdom.

4Q299 Frag. 2 (+ 4Q300 Frag. 5) Col. 2 ²what should we call [a man who . . . his] deeds [. . .] ³but every deed of the righteous has been judged im[pure. And what] should we call a man [who . . . call no one on earth] ⁴wise or righteous, for it is not a human possession [. . .] and not [. . . wisdom is hidden, ex-] ⁵cept for the wisdom of cunning evil, and the s[chemes of Belial . . .] ⁶a thing that ought never to be done again, except [. . .] ⁷the command of his Maker; and what shall a m[an] do [and live? . . . he who] ⁸has violated the command of his Maker shall have his name erased from the mouth of all [. . .] ⁹[. . .]

God knows all hidden things; indeed, he has determined how everything should come about.

So listen, you who hold fast [to the wonderful secrets . . .] ¹⁰of eternity, and the plots behind every deed, and the pur[pose of . . . He knows] ¹¹every

secret and stands behind every thought, He does every [. . . the Lord of all]
¹²is He, from long ago He established it, and forever [. . .] ¹³[. . .] the pur-
 pose of the origins He opened up to [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] for He tests His son, and
 gives him as an inheritance [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] every secret, and the limits of every
 deed; and what [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] the Gentiles, for He created them and their
 deeds [. . .]

Magicians and soothsayers have not been able to penetrate God's secrets.

4Q300 Frag. 1 Col. 2 ¹[Consider the sooth]sayers, those teachers of sin.
 Say the parable, declare the riddle before we speak; then you will know if you
 have truly understood. ²[. . .] your foolishness, for the vision is sealed up
 from you, and you have not properly understood the eternal mysteries and
 you have not become wise in understanding [. . .] ³[. . .] for you have not
 properly understood the origin of wisdom; but if you should unseal the vi-
 sion [. . .] ⁴[. . .] all your wisdom, for to you [. . .] Hear now what wis-
 dom is.

The secret of true wisdom is as hidden as God's design of the natural world.

4Q299 Frag. 5 ¹[. . . light]s of the stars for a m[emo]rial of [His]
 name . . . ²[. . . hidden] things of the mysteries of Light and the ways of
 Darkness [. . .] ³[. . .] the times of heat with the period[s of cold . . .]
⁴[. . . the breaking of day] and the coming of night [. . .] ⁵[. . .] the origins
 of things [. . .]

Wisdom is available by humble submission to the unchangeable plan of God.

4Q299 Frag. 8 ¹⁻⁵[. . .] How can a man understand without knowledge
 or hearing? [. . .] ⁶[. . .] He created insight for His children, by much wis-
 dom He uncovered our ears that we may h[ear . . .] ⁷[. . .] He created in-
 sight for all those who pursue true knowledge and [. . .] ⁸[. . .] all wisdom
 is from eternity, it may not be changed [. . .] ⁹[. . .] He locked up behind
 the waters, so that not [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] the heaven above heaven [. . .]

True wisdom is also found among his people Israel.

4Q301 Frag. 3 ¹⁻⁴[. . .] and He is well known for His patience, and
 [mighty] in His great anger, and [splendid] ⁵[. . .] He in His numerous acts
 of mercy, and terrible in His wrathful purposes, and honored [. . .] ⁶[. . .]
 and over the land He made him ruler, and God is honored among His holy
 people, and splendid ⁷[among] His chosen, yes, splendid [. . .] holy, great in
 the blessings of [. . .] ⁸[. . .] their splendor and [. . .] when the Era of
 Wickedness is at an end, and [evil]doing [. . .]

—E.M.C.

11. TONGUES OF FIRE

1Q29, 4Q376

Exodus 28 describes Israel's high priest's garments and equipment, and though the entire description is shot through with awe and mystery, nothing in the description has more captured the imagination of readers than the sparse account of the two oracle stones called the Urim and the Thummim. The Bible suggests that the high priest relied upon the Urim and Thummim to discover God's will (Num. 27:21; 1 Sam. 28:6); presumably this form of divination responded only to "yes" and "no" questions, and according to how the question was phrased, the priest's blind selection of one stone or the other from their pouch would reveal the answer. That, at least, is how modern scholars generally understand the mechanism. *Tongues of Fire*, however, and the traditions of Josephus (*Ant.* 3.214–215) share a much more miraculous expectation. They agree in indicating that God would make the answer known by causing the appropriate stone to shine forth with a brilliant light.

This is not the only respect in which modern scholarship differs from ancient Jewish understanding of the Urim and Thummim. Most English translations of Exodus 38:30 indicate that the stones were carried in a pouch or pocket on the priest's breastplate. Jewish tradition, on the contrary, has understood these stones as part of the breastplate itself. *Tongues of Fire* agrees with this latter understanding, and so does Josephus.

The author of *Tongues of Fire* expected that the Urim and Thummim would be called upon for especially momentous decisions. The remaining fragments of the work describe their use to decide whether a prophet was true or false and to decide military strategy.

For other occurrences of the Urim and Thummim among the Dead Sea Scrolls, see the *Commentaries on Isaiah* (text 19), *The Last Days* (text 23), *A Collection of Messianic Proof Texts* (text 24), and *The Temple Scroll* (text 131).

This fragment shows that the Urim was used to test whether a prophet was true or false. Lines 3 and 5 indicate a negative response in this case. Compare text 76, The Test of a True Prophet. Lines 3–5 have been reconstructed with the help of 4Q376.

1Q29 Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] the stone, just as [the LORD commanded . . .] ³[and your Urim (?). And it (the cloud?) shall come forth] with him,

with tongues of fire. [The left-hand stone which is on its left side shall be uncovered before the whole congregation until] the priest finishes speaking [and after the cloud has been lifted . . . And you shall keep] ⁴[. . .] the prop[het has s]poken to you [. . .] ⁵[. . .] who counsels rebellion [. . .] ⁶[. . .] the LORD [your] God [. . .]

A positive response.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] ²[. . . the] right-hand [s]tone when the pri[est] comes out ³[. . .] three tongues of fire from the righthand stone [. . .] [from . . .] ⁴[. . .] and after he goes up he shall draw near [to the people . . .] ⁵[. . .]

Frag. 3-4 ¹[. . .] ²[. . . the L]ORD your God [. . .] ³[. . . Blessed is the Go]d of Israel [. . .] ⁴[. . .] among them all. Your name [. . .] ⁵[. . . and an] abundance of strength, honored [and awesome . . .] ⁶[. . .]

Frag. 5-7 ¹[. . .] these words, according to all .[. . .] ²[. . . and the]n the priest shall interpret all His will, a[ll . . .] ³[. . .] the congregation. [. . .]

⁴[. . . O Children of I]s[rae]l, keep all of these words [. . .] ⁵[. . . to d]o a[l[. . .] ⁶[. . .] the number of com[mandments (?) . . .] ⁷[. . .] their [. . .]

The only other occurrence of the term "anointed priest" in the scrolls is in text 76, The Test of a True Prophet.

4Q376 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] the anointed priest ²[upon whose head has been poured the anointing oil. . . . and he shall offer a bul]l of the herd and a ram ³[. . .] for the Urim.

The Urim gave a negative ruling concerning a prophet. Lines 1-3 overlap 1Q29 frag. 1, col. 2, ll. 3-5.

Col. 2 ¹and your Urim (?). And it (the cloud?) shall come forth with him, with tongues of fire. The left-hand stone which is upon its left side ²shall be uncovered before the whole congregation until the priest finishes speaking. And after the [cloud] has been lifted ³[. . .] And you shall keep [. . .] and [the prophet] has spoken [t]o you.

The use of the oracle stones for help with military strategy. Joshua used them in this way according to Numbers 27:21.

Col. 3 ¹according to this entire commandment. And if the Leader of the whole nation is in the camp or i[f . . .] ²his enemy and Israel is with him, or if they march on a city to throw up a siege against it, or in respect to any matter which [. . .] ³to the Leader [. . .] the field is far (?) [. . .]

—M.G.A.

12. A VISION OF THE NEW JERUSALEM

1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554–555, 5Q15, 11Q18

In the year 586 B.C.E., the armies of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, destroyed the Temple of the Lord that King Solomon had built in Jerusalem. Some of the best religious thinkers in ancient Israel, such as the prophet Jeremiah, saw in this event the welcome judgment of God on a nation that had placed too much reliance on external worship and not enough on the religion of the heart. Others equally pious, such as Ezekiel, agreed, but longed for the day when the God of Israel would restore to his people all that had been lost, giving them a new temple and temple city. Ezekiel himself contributed to this longing with a vision of a new temple and a new Jerusalem (Ezek. 40–48), but he was not alone. The book of Isaiah speaks of a new Jerusalem encrusted with jewels (54:11–12), and the book of Tobit speaks of a time when “Jerusalem and the temple of God will be rebuilt in splendor, just as the prophets have said” (14:6–7).

The new Temple built after the Israelites returned from exile in the fifth century B.C.E. was only a modest substitute for these dreams, and those who remembered the first Temple wept when they saw the foundation laid for the new one (Ezra 3:12). There were still dreams of another, greater, temple. In the first century B.C.E., Herod the Great doubtless depended on widespread fascination with such a dream to provide popular support for his building programs within Jerusalem, including a new, magnificent Temple.

The Qumran texts testify to this continuing fascination of the idea of a new Jerusalem with two examples: text 131, *The Temple Scroll*, and the present text. *A Vision of the New Jerusalem*, reconstructed from several scrolls, is a detailed description of a Jerusalem-to-be given by an angel to an unknown recipient, quite in the manner of Ezekiel’s vision, but differing in many details. No description of the temple itself survives in the fragments, but the temple is mentioned several times.

The dimensions of the visionary city and buildings are too large to be realistic. The city, for example, measures 140 *stades* on the east and the west, and 100 *stades* on the north and south. In modern terms these dimensions would be 18.67 miles by 13.33 miles (the *stade* being 2/15 of a mile). This new Jerusalem would have been larger than any ancient city and could only have been built by divine intervention, like the even larger city beheld by a later visionary in the New Testament book of Revelation (21:9–27).

The description of the twelve gates of the city, each named for one of the twelve tribes, as in Ezekiel’s prophecy (48:30–35) and the vision of Revelation (21:12–13).

4Q554 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ⁹[. . .] sixteen [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] and all of them from this building ¹¹[. . . he measured from the] northeastern [corner] ¹²[to the south, to the first gate], thirty-five stades, and the name ¹³[of this gate is called the gate of] Simeon.

From [this gate to] the middle gate ¹⁴[he measured thirty-five stades] and the name of this gate is [called] the gate of ¹⁵[Levi].

From this gate he measured to the] south, thirty-five stades, ¹⁶[and the name of this gate is called the gate of Judah.

From] this gate he measured to the ¹⁷[southeastern] corner, and he measured from this corner westwards ¹⁸[thirty-five stades and the name of this gate] is called the gate of Joseph.

¹⁹[He measured from this gate to the middle gate,] twenty-four [stades] and the name ²⁰[of this gate is called Benjamin.

From] this gate he measured to the [third] gate ²¹[twenty-four stades and they call it] the gate of Reuben.

[From] this [gate] ²²[he measured to the western corner twenty-four stades] and from this corner he measured to **Col. 2** ¹⁻³[the north, thirty-five stades, and the name of this gate is called the gate of Issachar.

He measured from this gate to the middle gate, twenty-four stades, and the name of this gate is called the gate of Zebulun.

From] this gate he measured to the third gate, twenty-four stades, and they call it the gate of Gad.

From this gate he measured to the northern corner thirty-five stades and from this corner he measured to the east, ⁶thirty-five stades, and the name [of this gate they called the gate of Dan.

He measured] from this gate [to the] middle [gate] ⁷[twenty-four] stades [and the name of this gate they call] the gate of Naphtali.

From [this] ⁸gate he measured to the [third] gate, twenty-four stades, and the name of this gate they call ⁹the gate of Asher.

He measured [from] this [gate] to the eastern corner ¹⁰twenty-four stades.

The city itself was divided into square blocks like a checkerboard. Each block was surrounded by a spacious street, and the city as a whole was divided by larger streets, three passing from east to west, two passing from north to south.

¹¹Then he brought me into the city, and [measured all the] city blocks. Length and breadth, they measured ¹²fifty-one staves by fifty-one staves, [making a square,] three hundred and fifty- ¹³seven cubits to each side. Each block had a sidewalk around it, bordering the street, ¹⁴three staves, that is, twenty-one cubits.

So he showed me the measurement of all the blocks: between each block was ¹⁵a street six staves in width, that is, [forty-two cubits]. The main streets that passed ¹⁶from east to west were ten [staves]. The width of the street was

¹⁷seventy cubits, for two of them. A third street, which was on the [north] of the temple, he measured at ¹⁸eighteen staffs in width, that is, [one hundred twenty-four] cubits.

The width of ¹⁹the streets that go from south [to north, for two of them,] nine staffs, ²⁰with four cubits to each street, making [sixty-seven] cubits. He measured [the middle street in the] middle ²¹of the city. Its width was [thirteen staffs and one cubit, that is ninety-two cubits.]

²²And every street and the city itself [was paved in white stone].

The angelic guide now shows the visionary the structure of the outer walls, its gates, towers, and the stairs providing access to the towers.

Col. 3 (= 5Q15 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ll. 7–15) '[. . . marble and onyx . . . and he showed me ²the measurements of the eighty portals. Their width was two staffs, fourteen cubits ³. . . Every gate had two doors of stone. Their width was ⁴one staff, seven cubits . . .

He showed me the measurements of the twelve gates . . . The width of ⁵their gates was three staffs, twenty-one cubits. Every gate had two doors. ⁶The width of the doors was one-and-a-half staffs, ten-and-a-half cubits . . .

⁷. . . Two towers flanked each gate, one on the right ⁸and one on the left. Their breadth and length was the same, five by five staffs, that is, ⁹thirty-five cubits.

The stairs that went up next to the gate on the inner side, to the right of the towers, ¹⁰is of the same height as the towers. Their width is five cubits. The towers and the stairs were five by five staffs, ¹¹plus five cubits, forty cubits for each side of the door.

The description now moves to give more detail about the structure of the city blocks.

¹²He then showed me the measurements of the gates of the city blocks. Their width was two staffs, fourteen cubits,] ¹³and the width of the [. . .], its measurement in cubits. [He then measured] the width of each atrium: ¹⁴[two] staffs, fourteen cubits, and the roof, one cubit.

[Then he measured over each] at[rium] ¹⁵its doors. Then he measured inside the atrium: its length was thirteen cubits, and its width [ten] cubits.

¹⁶He brought me into the atrium and there was another atrium and yet another gate. The inner wall on the right side ¹⁷had the same measurements as the outer gate. Its width was four cubits. Its height was seven cubits. It had two doors, and in front of ¹⁸this [gate] was an entrance way. Its width was one staff, seven cubits, and its length, two staffs, ¹⁹fourteen cubits; and its height, two staffs, fourteen cubits.

Now a gate opposite the gate opened into the block ²⁰and its measurements were like those of the outer gate. On the left of this entrance he showed me a spiral staircase [going up: its width] ²¹was a single measurement,

two staffs by two, fourteen cubits; and [gates opposite the gates] ²²were of a like measurement.

There was a pillar that the stairs spiraled [around. Its width and its length] **4Q555** ¹[was the same, six cubits by six, square.] The stairs that [went up around it] were four cubits wide and they spiraled upwards ²[to a height of two staffs until . . .]

A description of the houses within each block.

³[Then he brought me within the city block and showed me the houses in it. From gate to] gate there were fifteen houses, eight in one direction to the corner ⁴[and seven from the corner to the other gate]. The length of the houses was three staffs, twenty-one cubits, and their width ⁵[was two staffs, fourteen cubits. The rooms likewise] were two staffs high, fourteen cubits, **5Q15 Col. 2** ⁹and their middle gate was two staffs, fourteen cubits, [wide . . .] the house and within it [. . .] ¹⁰four. It was one staff, seven cubits, in length and height. [. . . of] the site was nineteen cubits long ¹¹and twelve cubits wide. A house of twenty-two beds [. . .] eleven closed windows above the [beds . . .] ¹²and next to it an outer gutter [. . .] the window was two cubits high [. . .] and the thickness and width of the wall [. . .] the first [. . .] ¹³cubits [. . .] of the platform was nineteen cubits [high] and [. . .] cubits wide [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] open [windows], two staffs, ¹⁵fourteen cubits [. . .] one and one-half cubits, and its height inside [. . .]

A further description of the city towers.

4Q554 Frag. 2 Col. 2 ¹³[. . .] its foundation. It was two staffs wide, ¹⁴four[teen] cubits, and it was seven staffs high, forty-nine cubits. All of it was ¹⁵built of elec[trum] and sapphire and chalcedony; and its beams were of gold, and its towers numbered one thousand ¹⁶[four hun]dred and thirty-two. Their length and width were the same measurement ¹⁷[. . .] and their height was ten staffs, ¹⁸[seventy cubits . . . two staffs,] fourteen [cubits]

The visionary also sees the priests at their work in the temple. The fragments that follow combine regulation—what the priests ought to do—with narrative—what the visionary saw the priests doing.

11Q18 Frag. 21 ¹[. . .] with its four feet and he flayed the bull [. . .] ²[with] its four feet and its entrails and he salted all of it [. . .] ³[he placed] it on the fire and brought the purest fine flour [. . .] ⁴[. . .] four seahs and he placed it on the altar, all of it [. . .] ⁵[. . .] four seahs and he poured a libation into the channel [. . .] ⁶[. . .] and the meat mixed together [. . .] ⁷[. . . every] side.

Further details of the priestly activities.

2Q24 Frag. 4 (+ 11Q18 Frag. 13) ¹their meat [. . .] ²[. . .] for an offering acceptable [to the Lord . . .] ³then they will enter the temple [. . .] ⁴eight seahs, fine flour [. . .] ⁵then they shall carry the bread [. . .] ⁶first upon the al[tar . . . then they shall put the bread in two] ⁷rows on the ta[ble . . .] ⁸two rows of [bread . . .] ⁹of the bread, and they shall take the bread [. . . outside the temple to the south-] ¹⁰west, and [the bread] shall be divided [. . . and they will be accepted . . .] ¹¹and while I watched, [the bread was distributed to eighty-four priests . . . from all seven sections of the tables of . . .] ¹²the marks [written . . .] ¹³the elders among them, and fourteen priests [. . .] ¹⁴the priests. Two loaves of bread that were [covered with incense . . . and while] ¹⁵I was watching, one of the two loaves was given [to the [high] priest . . . another priest was] ¹⁶with him. The other loaf was given to the second one who was standing opposite [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] While I was watching, there was given to all [the priests . . .] ¹⁸[. . .] a ram of the flock for every one [of them . . .]

The extant text concludes with a prophecy of the kingdoms to come, leading up to the final apocalyptic showdown between the Gentile nations and Israel, with Israel being finally triumphant. The rebuilding of the temple would not be complete unless Israel as a whole had returned to its former glory.

4Q554 Col. 3 ¹⁴[. . . shall rise up] ¹⁵in place of it, and the kingdom of P[ersia . . . and then shall rise up] ¹⁶the Kittim in place of it. All these kingdoms shall appear one after another [. . .] ¹⁷others numerous and lordly with them [. . .] ¹⁸with them Edom and Moab and the Ammonites [. . .] ¹⁹of the whole land of Babylon, not [. . .] ²⁰and they shall do evil to your descendants until the time of [. . . shall come . . . and then shall appear] ²¹among all the peoples the kingdom [. . .]

—E.M.C.

13. FESTIVAL PRAYERS

1Q34, 1Q34bis, 4Q507–509

Although not all the Jewish holidays are mentioned in the portions that have survived, the present work is probably what remains of a collection of festival prayers that once covered the entire year. Only the Day of Atonement and the Day of the First Fruits (also called Weeks; Num. 28:26) receive explicit mention. All the prayers end with a double “Amen,” a regular feature of *Yahad* liturgical texts. *A Liturgy of Blessing and Cursing* (text 51) and *The Words of the Heavenly Lights* (text 105) are particularly comparable.

A notable feature of one of the Cave 4 copies, 4Q509, is that it is an *opisthograph*. This term denotes scrolls that are inscribed on both sides, an exceptional practice in ancient times, but one that is nevertheless the case for nearly a hundred of the Qumran writings. Opisthographs did not circulate in the normal market for books, to judge from practice in contemporary Egypt; rather, they were private copies, prepared not by scribes but by scholars for their own private study. The reverse of 4Q509 contains a copy of the *War Scroll* (text 8) and has been given its own reference number, 4Q496.

Lines 1–5 likely preserve the end of a prayer for the Day of Remembrance, the first day of the seventh month. Line 6 explicitly mentions the Day of Atonement.

1Q34, 1Q34bis Frags. 1–2 ¹[. . .] the appointed time of [our] peace [. . . For You gave us gladness for our sorrow and assembled the outcasts] ²for the time [of . . . and] our [scat]tered for the seaso[n of . . . Your loving-kindness for our assembly are as raindrops upon] ³the earth at the ti[m]e of sowing . . . and] as the showers upon [the crops in the springtime . . . And we will recount Your wonders] ⁴from generation to generation. Blessed is the Lord who gladdens u[s . . .]

⁵[. . .]

⁶Prayer for the Day of Atonement: Remem[ber, L]ord, [the] f[estival of Your mercies and the time of return . . .] ⁷[. . .]

This may be a prayer for the Day of Atonement.

Frag. 3 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] and [he] commanded [. . .] ²[. . .] in the lot of the righ[teous], and for the wicked, reprisal ³[. . .] in their bones shame for all flesh. But the righteous ⁴[. . . to] fatten oneself by the clouds of the heavens and fruit of the earth in order to distinguish ⁵[between the righ]teous and the wicked. And You have appointed the wicked as our [r]ansom and by the upright ⁶[You shall execute] destruction upon all of our oppressors. And as for us, we will praise Your name forever ⁷[and ever] because for this purpose You created us. And this is ho[w we shall answer] You: Blessed [. . .] ⁸[. . .]

This may also be a prayer for the Day of Atonement.

Col. 2 ¹[. . .] a grea[t] light for the [day]time [and a lesser light for the nighttime . . .] ²[. . .] and they cannot overstep their boundaries. And all of them [. . .] ³[. . .] and their dominion is over all the world. But the seed of ma[n] has not understood all that You have given him as an inheritance, neither have they known You, ⁴[do]ing Your word, so they have acted more wickedly than all the rest. They did not attend to Your great power and so You rejected them because You do not take pleasure ⁵in injustice and the wicked one shall not be established before You. But in the time of Your goodwill You chose a people for Yourself, because You remembered Your

covenant. "So You [established] them, setting them apart from all the peoples as holy to Yourself. And You renewed Your covenant for them in a vision of Your glory and words of⁷ Your holy [spirit], by the works of Your hands and the writing of Your right hand, in order to declare to them the foundations of glory, and the eternal works." [. . .] for [th]em a faithful shepherd [. . .] wretched and p[oor]

Another possible prayer for the Day of Atonement.

4Q508 Frag. 1 "[. . . But the righteous . . . to fatten oneself by the clouds of the heavens and fruit] ¹[of the earth in order to distinguish between the right]eous and the wicked. And You have appointed [the wicked as our ransom and by the upright] ²[You shall execute destruction] upon all of our oppressors. And as for us, we will praise Yo[ur na]me [forever and ever because for this purpose] ³[You created us. And this is h]ow we shall answer You: [Blessed . . .]

Prayers for the Day of Remembrance, the first day of the seventh month (l. 1), and for the Day of Atonement (ll. 2–6).

Frag. 2 "[. . .] and You dwelt in our midst [. . .] ²[Prayer for the Day of Atonemen]t: Remember, Lord, the festival of Your mercies and the time of return [. . .] ³[. . .] for You established it for us as a festival of fasting, and ever[lasting] statute [. . .] ⁴[. . .] and You know the things hidden and reveal[ed . . .] ⁵[. . .] You [kn]ow our inclination [. . .] ⁶[. . . ou]r [rising] and our lying down [. . .]

This may be another prayer for the Day of Atonement.

Frag. 3 "[. . .] we have done wickedly [. . .] ²[. . .] and because they were more in number. [Then] You established [Your covenant] for Noah [. . .] ³[. . . You]r faithfulness with [Is]aac and Jacob [. . .] ⁴[. . .] You remembered the ends of [. . .]

Prayer for the Day of the First Fruits (Feast of Weeks).

Frag. 13 "[. . . the L]ord, for in Your love ²[. . .] Your [. . .] in festivals of glory and to sanc[tify] ³[. . .] g[rain, and] fresh wine and fresh oil ⁴[. . .]

Given the reference in l. 3 to the offering of produce, this may be a prayer for the Raising of the Omer, an occasion on which agricultural produce was offered to God.

Frag. 22 + 23 "[. . . t]hat our mercy is in [. . .] ²[. . . the abu]ndance of Your mercies [. . .] ³[. . . the pro]duce of our land as an offer[ing . . .]

Ll. 1–23 likely preserve the end of a prayer for the Day of Remembrance, the first day of the seventh month. Line 24 probably begins a prayer for the Day of Atonement.

4Q509 Col. 1 (Frag. 1–4) "[. . .] our [. . .] ²[. . .] ³[. . . mi]re of the streets [. . .] ⁴[. . . before Yo]u we pour out [our] co[mplaint [. . .] for all

[. . .] ⁵[. . .] our [. . .] in the time of the [visitation (?) . . .] forever. And He has made us glad [. . .] ⁶[. . . Blessed is] the Lord, who has granted us understanding in [. . .] ⁷[. . . for ever and] ever. Amen. Amen. [. . .]

⁸[. . .] Moses. And You spoke to [him . . .] ⁹[. . .] which are upon [. . .] ¹⁰[. . . ju]st as You commanded him [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] with You (*or* Your people?) [. . .] ¹²[. . .] ¹³⁻¹⁴[. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] and its sorrow [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] the appointed time of [our] peace [. . .] ¹⁷[. . . For You gave] us [gladness] for our sorrow and assembled [the outcasts for the time of . . .] ¹⁸[. . .] and our scattered for the [season of . . .] ¹⁹[. . .] Your [lo]ving-kindness for our assembly are as ra[indrops upon the earth at the time of sowing . . .] ²⁰[. . .]

²¹[. . . and as the showers upon the cr]ops in the springtime and [. . .] ²²[. . . And we will recount] Your [w]onder[s] from generation to generat[ion. . . .] ²³[. . . Blessed is the Lord who gladdens u[s]

²⁴[Prayer for the Day of Atonement: . . .]

This may be a prayer for the Day of Atonement.

Col. 2 (Frgs. 5-7) ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] our blood (?) in the time of [. . .] ³[. . .] our [. . .] to meet us as [. . .] ⁴in [. . .] You know all [. . .] ⁵You divided and announced [. . . a]ll the curses [. . .] ⁶[with] us just as You spoke [. . .] ⁷Behold you lie down with [your] fa[thers (?) . . .] ⁸[. . .] ⁹⁻¹⁵[. . .] ¹⁶[. . . and] in the deeps and in all [. . .] ¹⁷For from eternity You have hated [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] the only one before You [. . .] ¹⁹in the Last Days [. . .] ²⁰[. . .] ²¹[. . .] to be careful [. . .] ²²[. . .]

This, also, may be a prayer for the Day of Atonement.

Col. 3 (Frgs. 8-10i, 12i-13) ¹[. . .] the work [. . .] ²[. . .] ³[. . .] ⁴[. . . the produce of] our [lan]d as an offer[ing . . .] ⁵[. . .] at the beginning of [. . .] ⁶[. . . mu]ch [. . .] ⁷[. . .] and our poor [. . .] ⁸[. . . the d]ominion of [. . .] ⁹⁻²⁰[. . .] ²¹[. . . so] that [. . .] ²²[. . .] and You blessed ²³[. . .] which [. . .] ²⁴⁻²⁹[. . .] ³⁰[. . .] our compassion [. . .] ³¹⁻³⁵[. . .] ³⁶the banished, wandering with no [one to return them . . .] ³⁷without strengthen, the fallen with no [one to raise them up . . .] ³⁸with no one to understand, the broken with no [one to mend them . . .] ³⁹in [their] iniquity [and] their is no doctor [. . .] ⁴⁰comforting those who stumble in their transgressions [. . . You rem]ember ⁴¹the torment and weeping and you are a companion to prisoner[s . . .]

Lines 24-28 contain the end of yet another prayer, as it seems, for the Day of Atonement. Lines 29-41 might form the beginning of a prayer for the Feast of Tabernacles.

Col. 4 (Frgs. 10ii, 11, 12ii, 16) ²⁴You have shepherded (?) and [. . .] ²⁵with Your [. . .] ²⁶and Your angels [. . .] ²⁷and Your inheritance [. . . Blessed is] ²⁸the Lord [. . .]

²⁹[Pra]yer for the festival of [. . .] ³⁰Your [. . .] whi[ch . . .] ³¹[. . .]
³²[. . .] all [. . .] ³³[. . .] to [. . .] ³⁴[. . .] ³⁵[. . .] for all [their] pain [. . .]
³⁶[. . .] comfort them because of their affliction [. . .] ³⁷[. . .] the torment
of our elders and [our] honorable [men . . .] ³⁸[. . .] youths mock them.
³⁹[. . .] they have [n]ot considered that Y[ou] ⁴⁰[. . .] our wisdom [. . .]
⁴¹[. . .] and we [. . .]

This may be another prayer for the Day of Atonement.

Frgs. 97–98i ²[. . . But the] s[eed of] man [has not understo]d ³[all that
You have given him as an inheritance, neither have they known You,] doing
⁴[Your word, so they have acted more wickedly than all the rest]. They [did
not att]end to Your [great] power ⁵[and so You rejected them because You do
not take pleasu]re in injustice [and the wicked one] ⁶[shall not be established
before You. But in the time of Your goodwill You chose a people for Your-
self,] ⁷[because You remembered Your covenant. So You established them,
setting *them* apart from all the peoples] as holy [to] Yourself. ⁸[And You re-
newed] Your [cove]nant for them in a vision of ⁹[Your glory and words of
Your holy spirit, by] the works of Your hands and the writing ¹⁰[of Your
right *hand*, in order to declare to them the foundations of glory, and the eter-
nal works . . .]

*Lines 2–3 likely preserve the end of the prayer for the Second Passover. Line 5 explic-
itly mentions the Day of the First Fruits (i.e., the Feast of Weeks).*

Frgs. 131–132ii ²[. . .] Your [g]lory [. . .] ³[. . .] Amen. A[men. . .]
⁴[. . .]

⁵[Prayer for the day of the] first fruits: Remember, O L[or]d, the festival of
⁶[. . .] and the freewill offerings of Your will which You commanded
⁷[. . . we shall] present before You the first fruits of [our] labors [. . .] ⁸[. . .]
upon the earth to be [. . .] ⁹[. . .] Your [. . .] for in the day of the [. . .]
¹⁰[. . .] You consecrated [. . .] ¹¹the offspring of [. . .] ^{12–14}[. . .] ¹⁵with
[. . .] ¹⁶hol[y . . .] ¹⁷in all [. . .]

—M.G.A.

14. A LIST OF BURIED TREASURE (THE COPPER SCROLL)

3Q15

Many aspects of the Copper Scroll set it apart from the other Dead Sea
Scrolls: its language is unlike the Hebrew of most of the other scrolls; the
medium upon which it is inscribed is neither animal skin nor papyrus, but cop-
per; and, most important, it is the only scroll that contains a list of a treasure trove.

The locations where the scroll's treasures are said to be hidden are scattered widely throughout Judea, so far as it is possible to identify them; but hiding places concentrate near the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, near Jericho, and in the wilderness near the site of Qumran.

The scroll's official editor, J. T. Milik, at first believed the Copper Scroll was an Essene product, but not in any sense an "official" work of the sect. Rather, it was a private effort, "highly individual in character and execution, perhaps the work of a crank." As such, it was not, of course, a historical record of actual treasures buried in antiquity. The "fabulous quantity" of precious metal, in particular, placed the scroll "firmly in the genre of folklore." Later, Milik's views took a decided shift. Since he had not "found a single valid indication" for attributing the work's composition to an Essene, Milik removed the Copper Scroll from the other Cave 3 discoveries and all the other Dead Sea Scrolls. He treated it as a completely extraneous document only coincidentally found among these materials. He also revised his dating of the text, and now suggested that it was written about the year 100 C.E.—a generation after the destruction of Jerusalem. To justify these new claims, Milik underscored the fact that the two copper rolls found in Cave 3 were somewhat removed from the other manuscript finds made there. "This fact," Milik wrote, "points to two independent deposits, separated by a lapse in time."

But in the last few years a number of scholars—principally P. Kyle McCarter, Al Wolters, David Wilmot, and Judah Lefkovits—have turned their attention to this mysterious text. The result has been a startlingly different understanding of the Copper Scroll.

These scholars agree that Milik's attempt to remove the Copper Scroll from the context of the other Cave 3 finds was arbitrary and special pleading. Subsequent reexamination of the archaeological evidence has counted quite decisively against Milik's dating of the scroll; it rightly belongs to the period before 70 C.E. Further, these scholars agree that Milik's identification of the Copper Scroll as a literary work of folklore cannot be right. The Copper Scroll is clearly something else—but what? Wilmot has argued that the format of the Copper Scroll points to its classification as a "list." This is a well-recognized category of texts in antiquity.

Remarkably, the pattern of clauses in the Copper Scroll formulary finds precise parallels in Greek temple inventories from the Isle of Delos. These texts, most of which date between 180 and 90 B.C.E., were records kept by the priests of the island's temple of Apollo. They detail large numbers of votive objects brought to the temple, including crowns, jugs, earrings, and coins. The parallels of form and content between these archives and the Copper Scroll point not only to the scroll's identification as a business document, but more particularly to the recognition that the text is a genuine temple inventory, listing what are presumably, therefore, genuine treasures. Supporting this conclusion is the choice of medium

upon which to record these treasures. Copper was used for the safekeeping of nonliterary records, Roman public laws, and even the private discharge papers of Roman military veterans. More to the point, copper and bronze were common media of choice for the archival records of temples in the Roman period. Thus the formal characteristics and choice of writing material for the Copper Scroll constitute converging lines of evidence: this scroll is a genuine administrative document of Herod's Temple in Jerusalem.

Unlike Milik and the other members of the official editorial team, John Allegro, the maverick among the editors, early on came to the conviction that the treasure inventoried in the Copper Scroll was real. He therefore mounted two treasure-hunting expeditions: one in December 1959–January 1960, and another in March–April 1960. He employed the very latest technology then available, including mine-detecting equipment on loan from the Signals Research and Development Establishment, Christchurch. But despite this technology, he came up empty-handed and was finally halted by government authorities as his team was about to begin digging on the esplanade of the sacred Dome of the Rock—actions that might have had very serious consequences, indeed.

What Allegro perhaps neglected to consider before launching these essentially fruitless treasure hunts was the motivating power of human greed. If you know that wealth is hidden somewhere and it is within your physical and political capacity to retrieve it, you do. At the time the Copper Scroll was written, the Romans certainly possessed that power, if they could somehow obtain the knowledge. On this point the tale of the recovery of the hidden treasure of Dacia's last king is instructive.

After the defeat and suicide of the Dacian king Decebalus (106 C.E.), the Romans seized his territories and began to search for his legendary treasure. A certain Bicilis, a friend of the king, knew its secret. Taken captive and subjected to torture by the Romans, he disclosed it, directing the Romans' attention to the river Saretia that ran in front of the king's palace. Using captives who were subsequently slaughtered to preserve secrecy, Decebalus had diverted the river from its channel and buried his gold, silver, and other valuables in its bed, then returned the river to its course. Knowing where to go, the Romans went and dug up the treasures.

Thus, by pressuring an informant, the Romans were able to retrieve the stores of hidden treasure. Indeed, the emperor Trajan's column even depicts the treasure being hauled away on donkeys. The question, then, is this: did the Romans also come to know the locations of the hidden treasure of Herod's Temple, portions of which are listed so laconically in the Copper Scroll?

According to Josephus, who was himself an eyewitness and participant in the war in Rome, the answer is yes. The Romans pursued a definite policy to retrieve treasure hoards that the citizens of Jerusalem had secreted during the siege. As always, the key to their recovery lay with the interrogation of prisoners. One

such, Phineas, was an official treasurer of the Temple. The historian tells us that this man delivered up to the Romans “the tunics and girdles worn by the priests . . . along with a mass of cinnamon and cassia and a multitude of other spices . . . many other treasures also were delivered up by him, with numerous sacred ornaments” (*War* 6.390–91). Phineas led the Romans to hidden treasures from the Temple—perhaps including some that were listed in the Copper Scroll. A second passage of Josephus’s *War* notes that as a result of the recovery and subsequent release of loot by the Romans, the standard of gold throughout Syria fell to half its previous value. The spoils of war were that enormous, the rape of Judea that complete.

The probability that significant portions of treasure could escape the Romans’ search techniques is minimal. Just as they retrieved the treasure of Dacia, in all likelihood the Romans also retrieved the treasure of Jerusalem and its Temple—including the treasure of the Copper Scroll—in 70 C.E.

The first cache. The Valley of Achor is on the west or southwest of Jericho. The significance of the Greek letters (e.g., KEN) that follow this and several of the subsequent descriptions remains mysterious. It is impossible to specify the precise modern equivalents of talents, minas, and the other monetary units listed here, but the treasure would total many millions of dollars.

Col. 1 ¹In the ruin that is in the Valley of Achor, under ²the steps, with the entrance at the east a distance of forty ³cubits: a strongbox of silver and its vessels—⁴seventeen talents by weight. KEN

The second cache.

⁵In the sepulcher, in the third course of stones: ⁶one hundred ingots of gold.

The third cache.

In the big cistern that is in the courtyard ⁷of the peristyle, at its bottom concealed by a sealing ring, ⁸across from the upper opening: nine hundred talents of silver coins.

The fourth cache. Kohlit appears in the descriptions of several caches in the Copper Scroll (cf. caches twenty-two and sixty-five), but its identification remains uncertain.

⁹In the mound of Kohlit: votive vessels—all of them flasks—and high-priestly garmenture. ¹⁰All the votive offerings, and what comes from the seventh treasury, are ¹¹impure second tithes. The cache’s opening is at the edge of the aqueduct, six ¹²cubits to the north of the immersion pool. CHAG

The fifth cache. The reservoir’s location is unknown.

¹³In the plastered Reservoir of Manos, at the descent to the left, ¹⁴three cubits up from the bottom: silver coins ¹⁵totaling forty talents.

The sixth cache.

Col. 2 ¹In the salt pit that is under the steps: ²forty-one talents of silver coins. HN

The seventh cache.

³In the cave of the old Washer's Chamber, on the ⁴third terrace: sixty-five ingots of gold. THE

The eighth cache. The location of the Courtyard of Matthias is unknown.

⁵In the burial chamber that is in the Courtyard of Matthias: wooden vessels, along with their inventory list.

The ninth cache.

⁶In a recess in the burial chamber: vessels and seventy talents of silver coins.

The tenth cache.

⁷In the cistern opposite the eastern gate (i.e., of the courtyard), ⁸at a distance of nineteen cubits: in it are vessels.

The eleventh cache.

⁹And in the conduit of the cistern: ten talents of silver coins. DI

The twelfth cache. The cistern described here may be the large ancient cistern lying just beneath the First Wall of Jerusalem.

¹⁰In the cistern that is under the wall on the east, ¹¹at the crag of the bedrock: six jars of silver coins. ¹²The cistern's entrance is under the big threshold.

The thirteenth cache.

¹³In the pool that is on the east of Kohlit, in the ¹⁴northern corner, dig down four cubits: ¹⁵twenty-two talents of silver coins.

The fourteenth cache.

Col. 3 ¹In the courtyard of [. . .], under the southern ²corner, dig down nine cubits: votive vessels of silver and gold, ³sprinkling basins, cups, bowls, ⁴and pitchers, numbering six hundred and nine.

The fifteenth cache.

⁵Under the other corner—the eastern one— ⁶dig down sixteen cubits: forty ⁷talents of silver coins. TR

The sixteenth cache. It remains unknown whether Milham refers to a place or to a structure.

⁸In the dry well that is in Milham, on its north: ⁹votive vessels, priestly clothes. Its entrance ¹⁰is under the western corner.

The seventeenth cache.

¹¹In the grave that is in Milham, on the ¹²northeast, three cubits under ¹³the corpse: thirteen talents of silver coins.

The eighteenth cache.

Col. 4 ¹In the b[ig] cistern [that is in Ko]hlit, at the pillar ²on its north: fourteen (?) talents of silver coins. SK

The nineteenth cache.

³In the aqueduct that com[es from . . .], at a distance of ⁴four cubits as you enter, silver coins ⁵totaling f[if]ty-five talents.

The twentieth cache. For the Valley of Achor, compare the first cache.

⁶Between the two boulders in the Valley of Achor, ⁷right at the midpoint between them, dig down three ⁸cubits: two cauldrons full of silver coins.

The twenty-first cache. The Wadi Atsla opens to the northwest of the Dead Sea, about two kilometers from the site of Qumran.

⁹In the red dry well on the edge of the Wadi Atsla: ¹⁰silver coins totaling two hundred talents.

The twenty-second cache.

¹¹In the dry well on the northeast of Kohlit: ¹²silver coins totaling seventy talents.

The twenty-third cache. Secacah appears in the Bible in Joshua 15:61, in a list of cities located in the wilderness of Judea. The modern identification is disputed, but many scholars think that Secacah was an ancient name for the site of Qumran.

¹³In the cairn of the Secacah Valley, dig down one ¹⁴cubit: twelve talents of silver coins.

The twenty-fourth cache.

Col. 5 ¹At the head of the aqueduct [of the] ²Secacah [Valley], on the north, under the ³big [stone], dig down ⁴[thr]ee cub[its]: seven talents of silver coins.

The twenty-fifth cache. The Pool of Solomon is unidentified.

⁵In the fissure that is in Secacah, to the east of ⁶the Pool of Solomon: vessels of ⁷votive offerings, along with their inventory list.

The twenty-sixth cache.

⁸Above Solomon's Canal, ⁹sixty cubits toward the large cairn, ¹⁰dig down ¹¹three cubits: twenty-three talents of silver coins.

The twenty-seventh cache. "As you go from Jericho to Secacah" is the clearest geographical description in the Copper Scroll. The reference is presumably to a well-known path.

¹²In the grave that is in the Wadi Kepah ¹³at the point of entry as you go from Jericho to Secacah, ¹⁴dig down seven cubits: thirty-two talents of silver coins.

The twenty-eighth cache.

Col. 6 ¹In the cave of the pillar that has two ²openings and faces east, ³at the northern opening, dig down ⁴three [cu]bits: there, an urn ⁵in which is one scroll; under it, ⁶forty-two talents of silver coins.

The twenty-ninth cache.

⁷In the cave at the corner ⁸of the large cairn, the one that faces ⁹east, dig down at the opening ¹⁰nine cubits: twenty-one talents of silver coins.

The thirtieth cache. The Queen's Mausoleum is unidentified, but it may well have been located near Jericho, where the Hasmonean kings and queens had done considerable building and lived part of the year.

¹¹In the Queen's Mausoleum, on the ¹²western side, dig down twelve ¹³cubits: twenty-seven talents of silver coins.

The thirty-first cache. The "ford (or crossing) of the high priest" may have been near Jericho.

¹⁴At the cairn by the ford of the **Col. 7** ¹High Priest, d[ig down] ²nine [cu]bits: twenty-] two (?) talents of silver coins.

The thirty-second cache.

³In the aqueduct of [. . .] ⁴the [. . .] northe[rn] reservoir [. . .] ⁵having four si[des], ⁶measure out from its [ri]m twent[y-fo]ur cubits: ⁷four hundred talents of silver coins.

The thirty-third cache. The priestly family of Hakkoz lived near Jericho. According to Ezra 8:33 and Nehemiah 10:6, they may have been in charge of the Temple treasury in the Second-Temple period.

⁸In the cave that is next to the cold-chamber belonging to ⁹the family of Hakkoz, dig down six cubits: ¹⁰six jars of silver coins.

The thirty-fourth cache. Dok is about two kilometers north of Jericho.

¹¹At Dok, under the eastern corner of ¹²the guardhouse, dig down seven cubits: ¹³twenty-two talents of silver coins.

The thirty-fifth cache. Kozibah apparently designated that portion of the Wadi Qelt stretching between Ein Qelt and Jericho.

¹⁴At the mouth of the wellspring of Kozibah, ¹⁵dig down three cubits to the row of stones: ¹⁶eighty talents of silver coins; two talents of gold coins.

The thirty-sixth cache.

Col. 8 ¹[In the aq]ueduct that is on the road east of the ²storehou[se]: ³vo-tive vessels and ten books.*

The thirty-seventh cache.

⁴In the outer gorge, at the stone in the ⁵middle of the sheepfold: dig down seventeen ⁶cubits beneath it: ⁷seventeen talents of silver and gold coins.

The thirty-eighth cache. Qidron is the name of the wadi immediately to the east of Jerusalem.

⁸In the cairn at the mouth of the gorge of the Wadi Qidron, ⁹dig down three cubits: seven talents of silver coins.

The thirty-ninth cache. According to the Tales of the Patriarchs 23:14 (see text 2), the Valley of Shaveh was another name for Beth Hakerem, located to the southwest of Jerusalem. For Beth Hakerem compare cache forty-nine below.

¹⁰In the fallow field of the Valley of Shaveh that faces ¹¹southwest, in the burial chamber ¹²facing north, dig down ¹³twenty-four cubits: sixty-six talents of silver coins.

The fortieth cache.

¹⁴In the courtyard in the Valley of Shaveh, at the burial chamber that is in it, dig down ¹⁵eleven cubits: ¹⁶seventy talents of silver coins.

The forty-first cache. The Wadi Nataf lies between Herodian and Têkoa. A dovecote resembled a large birdhouse with numerous entrances, and many birds lived there simultaneously.

Col. 9 ¹At the dovecote that is at the edge of the Wadi Nataf, measure from the dovecote's edge ²thirteen cubits and dig down seven cubits: seven ³talents of silver coins and four *stater* coins.

The forty-second cache.

⁴In the second estate, at the burial chamber that faces ⁵east, dig down eight ⁶and one-half cubits: twenty-three and one-half talents of silver coins.

*The number is at least ten; it is partially damaged.

The forty-third cache. Upper and Lower Beth Horon are some sixteen kilometers to the northwest of Jerusalem, separated from each other by a wadi.

⁷At the Vaults of Beth Horon, at the burial chamber facing ⁸west, in the recess, dig down sixteen cubits: ⁹twenty-two talents of silver coins.

The forty-fourth cache.

¹⁰At the Pass: silver coins totaling one mina, and consecrated Temple offering.

The forty-fifth cache.

¹¹At the wellspring near the edge of the aqueduct, ¹²on the east over against the wellspring, dig down seven ¹³cubits: nine talents of silver coins.

The forty-sixth cache. Beth Tamar is apparently the equivalent of Baal Tamar, near Gibeah. Note that for this deposit the command to dig and the depth, as well as the amount of treasure, are missing, presumably because of scribal error.

¹⁴At the dry well north of the mouth of Beth ¹⁵Tamar's gorge, at the outlet of the Pele Ravine: ¹⁶all that is in it is consecrated Temple offering.

The forty-seventh cache. Nobah is mentioned in Numbers 32:42 and Judges 8:11 as a town near Kenath on the east side of the Jordan.

¹⁷At the dovecote that is in the Fortress of Nobah, at the bor[der] **Col. 10** ¹on the south, in the second roof-chamber—whose entrance descends ²from above—: nine talents of silver coins.

The forty-eighth cache. The Great Wadi is an appellation that might reasonably be applied to any of several wadis, so no certain identification is possible.

³In the lime-plastered cistern that has conduits drawing water from the Great ⁴Wadi, at the cistern's bottom: eleven talents of silver coins.

The forty-ninth cache. Beth Hakerem is on the south of Jerusalem, at the modern Kibbutz Ramat Rachel. No treasure has been found there by modern inhabitants.

⁵At the reservoir of Beth Hakerem, on the left ⁶as you enter, dig down ten cubits: silver coins totaling ⁷sixty-two talents.

The fiftieth cache. The Wadi Zered is mentioned several times in the Bible, but its location is disputed.

⁸At the tank of the Zered Gorge, at the western burial chamber—the one with ⁹a black stone for an opening—dig down two cubits: ¹⁰three hundred talents of silver coins, ¹¹gold coins, and twenty vessels containing Temple penalty fees.

The fifty-first cache. Absalom's Monument stood in the ancient Royal Valley (today's Emeq Rephaim), some thirteen hundred feet to the south of Jerusalem.

¹²Under Absalom's Monument, on the western ¹³side, dig down twelve cubits: ¹⁴eighty talents of silver coins.

The fifty-second cache. The water reserve of Rachel has not been identified.

¹⁵At the tank of the water reserve of Rachel, under ¹⁶the trough: seventeen talents of silver coins.

The fifty-third cache.

¹⁷In the [Upp]er [Pool], **Col. 11** ¹in its four corners: votive vessels, and their inventory list is next to them.

The fifty-fourth cache. The location is apparently at the southeast corner of the Temple.

²Under the southern corner of the Stoa, ³at Zadok's grave, under the column of the small portico: ⁴ten votive vessels, and their inventory list is next to them.

The fifty-fifth cache. This cache and those that follow through cache sixty-one are—so far as they can be identified—in the upper part of the Qidron, in the vicinity of Geth-semene.

⁵At the Throne—the peak of the cliff facing west—⁶opposite Zadok's Garden, under the great ⁷closing-stone that is at the edge: gold coins and consecrated offerings.

The fifty-sixth cache.

⁸At the grave that is under the Knife: forty-one talents of silver coins.

The fifty-seventh cache. The Qidron Valley was the traditional location for the burial of common people, as opposed to priests and Levites. See 2 Kings 23:6 and Jeremiah 26:23.

⁹At the grave of the common people—it is ritually pure—¹⁰in it: fourteen votive vessels, ¹¹and their inventory list is next to them.

The fifty-eighth cache.

¹²In the reservoir precinct, in the reservoir ¹³lying on the left as you enter: ¹⁴eleven votive vessels, ¹⁵and their inventory list is next to them.

The fifty-ninth cache.

¹⁶At the entryway to the terr[ace] of the western mausoleum, ¹⁷at the brook along the [. . .]: [vessels totaling] nine hundred; **Col. 12** ¹five talents of gold coins; sixty talents of silver coins. Its entrance is on the west.

The sixtieth cache.

²Under the black stone: oil vessels.

The sixty-first cache.

Under the threshold ³of the crypt: forty-two talents of silver coins.

The sixty-second cache. Mount Gerizim, in Samaria, was the former site of the Samaritans' own temple to the God of Israel. Even after that temple had been destroyed about 100 B.C.E., the precinct remained holy.

⁴On Mount Gerizim, under the step of the upper ditch: ⁵one chest and all its vessels, and silver coins totaling sixty-one talents.

The sixty-third cache. The place name is unknown; indeed, it may be an error for Beth Shemesh, the city in the southwest famously associated with Samson.

⁶At the mouth of the fountain of Beth Shem: silver and gold ⁷votive vessels, and silver coins. The sum total: six hundred talents.

The sixty-fourth cache.

⁸In the big pipe of the cistern, at the point where it joins the cistern: ⁹a sum total, by weight, of seventy-one talents and twenty minas.

The sixty-fifth cache. The more detailed version of the Copper Scroll described here has never been found.

¹⁰In the dry well that is at the north of Kohlit, with an opening on the north ¹¹and graves by its mouth: a copy of this inventory list, ¹²with explanations and measurements and full detail for each ¹³and every hidden item.

—M.O.W.

15. APOCRYPHAL PSALMS

4Q88

4Q88 is a copy of the book of Psalms, but in addition to psalms known from the Bible, it includes works new to us. Just before the apocryphal psalms translated below, this scroll contains an *Address to Zion*, which has been preserved virtually intact in another Dead Sea Scroll, 11Q5 (see text 127). Preceding the *Address* is Psalm 109. Thus, the order in 4Q88 is: Psalm 109, *Address to Zion*, *Psalm on the Last Days*, and *Address to Judah* (the latter two given below). This scroll, and several others like it such as 11Q5, suggest that the precise order and content of the book of Psalms was not yet fixed when the scrolls were written.

A psalm on the Last Days, celebrating the wondrous fruitfulness expected in that time.

Col. 9 ⁴[. . .] Then shall they extol ⁵the name of the LORD, [fo]r He comes to judge ⁶every wo[r]k, to make an end of the wicked ⁷from upon the earth: Evil [men] shall no more ⁸be found. The heavens [shall give] their dew, ⁹no ev[il within] their [boun]ds; the earth [offer up] ¹⁰fruits in season, its [pro]duce ¹¹never short; fruit trees, ¹²their cr[op] in their vineyards, ¹³their [spring]s never failing. The poor ¹⁴shall eat, they who [fe]ar the LORD, be satisfied.

An address to Judah. The Address to Zion, in text 127, is similarly addressed to a place.

Col. 10 ⁵[. . .] So, let heaven and earth praise ⁶as one, let all the twilight stars give praise! ⁷Rejoice, O Judah, rejoice, ⁸rejoice and be very glad! ⁹Make your pilgrimages, fulfill your vows for Belial is ¹⁰nowhere to be found. Lift your hand on high, ¹¹fortify your right hand: behold, enemies ¹²have perished, all who work evil been scattered. ¹³For You, O LORD, are etern[al], ¹⁴Your glory enduring foreve[r and ev]er.

—M.O.W.

16. A REWORKING OF GENESIS AND EXODUS

4Q158

4Q158 is a variety of “rewritten Bible,” selecting portions from Genesis and Exodus and combining them with other biblical texts. The passages that are added often come from parallel passages in the book of Deuteronomy. Sometimes, in addition to combining biblical portions, the text adds words or whole paragraphs unknown from any version of the Bible that has survived antiquity. Just what are we to make of this exercise?

At various junctures the point seems to be biblical interpretation. For example, by juxtaposing Exodus 20 with Deuteronomy 5 in frags. 7–8, the author may have sought to clarify the confusing chronology surrounding the revelation at Sinai. Most casual readers of the Bible never notice the problems that emerge when attempting to piece together a *précis* of those events. Ancient scholars did notice, however; they observed that according to the biblical narratives, Moses went up the mountain to meet God at least seven times. He is only explicitly said to descend twice. How can these facts be rationalized, and why this marathon mountain climbing? Resolving details of this sort taxed the energies and ingenuity of ancient biblical interpreters. The problems of the Sinai episode finally drove early rabbis to assert, “There is neither early nor late in the Torah!” They meant that the narratives were just not in any particular order, and when

chronology was the issue, one had to rearrange the material as logic dictated. Certain aspects of 4Q158 seem to represent this sort of problem solving.

On the other hand, the reasoning behind other textual combinations represented here is obscure. Accordingly, perhaps in some measure we are dealing with a “wild” text of the Bible. We know that such wild texts—that is, forms vastly divergent from the “standard” versions—existed for many authors in Greco-Roman antiquity; we have not previously known of such for the Bible. Few wild texts of classical authors survived, mainly because of the concerted textual criticism prosecuted by ancient scholars. A case in point: at the fabled library in Alexandria, Egypt, literary critics famed in their own day worked to uncover the true text of Homer, the closest thing the Greeks had to a Bible. They pored over all the variants and allowed inferior and wild copies to perish by neglect. They simply did not copy them. Yet even wild texts might preserve a true reading here and there. In that vein, it is instructive to observe that 4Q158 adds to the familiar text of Genesis 32:25 the phrase “He held him tight.” This addition also appears in an early translation of the Bible into Aramaic known as *Targum Neofiti*. *Targum Neofiti* has survived only in an early medieval copy, but many of its traditions date centuries earlier. The fact that *Neofiti* agrees with our text in adding to Genesis suggests that this reading is not merely an explication unique to our author. It may originally have been part of the biblical text.

Readers should note that Emanuel Tov and other scholars have suggested that 4Q365 (text 71) is another copy of the present writing. If so, then the two would, of course, not be separate examples of the rewritten Bible phenomenon. They would simply be two copies of the same book. This theory is difficult to verify because the two copies do not overlap.

A combination of Genesis 32:24–32 and Exodus 4:27–28, with extrabiblical additions. The writer adds to Genesis 32:30, reporting the exact wording of the blessing Jacob received from his divine visitant. The writer also transforms what Genesis 32:32 reports as a tradition—one does not eat a certain portion of the thigh muscle—into a direct command from God. Lines 16–18 constitute an addition to Exodus 4:28, but the point is unclear.

Frgs. 1–2 ³[J]ac[ob] was left there [a]lone; and [a man] wrestled [with him until daybreak. When the man saw that he could not prevail against Jacob, he struck him on the hip socket; ‘and Jacob’s hip was put out of joint] as he wrestled with him. [Still,] he held him tight; then the man said, [“Let me go, for the day is breaking.” But Jacob said, “I will not let you go,] ⁵[unless you bless] me.” So he said to him, “What is your name?” And he replied, [“Jacob.” Then the man said, “You shall no longer be called Jacob, but Israel, for you have striven] [with God and] humans, and have prevailed.”] J[a]cob then asked him, “Please [te]ll me [your name.”] ⁷[But the man said, “Why is it that you ask my name?” And he bless]ed him [there], saying, “May the Lo[RD]

make you fruitful, [and multiply] you [. . . May He grant you] “[know]ledge and insight. May he preserve you from all wrongdoing, and [. . .]”⁹until this day and forever more [. . .]”¹⁰Then the man went on his way, having blessed Jacob there.

Subsequently [Jacob] ca[ll]ed the place Penue[el], saying, “I have seen God face to face, and yet my life is preserved.”¹¹The sun rose upon him as he passed Penue[el], limping because of his hip. And the LORD appeared to Jacob¹²on that day, and said, “You shall not eat [the thigh muscle that is on the hip socket.” Therefore the Israelites do not eat the thigh muscle]¹³that is on the hip socket to t[his day, because he struck Jacob on the hip socket at the thigh muscle.]

[The LORD said]¹⁴to Aaron, “Go [into the wilderness] to meet [Moses.” So he went, meeting him at the mountain of God, and kissed him. Moses told Aaron all]¹⁵the LORD’s words with which He had sent him, and all [the signs with which He had charged him . . . Moses told Aaron,]¹⁶“The LORD [has spoken] to me, saying, ‘When you have brought the [people] out [of Egypt . . .]’¹⁷to go as slaves, and consider, they number thir[ty . . .]”¹⁸the LORD, God [. . .]

This portion is a variation of Exodus 24:4–6. The second half of Exodus 3:12 apparently occupies ll. 1–2. The focus of the extrabiblical addition in ll. 6–8 is God’s covenant with the patriarchs.

Frag. 4 ¹[. . . “When you have brought] ²the people out of Egypt, you are to worsh[ip Me on this mountain.” . . . So Moses built an altar at the foot of the mountain, and set up twelve pillars, corresponding]³to the number of the twelve tribes [of Israel . . .] ⁴Then he offered a burnt offering upon the alta[r . . . Moses took half of the blood and put it]⁵in basins, and hal[f of the] blood he dashed against the [altar . . . And God said to Moses, “. . .] ⁶that I revealed to Abraham and to Isaac” [and to Jacob . . . the covenant that I made]⁷with them to b[e] their God, both theirs and the [pe]ople’s [. . .] ⁸[for]ever . . .

This portion contains Exodus 20:19–21, but not in the form familiar to most readers of the Bible. Instead, the text presents a much expanded version of these verses previously known to scholars from the Samaritan Pentateuch. Most of the expansions come from Deuteronomy.

Frag. 6 ¹[like us, and live? Approach and hear everything that the LORD our God says. Then you can tell us everything the LORD our God says]²[to you, and we will listen and obey. But do n]ot let [God] speak to u[s, or we will die.” Moses said to the people, “Do not fear; for God has come only to

³The scribe first wrote “Jacob,” then erased it. Presumably he erased because he meant to write “Isaac.” He forgot to complete his correction, and did not write over his erasure. I have filled out the portion accordingly.

test you] ³[and t]o put the fear of [Him upon you so that you do not sin.” Then the people stood at a distance, while Moses drew near to the thick darkness where] ⁴God was.

And the LORD [spoke] to Moses, s[aying, “I have heard this people’s words, which they have spoken to you; they are right in all that they have spoken. If only] ⁵they had such a mind as this, to fear [Me and to keep all My commandments always, so that it might go well with them and with their children forever! Now, as you have heard] ⁶My words, sa[y] to them, [I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their own people; I will put my words in the mouth of the prophet, who shall speak to them everything that I command. Anyone] ⁷who does not heed the words [that the prophet shall speak in My name, I Myself will hold accountable.

But any prophet who presumes to speak in My name a word that I have not commanded] ⁸him [to] speak, or who shall sp[peak in the name of other gods—that prophet shall die. Perhaps you will say to yourself, “How can we recognize a word that the LORD has not spoken?”] ⁹If a [prophet] speaks [in the name of the LORD, but the thing does not take place or prove true, it is a not a word that the LORD has spoken. The prophet has spoken presumptuously; do not be frightened by it.”]

This portion combines Exodus 20:12–17, Deuteronomy 5:30–31, Exodus 20:22–26, and Exodus 21:1–10, with small extrabiblical additions. The first half of l. 5 is such an addition.

Frgs. 7–8 ¹(Honor) your [father] and your mother, [so that your days may be long in the land that the LORD your God is about to give you. You shall not murder. You shall not commit adultery. You shall not steal. You shall not bear] ²false witness [against] your [neighbor]. You shall not covet [your] nei[ghbor’s] wife, [male or female slave, ox, donkey, or anything that belongs to your neighbor]. ³And the LORD said to Moses, “Go say to them, ‘Return to [your tents.’ But you, stand here by Me, and I will tell you all the commandments, the statutes] ⁴and the ordinances that you shall teach them, so that they may do them in the land that [I am about to give them as a possession.” . . .]

⁵So the people returned to their individual tents, but Moses remained before [the LORD, who said to him, “Thus shall you say to the Israelites,] ⁶“You have seen for yourselves that I spoke with you from heaven. You are not to mak[e gods of silver alongside Me, nor make for yourselves gods of gold. You need make for Me only an altar of earth, and sacrifice] ⁷on it your burnt offerings and offerings of well-being, your sheep [and oxen; in every place where I cause My name to be remembered I will come to you and bless you. But if] ⁸“you make for Me [an altar of stone], do not build it of hewn stones; for by [using] a chisel [upon it you profane it. You are not to go up by steps to My altar, lest your nakedness be exposed] ⁹on it.”]

This portion contains Exodus 21:32–22:13, with a few very minor deviations from the familiar biblical text.

Frgs. 10–12 'thir[ty shekels] of sil[ver, and the ox must be stoned. If someone leaves a pit open, or digs a pit and fails to cover it, and an ox or a donkey falls into it, the owner] ²of the pit must make resti[tution by payment to its owner, while keeping the dead animal. If someone's ox hurts the ox of another, so that it dies, then they shall sell the live ox and divide] ³[t]he price; [the dead animal they shall] also [divide]. But if it was kno[wn] th[at the ox was accustomed] to gore [previously, yet its owner has failed to restrain it, the owner must restore] ⁴[ox for ox, but keep the dead animal.]

When someone steals an ox or a sheep, and slaughters it or s[ells it, the thief shall pay five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep]. ⁵[If the thief is found breaking in,] and is beaten to death, no bloodguilt is incurred; but if it happens after sunrise, bloodguilt is incurred. [The thief must make restoration; if he cannot, he shall be sold for the theft. Should] ⁶[the animal, whether ox] or donkey or sheep, be found alive in the thief's possession, the thief shall pay double. When someone allows [a field or vineyard] to be grazed over, [or lets livestock loose in someone else's field,] ⁷[he must make restitution from his own field, depending] on its produce. If he allowed the whole field to be grazed over, he must [repay] from the choicest of his own field or vineyard.

[If a fire breaks out and catches in thorns,] ⁸[so that the stacked grain or the standing grain or the field is burned up,] the one who started the fire shall make full restitution. When someone delivers to [a neighbor money or goods for safekeeping, and they are stolen from the neighbor's house, then the thief must pay double when caught.] ⁹[If the thief is never caught, then] they shall bring [the ow]ner of the house before God, to determine whether or not the owner had laid hands on [the neighbor's] good[s. In any case of disputed ownership involving ox, donkey, sheep,] ¹⁰[clothing, or any other loss,] wherein one party says, "This is mine," the case shall come before the LORD. [Whomever God condemns shall pay double to the other.] ¹¹[When someone delivers to another a donkey,] ox, sheep, or any other animal for safekeeping, [and it dies or is injured or is carried off, but no one sees it, an oath before the LORD shall decide] ¹²[between the two of them whether one has stolen] the property of the [oth]er. The owner must accept the oath, and no rest[itution] shall [be made. But if] it was stolen, [restitution is to be made to its owner. If it was torn by animals,] ¹³[let it be brought as evidence; restitution shall not be made for the remains.] If some[one] borrows an animal [from] another [and it is injured or dies,] the owner [not being present, full restitution shall be made . . .]

¹The numbering of lines for this portion in *DJD* 5 does not accord with the lines of the actual manuscript. The numbers are corrected here.

This is an extrabiblical addition. The precise import is no longer detectable, but God is speaking in the first person, presumably to Abraham (cf. Gen. 15) or Jacob. The setting seems to be prior to the descent of Israel into Egypt.

Frag. 14 ²[all the f]lesh and all the spirits ³[. . .] as a blessing for the land
⁴[. . .] the peoples [. . .] this; in the land of Egypt ⁵shall be desolation [. . .]
 I shall create in [. . .] [I shall rescue them from] the yoke of Egypt's power,
 and redeem them ⁶from their control. I shall make them My people forever
 [and ever . . . I shall bring them forth] from Egypt. The seed of ⁷your children
 I [shall settle in the] land safely for[ever . . . but Egypt shall I hurl into] the
 heart of the sea, into the fasts ⁸of the deep [. . .] where they shall dwell
⁹[. . .] [bo]rders [. . .]

—M.O.W.

17. ORDINANCES

4Q159, 4Q513–514

Ancient Jews were generally most anxious to obey God. Yet obedience entailed putting into practice all of the biblical laws and precepts, and that is where matters got sticky. For the fact was, the Bible often left out important details that one needed to know in order to obey. For example, Exodus 30:13–14 stipulates that every man twenty years and older must pay a half-shekel (equivalent to about two weeks' wages for a day laborer) to support the activities held at the tabernacle. But the biblical text is unclear: is this payment to be made every year (the actual practice at the time of Jesus, according to Matt. 17:24–27) or one time only? Differences of opinion on matters such as this could be seriously divisive. The present work in fact argues for the second method of payment, and thus apparently against prevailing practice. This work is a collection of legal ordinances whose author, by supplying the necessary details as a supplement to the biblical text, intended to help readers obey God. In that sense it is similar to a modern "statement of faith."

In addition to the ordinance on the half-shekel payment, remains of at least eight additional rulings are preserved. One concerns the man who has a discharge from his penis (perhaps gonorrhea) and the biblical commands about such a man found in Leviticus 15:13. The Bible says the man "shall count seven days for his cleansing; he shall wash his clothes and bathe his body in running water, and then be clean." Once again, important practical details are absent from the biblical statement. When is the man to wash? On the seventh day alone? On each day of the waiting period? What is the man's purity status while waiting; is it the same throughout the seven days? This last point would affect whether the man could touch pure food. The present work tries to answer these questions by stip-

ulating that the affected party must bathe on the first day, and then he can eat. If a man does not wash on the first day, he is not allowed to eat. The fact that this ordinance is repeated more than once suggests a polemic against a competing interpretation, wherein the only washing required was on the seventh day.

We do not know which parties among the Jews held to which interpretation. Frankly, modern readers may not consider it important who held which views—to us such issues are nothing more than legal minutiae. But we should not be so quick to dismiss them. That these arguments strike many of us this way only brings home the vast chasm separating modern sensibilities from those of the ancients. For them, these arguments were not about minutiae, but about how to obey God. Presumably He cared about what they did, and presumably there was a right way and a wrong way to do things. For the ancients, discovering that right way was imperative, for otherwise they could not obey God. Thus, to care about the Bible was to care about the details, and this sort of text was not dry and dull, but the essence of passion and life.

Ordinance concerning atonement (Lev. 16:16, 21?).

4Q159 Frag. 1 Col. 2 '[. . .] not .[. . .] for [. . .] '[. . . Isra]el His co[mmandment]s and to atone for all the[ir] transgressions [. . .]

Ordinance concerning produce for the poor (Deut. 23:25–26).

³[. . . and if] one makes from it a threshing floor or a winepress, whoever comes to the threshing flo[or or winepress . . .] ⁴the Israelite who has nothing may eat of it and gather for himself but for [his] househ[old he shall not (?) gather . . . Whoever enters the grain of] ⁵the field may himself eat but he may not take anything to his house so as to store it. [. . .]

Ordinance concerning the half-shekel for the sanctuary (Exod. 30:11–16).

⁶[. . . concer]ning [the Ransom:] the money of the valuation which a man gives as ransom for his life shall be half [a shekel in accordance with the shekel of the sanctuary]. ⁷He shall give it only o[nce] in his life. A shekel is twenty gerahs in accordance with [the shekel of the sanctuary]. ⁸For the six hundr[e]d thousand, one hundred talents; for the third (i.e., three thousand), half a talent, [which is thirty minas; for the five hundred, five minas]; ⁹and for the fifty, one half a mi[n]a, [which is twenty-] five shekels. The total [is six thousand thirty-five and one half of a] ¹⁰mina. [. . . me]n for ten minas; [. . .] ¹¹[. . . fi]ve shekels of silver are a tenth of a [mina . . .] ¹²[. . . the shekel is equivalent to twenty gerahs in accordance with the sheke]l of the sanctuary. A half[of a shekel is twelve meahs and two zuzim . . .]

Ordinance concerning the ephah and bath, two dry measures of uncertain modern equivalence (Ezek. 45:11).

¹³[. . .] the ephah and the bath are the same measure, [ten tenths. As the ephah of grain is the bath of wine . . .] ¹⁴[And the seah is t]hree and [one-third] tenths [and the tithe of the ephah is a tenth].

Ordinance concerning Israelite slaves (Lev. 25:47–55).

Frgs. 2–4 ¹And if [. . . to] a stranger or to the offspring of the famil[y of a stranger . . .] ²before Isra[el], they shall [not] serve the Gentiles; with an [outstretched] a[rm and great judgments I brought them out from the land] ³of Egypt and commanded them that an Israelite should not be sold as a slave.

Ordinance concerning the Council of Twelve (Deut. 17:8–13). The Council was to act as a judiciary.

And [. . . te]n laymen ⁴and two priests. And they shall be judged before these twelve [. . . and for every] ⁵matter in Israel concerning a capital offense, they shall consult them and whoever rebels [. . .] ⁶he who has acted with a high hand shall be put to death.

Ordinance concerning wearing clothing of the opposite sex (Deut. 22:5). Although not stated, the penalty for this crime, as an “abomination,” would presumably be death.

Let not men’s garments be found on a woman. Every [. . . Let not a man] ⁷be covered with the mantle of a woman, nor wear a woman’s tunic, because this is an [ab]omination.

Ordinance concerning nonvirgin brides (Deut. 22:13–21). Note the meager punishment for the man’s false accusation in comparison with the severe consequences for misbehavior by the woman.

⁸If a man brings an accusation against a virgin of Israel, if [it is at the time] he marries her, let him speak and they shall investigate her ⁹trustworthiness. If he has not lied about her, she shall be put to death, but if he has testified f[alse]ly against her, he shall be fined two minas ¹⁰[and] he may [not] divorce her all of his life. Every [girl] who [. . .]

Ordinance concerning the half-shekel for the sanctuary (Exod. 30:11–16).

4Q513 Frags. 1–2 Col. 1 ²[the shekel is equivalent to twe]nty [grahs] in accordance with the sheke[l of the sanctuary].

A half of ³[a shekel is tw]elve [meahs] and [two] zuzi[m . . .] and also from them is uncleanness.

Ordinance concerning the dry measures of the ephah and bath (Ezek. 45:11).

⁴[The ephah and the ba]th, from which is uncleanness, are the same measure, [ten tenths. As the ephah of] grain is the bath of wine. And the seah is ⁵[three] and one-third [te]nths, [from which is the unclea]nness. And the tithe of the ephah ⁶[is a tenth.]

Ordinance concerning the daughters of priests who marry foreigners (Lev. 19:8). They were prohibited from eating any of the sacrificial portions that their fathers received from Temple offerings and ordinarily shared with them and the entire family.

Frag. 2 Col. 2 ¹to add them to the [hol]y food, for [they are] unclean [. . .] ²mistresses of foreigners and as for all the fornication which [. . . which] ³he prov[ided] for himself, to feed them from all the offerings of the s[acred donations . . .] ⁴and for [a]ngelic food and to make acceptable atonement with them for I[srael . . .] ⁵their food is [. . . of] fornication, he has borne the sin for he has profaned al[l . . .] ⁶they [. . .] guilt when they profaned [. . .]

Ordinance concerning a discharge from the penis, possibly gonorrhea (Lev. 15:13). Ordinary seminal discharges, such as would take place during intercourse, would entail only three days of uncleanness.

4Q514 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] woman [. . .] ²no one may eat [. . .] for all the un[cl]ean [. . .] ³to count for [himself seven days of wa]shing. And he shall bathe and wash on the d[a]y of [his] uncleanness [. . . And no man] ⁴may eat who has not begun to be clean from his seminal (?) f[low. Nor may he eat] ⁵in his primary uncleanness. And on the day of their [cl]eansing, all those who are unclean of days (i.e., unclean during the seven days) shall bathe ⁶and wash in water and shall become clean.

Afterwards they may eat their bread according to the law of [p]urity. ⁷No one may eat who is yet in his primary uncleanness, who has not begun to be clean from his seminal flow. ⁸Indeed, no one who is yet in his primary uncleanness may eat. All of those who are [un]clean of days, on the day of ⁹their pu[rification] they shall bathe and wash in water and they shall be clean. Afterwards they may eat their bread ¹⁰according to the or[dinance. No] man [shall e]at or [dr]ink with any ma[n] who prepares ¹¹[. . .] in [. . .]

—M.G.A.

18. AN ACCOUNT OF THE STORY OF SAMUEL

4Q160

Samuel, the son of Elkanah of the tribe of Ephraim, was one of the most prominent figures in the early history of Israel. He lived at the time when the age of the judges was giving way before the nascent kingdom of Israel. The Bible portrays Samuel's mother, Hannah, as a prophetess who determined while the boy was yet unborn that he should be a Nazarite. (A Nazarite was one who vowed not to touch wine or any product of the grape, could not cut his hair, and was forbidden to approach any dead body, even that of his own parent. By reason

of these vows, he was especially holy.) When Samuel was very young, his mother attached him in service to the tabernacle at Shiloh. There he served under the judge Eli. When that tabernacle was overthrown by the Philistines, we read the last of the boy Samuel and only encounter him again later in the Bible as an adult.

Like Eli, Samuel was designated a judge, and the book of 1 Samuel describes him moving in a circuit to preside at the early sanctuaries of Bethel, Gilgal, and Mizpah. Samuel anointed Saul the first king of Israel, and later, when Saul proved disappointing (but while he still lived), Samuel anointed David as his successor—or perhaps better, replacement. The last episode involving Samuel occurs some time after he has died. Saul, desperate before a battle with the Philistines and conscious of his abandonment by God, sought to know the outcome of the dawning conflict. He approached the witch at Endor, who is said to have summoned Samuel's spirit from Sheol, only to have him pronounce Saul's doom.

The present scroll is an apocryphal narrative about Samuel. The first fragment is little more than a paraphrase of a section of 1 Samuel, but the other surviving portions have a different character. They portray Samuel speaking in the first person, narrating his own life story, and praying. As with many of the other scrolls from the caves, this work manifests no sectarian connections and may well have circulated widely among Second-Temple Jewry.

This fragment paraphrases 1 Samuel 3:14–17, which describes God's judgment upon the house of Eli because of unfaithfulness, and his announcement of this judgment to the boy Samuel.

Frag. 1 ¹[F]or I sw[ear to] the house of [Eli that the iniquity of Eli's house shall not be expiated by sacrifice] ²[or offe]ring [forever." And] Samuel heard the wo[rds of the LORD . . .] ³And Samuel slept in Eli's presence, then arose and opened the do[ors of the house of the LORD . . . Yet Samuel] ⁴[was afraid] to relate the oracle to Eli. But Eli spoke to him, [calling, "Samuel, my son." Samuel answered, "Here I am." Eli said,] ⁵["Please, te]ll me about God's vision; do not [hide it from me. May the LORD curse you] ⁶[and more also,] if you hide from me any[thing of all that He told you."] ⁷[So] Samuel [told him everything, hiding nothing from him . . .]

A prayer of Samuel on behalf of Israel. In ll. 2–3, the prayer alludes to Psalm 40:3.

Frag. 3–5 [. . . O LORD, please hear] Your servant. I have never yet held back until this time, for ² [. . .] O my God, [let] them be gathered to Your people! Be a help to them, and raise them up ³[from the pit of tumult! . . . Deliver their f]lee[t] from the miry bog, [and] establish for them a rock from of old! Surely they are Your praise ⁴[above all other na]tions. Let your people find refuge [in Your house], let [Your anoint]ed sanctify themselves [to You]. In the very fury of those who hate Your people shall Your glory gain strength;

⁵in lands and seas [shall Your honor increase]; fear of You shall intensify beyond that of any [god, people,] or kingdom. Then shall all the peoples of Your lands know, [surely] ⁶it is You Who has created [them . . .] The multitudes shall understand, surely this is Your people [. . . They are] ⁷Your hol[ynes,] whom You have sanctified . . .

Samuel rehearses the story of his life, here describing the years he spent with Eli.

Frag. 7 ¹I lived with him from festival to festival, and joined myself to him from [my youth . . .] ¹I [never] sought to cultivate favor by means of wealth, money, or bribery [. . .] ⁴[I preferred to serve] my Lord, and chose to sleep at the foot of [Eli's] bed [. . .]

—M.O.W.

19. COMMENTARIES ON ISAIAH

4Q161–165

Fragments of five commentaries on the book of Isaiah were found among the Cave 4 remains. The ten fragments of the first text have been reconstructed to yield three columns of text and commentary.

4Q161 Frag. 1 ²⁶[. . .] God [. . .] ²⁷[. . .] Israel is [. . .] ²⁸[. . .] the men of his army and [. . .] ²⁹[. . .] the priests, for he [. . .]

Frag. 2+3+4 ¹["Even if your people, Israel, were as many as the grains of the sand by the sea, only a remnant ²would return; for destruction is assured, righteous judgment is about to overflow, it is completely predetermined. The LORD ³God of Hosts is about to act within the whole land"] (10:22–23).

⁴[This refers to . . .] for [. . .] the sons of [. . .] ⁵[. . .] his people. [As for the ver]se that says, "Even if [your people,] ⁶[Israel, were as many as the grains of the sand by the sea, only a remnant would return; for] des[truction is as]sured, righteous judgment is about to overflow," ⁷[this refers to . . .] many shall perish [. . .] ⁸[. . .] shall not escape to [. . . the] land in truth [. . .].

The verses that follow are taken as a prophecy of the "Leader of the Nation," a common expression in the scrolls for the Davidic messiah.

⁹"Therefore, t[hus say]s the L[ORD GOD] ¹⁰[of Hosts, Don't be afraid, my people liv]ing in Zio[n, of Assyria, of the r]od [he beats you with, of the staff he raises] ¹¹[against you as Egypt did; for] very soon [now my anger will be spent, my wrath against] ¹²their [corruption]. Then [the LORD of Hosts] will st[ir up a Lash, as when Midian was defeated at the Cliff of] ¹³[Or]Jeb; His own S[taff He will raise over the sea as He did against Egypt. On that day] ¹⁴[his] burden will drop [from your shoulder, his yoke from your neck—the yoke will break because the neck will be so fat!"] (10:24–27).

Frag. 5+6 ¹⁵[This refers to . . .] ¹⁶[. . .] when they return from the “wilderness of the Gen[tiles” (cf. Ezek. 20:35) [. . .] ¹⁷ . . . the Staff is the Leader of the Nation, and afterward he will remove [the yoke] from them ¹⁸[. . .].

The verses that originally referred to the advance of the Assyrians on Jerusalem are here taken as a prophecy of the messiah’s progress to the holy city.

¹⁹“To Ayath he comes, passes on to [Migron, at Michmash] ²⁰[leaves his gear, they make the] ford, stay the night at Geba. [Ramah] si[ckens, Gibeath-] ²¹[Shaul flees. Shout] aloud, little Gallim! Listen closely, [Laish! Call out, Anathoth!] ²²Madmenah [bolts,] the inhabitants of Gebim have become refugees. One more [day and he will stand in Nob,] ²³[waving] his hand at little Zion’s mount, Jerusalem’s hill” (10:28–32).

²⁴This saying [refers to] the Last Days, coming [. . .] ²⁵[the Leader of the Nation, when he marches inland from the Plain of Akko to fight against [. . . the Leader of] ²⁶[the Nation, for there is none like him in all the cities of [. . .] ²⁷up to the border of Jerusalem [. . .].

The interpreter describes the war against the Kittim, who in this context may be Greeks or Romans or simply a vague eschatological foe. Interestingly, the messianic Leader of the Nation seems to play no role in the combat, at least in the portions of text that are preserved.

Frag. 8+9+10 ⁵“Right now, the LORD GOD of Hosts is pruning the tree-tops with a hook. The tallest of all are hewn down, the mightiest are laid low.] ⁶[The forest] thickets [will be cut down] with iron tools, the trees of Lebanon by a mighty one ⁷[will fall”] (10:33–34).

[This refers to the] Kittim, who will fall at the hand of Israel and the humble “[of Judah, who will . . .] the Gentiles, and the mighty will be shattered, and [their coura]ge will dissolve.” [. . . The “tallest] of all will be cut down” refers to the warriors of the Kit[tim], ¹⁰[who . . . as for the verse that says], “The forest thickets will be cut down with iron tools,” they are ¹¹[. . .] for war against the Kittim. “The trees of Lebanon by [a mighty one ¹²will fall”: they are the] Kittim, who will be put into the power of the nobles of [Israel . . .] ¹³[. . .] when he flees befo[re Is]rael [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .].

When the enemies are destroyed, the new David will hold sway over all the earth, although the interpreter is careful to say that the messiah will decide nothing without conferring with the legitimate priesthood. The messianic passage from Isaiah also plays a role in 4Q285 (text 54).

¹⁵“A rod will grow from] Jesse’s stock, a sprout [will bloom] from his [roots]; upon him wi[ll rest] the spirit of ¹⁶[the LORD: a spirit of] wisdom and insight, a spirit of good coun[sel and strength], a spirit of true know[ledge]

¹⁷[and reverence for the LORD, he will delight in reverence for] the LORD. [He will not judge only] by what [his eyes] see, ¹⁸[he will not decide only by what his ears hear]; but he will rule [the weak by justice, and give decisions] ¹⁹[in integrity to the humble of the land. He will punish the land with the mace of his words, by his lips' breath alone] ²⁰[he will slay the wicked. 'Justice' will be the sash around] his waist, 'Tr[uth] the sash around his hips" (11:1-5).

²²[This saying refers to the Branch of] David, who will appear in the Last Days, . . . ²³[. . .] his enemies; and God will support him with [a spirit of] strength [. . .] ²⁴[. . . and God will give him] a glorious throne, [a sacred] crown, and elegant garments. ²⁵[. . . He will put a] scepter in his hand, and he will rule over all the G[entiles], even Magog ²⁶[and his army . . . all] the peoples his sword will control. As for the verse that says, "He will not ²⁷[judge only by what his eyes see], he will not decide only by what his ears hear," this means that ²⁸[he will be advised by the Zadokite priests,] and as they instruct him, so shall he rule, and at their command ²⁹[he shall render decisions; and always] one of the prominent priests shall go out with him, in whose hand shall be the garments of [. . .].

The second surviving Isaiah commentary consists of one large fragment containing portions of three columns. The interpreter apparently did not comment on every verse. The first portion is taken as a prediction of calamity and distress in the Last Days; the second focuses on the "men of mockery."

4Q162 Col. 1 ¹[As for the verse that says, "I will remove its hedge so it can be devoured; I will break] down its fence so it can be trampled" (5:5) which ²[. . .] the passage means that he abandoned them ³[. . .] and the verse that says, "Let briar ⁴[and bramble come up" (5:6) . . .] and the verse ⁵[that says . . .] the way of ⁶[. . .] their eyes. ⁷⁻¹⁰[. . . As for the verse that says, "Five acres of vineyard will produce only five gallons of wine; ten bushels of seed will yield only one of grain" (5:10),] **Col. 2** ¹the passage refers to the Last Days, when the land itself is condemned by sword and famine; so it shall be ²at the time when the land is punished.

"Woe to those who get up early to hunt for liquor, who stay up late ³to get drunk on wine, who have lyre, lute, drum, and pipe at their wine parties but ⁴take no note of the LORD's work, who can't see the things He has made. Therefore my people are exiled without true knowledge, the masses go hungry, ⁵the throngs are parched with thirst. Therefore the underworld has opened its throat wide, its mouth is gaping beyond measure; ⁶all her finery and her hub-bub will go down there, and the clamor will merrily enter it!" (5:11-14).

These are the Men of Mockery ⁷who are in Jerusalem. They are the ones "who have rejected the Law of the LORD, and the word of ⁸Israel's Holy One they have cast off. For this reason He became very angry with his people, He

stretched out his hand against them and struck them so that "the mountains shook and the corpses lay like garbage in the middle of the streets. Even so, his anger ¹⁰[has not receded, his hand is still stretched out"] (5:24–25). This is the company of the Men of Mockery who are in Jerusalem.

The third column contains portions of Isaiah 5:29–30. None of the interpretation has been preserved.

The third commentary, written on papyrus, is extremely fragmentary. Of the fifty-seven pieces that remain, most are too small for meaningful translation. Only a few of the others contain both text and interpretation. The references to "Babylon" and the "Gentiles" are particularly reminiscent of the vision of the Last Days that one reads in the War Scroll literature (text 8).

4Q163 Frag. 1 ²[. . . fo]r it is referred to by the verse t[hat says . . .] ³[. . .] and He will destroy the way of [. . .] ⁴[. . . as it stands wr]itten concerning him in Jer[emiah . . .]

Frag. 6 + 7 Col. 2 ²⁻³[. . . "Israel's light will become a fire, its Holy One a flame; and it will burn and consume its foundation and its bedrock on one day. The best of its forests and gardens it will destroy, soul and flesh. The number of trees left in the forest will be so few] that a child could write [them down" (10:17–19). . . .]

¹The passage refers to the destruction of Babylon [. . . "its foundation and its bedrock" are the] ⁵laws of the Gentiles [. . .] ⁶that many should become traitors [. . .] ⁷Israel; and the verse that says, ["The number of trees left in the forest will be so few that a child could write them down,"] ⁸this refers to the few remaining people [. . .] ⁹[. . .].

¹⁰"At that time, [the remnant of Israel and the refugees of] ¹¹Jacob's house [will no longer] rel[y on the one who hurts them, but shall rely on the LORD, the Holy One of] ¹²Israel. Indeed, only a rem[nant will return, a remnant of Jacob, to God Almighty]; ¹³for even if your people, O [Israel, were as many as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of it would return"] (10:20–22).

¹⁴This passage is for the Last [Days . . .] ¹⁵they will go into the [. . . and as for the verse that] ¹⁶says, ["Even if your people, O Israel, were as many as the sand of the sea, only a remnant of it would return,"] ¹⁷this refers to the fewness of [. . .]

Frag. 8–10 ¹[. . .] against the king of Babylon [. . . "Even the pine trees] ²[are happy to see you fall,] and the cedars of Lebanon. [Since you died, no one has come up] ³[to cut them] down" (14:8). "The pines" and "the cedars [of Lebanon" are . . .] ⁴[. . .] and as for the verse that says, "This [is what is planned] ⁵[against all] the earth, and this is the hand [outstretched against all the Gentiles;] ⁶[for the LORD] of Hosts has made [his plan; who will contest it? His hand is stretched out;] ⁷[who can] make him withdraw it?" (14:26–27).

This is [. . .] ⁸[as it stands] written in the book of Zechariah, the words of [God . . .]

Frag. 21 ¹⁻²["In a very little while, Lebanon will revert to a grove, and the grove will be] considered [underbrush"] (29:17). "Lebanon" is [. . .] ³[. . .] to "the grove," and they will return [. . .] ⁴[. . .] by the sword, just as [. . .] ⁵⁻⁶[. . .] the Teacher of [Righteousness . . .].

Frag. 23 Col. 2 ³"For so says the LORD, the Holy One of Israel, By repentance and repose [you will be saved]; ⁴in quiet trust is your power. But you did not agree, and [you said], ⁵No, let us flee on horseback. So you shall flee indeed! You said, Let us ride something swift. But ⁶your pursuers will also be swift. If a thousand flee at the threat of one, at the threat of ⁷five you all will flee, until you are left like a pole on a mountain top, ⁸a flag on a hill. But the Lord is waiting to show you mercy, truly He will rise up ⁹to have mercy on you, for the LORD is a God of justice. How happy are all who wait for him." (30:15-18)

¹⁰This passage is for the Last Days and refers to the company of Flattery-Seekers ¹¹who are in Jerusalem [. . .] ¹²in the Law and not [. . .] ¹³heart, for to trample [. . .]

Frag. 22 ["Your teachers shall no longer be hidden, but your eyes will see your teachers, and your ears will hear someone behind you if you deviate to right or left, saying, This is the right way to walk in"] (30:20-21).

¹This passage refers to [. . .] ²[. . .] in which they walk [. . .] ³[. . .] the Zadokite [priests . . .] ⁴[. . . as for the verse] that says, "The bread from [your soil will be rich" (30:23). . . .]

Frag. 25 ["The LORD will make his glorious voice heard, He will show the strength of His arm, with a wind of anger and consuming fiery flames, torrents and thunder and hail, for by the voice of the LORD Assyria will be defeated, with His staff He will break them. And it shall be, with every pass of His chastening rod that the LORD will lay on him will be heard the sound of drums and lyres; by brandishing that rod He will fight battles" (30:30-32).]

¹[This refers to . . .] the king of Babylon [. . .] ²[. . .] with drums and with lyres [. . .] ³[. . . "Torrents and] thunder" are weapons of war [. . .]

The following fragment gives the information that at its founding the most important component of the Yahad was the priests.

4Q164 ["I am putting kohl around your stones, I will make sapphires your foundation" (54:11).]

[. . .] all Israel like kohl on the eye. "I will make sap[phires your foundation." This passage means] ²[th]at they founded the society of the *Yahad* on the priests, and the [. . .] ³the company of His chosen, like the sapphire among the stones [. . .]

["I will make of rubies] ⁴all your battlements" (54:12a).

This refers to the twelve [priests . . .]⁵ who make the Urim and the Thummim shine in judgment [. . . and there is nothing] “missing from them, like the sun with all its light.

“And all [your gates are shining gems]” (54:12b).

⁷This refers to the chiefs of the tribes of Israel [. . .]⁸ his appointed lot, the offices of [. . .]

Only a few fragments from this manuscript remain, and only bits of interpretation with the text.

4Q165 Frag. 1–2 ²[. . .] and Jerusalem [. . .] And as for what is written, [“Like a shepherd he will graze his flock” (40:11),] ³this refers to [the Teacher of Righteousness, who] has revealed the teaching of righ[teousness].

—E.M.C.

20. A COMMENTARY ON HOSEA

4Q166–167

The surviving portion of this first text, unlike the other commentaries, deals primarily with the fate of “the generation God punished first,” Israel before the Exile. It also refers to the “calendar controversy” reflected in many other Dead Sea Scrolls.

4Q166 Col. 1 ^{1–3}[. . .] ⁴and they were pleased [. . .] ⁵they acted devily [. . .]

⁷[“So now I am going to block her passage] with thorns, her paths “[she cannot find”] (2:6).

[This refers to . . . in madness] and blindness and confusion ⁹[. . .] and the time they turned traitor did not [. . .] they are the generation [God] punished ¹¹[first . . .] ¹²[. . . to be] gathered in the times of wrath, for ¹³[. . .]

¹⁵[“So she said, I’m going back to my first hus]band, because ¹⁶[I was better off then than now”] (2:7).

[This refers to . . .] when the captives [of Israel] returned ¹⁷[. . .]

Col. 2 ¹[“She was not aware that] it was I who had given her the grain, [the wine,] ²[the oil, and the silver that] I multiplied, and the gold they made [into Baal”] (2:8).

[This meaning is] ³that [they ate] and were [satisfied and forgot God who [gives them the blessings, because] they left behind His ‘commandments that He had sent them [through] ⁵His servants, the prophets. Instead they listened to those who deceived them. They honored them ⁶and revered them in their blindness as if they were gods.

⁸“So I will again take away my grain in its time, my wine [in its season]. ⁹I will withdraw my wool and my flax from covering [her nakedness]. ¹⁰Now

I am uncovering her infamy in front of her [lovers. No one can] ¹¹rescue her from my power” (2:9–10).

¹²The passage means that He assailed them with famine and nakedness, so that they became a disgr[ace] ¹³and a scandal in front of the Gentiles on whom they had relied, but who ¹⁴could not save them from their punishment.

“I will put an end to all of her joy: ¹⁵her pil[grimages, new] moons, Sabbaths, and all her sacred days” (2:11).

This means that ¹⁶[all the sacred] days they will take away in exchange for Gentile sacred days, so that [all] ¹⁷[her joy] will be turned into mourning.

The rest of the column contains the text of 2:12, but none of the commentary is preserved.

The few surviving fragments of this portion contain more “coded” references than the preceding text.

4Q167 Frag. 2 ¹[“He cannot heal yo]ur sore” (5:13b).

This refers [to . . .] ²[. . .] the Lion of Wrath.

“For I am like a panther to Ephraim, [a lion to the house of] ³[Judah]” (5:14a).

[This refers] to the last priest, who will stretch forth his hand to smite Ephraim ⁴[. . .]

[“I will go back to my place until] they admit guilt and seek my presence. When it goes badly ⁶[for them, they seek Me”] (5:15).

[This means that . . .] God [will turn] His face fr[om them . . .] ⁷[. . .] and they did not listen [. . .]

Frag. 7 ¹[“They, like Adam,] broke the covenant” (6:7).

This means that ²[. . .] they abandoned God and followed the laws of [the Gentiles . . .]

—E.M.C.

21. A COMMENTARY ON NAHUM

4Q169

The *Commentary on Nahum* may well be the most important scroll of all for reconstructing the history behind the Dead Sea Scrolls. Unlike the usual enigmatic style of this genre of commentary (see the introduction to text 4, *A Commentary on Habakkuk*), it contains one identifiable historical reference: Demetrius III Eukairos, the king of Seleucid Syria, who invaded the Holy Land in 88 B.C.E. The story behind this episode is indirectly retold in the commentary.

Alexander Jannaeus ruled over Israel as king and high priest from 103 to 76 B.C.E. Although he expanded the nation’s territory to its greatest extent since the

reign of Solomon nearly a millennium earlier, some groups deeply detested him for what they claimed was laxity in religious observance. The feeling was very mutual, and Jannaeus had no qualms about suppressing dissent in the most effective manner available: by executing or banishing the dissenters. It is apparent from the writings of Josephus that the Pharisees were leaders of the anti-Jannaeus faction, while Jannaeus was affiliated with the Sadducees and priestly groups.

Eventually the strife between Jannaeus and his enemies became so severe that the latter formed an alliance with Demetrius III of Syria, inviting him to invade Israel and depose the king. Demetrius duly—and, we may presume, eagerly—complied and put Jannaeus to flight in a battle near Shechem. At this point, however, many of the allies of the Pharisees, apparently unwilling to participate in reestablishing Gentile dominance over the Holy Land, deserted the cause and gave aid to Jannaeus and his allies. Demetrius accordingly withdrew his armies.

After reasserting his rule, Jannaeus turned wrathfully against those he considered traitors and banished many of the rebels; others he executed. The most notable of his acts of revenge, according to Josephus, was the crucifixion of eight hundred rebel leaders. He also killed their wives and children while they watched from their crosses.

Jannaeus's enemies had the last laugh. After his death, the Pharisaic faction came into its own, exercising almost unopposed authority through their influence on the king's widow, Queen Salome Alexandra. Now the tide turned, and it was the Pharisees who instituted their own reign of terror against the opposition. It seems likely that the Dead Sea sect formed part of this opposition.

The original setting of the prophecy of Nahum was the imminent downfall of the Assyrian Empire and its capital, Nineveh, in 612 B.C.E., and it breathes a spirit of unbridled joy at the destruction of Israel's enemies. The writer of the *Commentary on Nahum* exploits this vengefulness in predicting the overthrow of the "Flattery-Seekers"—clearly the Pharisees, who, at the time of the scroll's writing, must have been in power. The writer, then, belonged to a group that had opposed the Pharisees and, by implication, supported Jannaeus, here called "the Lion of Wrath." Scholars have been reluctant to admit that the *Yahad* may have admired a violent man like Jannaeus; but that this was indeed the case has been suggested by the recent publication of another scroll manuscript, *In Praise of King Jonathan* (text 95).

The first part of Nahum describes the coming of the Almighty in wrath, a theme still relevant to the commentator. Like the original prophet, the writer believed God would judge the Gentiles.

Frgs. 1–2 '[. . . in storm and tempest He comes, and] clouds a[re the dust of his feet"] (1:3b).

[The meaning of the passage:] ²the ["storms and the tempests"] [refer to] the skies of His heaven, and His earth that He creat[ed] is the "dust of his feet."

³"He rebukes the sea, and dries [it up]" (1:4a).

[The m]eaning of this passage: "the sea" is all the [. . . , and "drying them up" is] ⁴to pass judgment on them and to wipe them off the face of [the earth].

⁴["He dries up all the rivers"] (1:4b).

[This means that He will destroy them] ⁵with [all their ru]llers when their rule comes to an end.

⁵["Bashan and] Carmel [have withered]; even the flowers of Lebanon have withered" (1:4c).

[This means that . . .] ⁶many will [perish . . .] in it the height of wickedness, because "Ba[shan]" refers to . . . and . . . is called] ⁷["Car]mel," and its rulers "Lebanon." "The flowers of Lebanon" are [. . .] ⁸[the men of their par]ty, and they will perish before [. . .] the chosen of [. . .] ⁹[all] the inhabitants of the world.

"Moun[tains shake before him, hills crumble;] ¹⁰the land [heaves] because of him, and [the world] before him, with all who live in it. Who can resist his anger? And who can ¹¹[survive] his fierce wrath?" (1:5-6).

[This means that . . .]

The invasion of Demetrius is treated almost incidentally, with the focus on Alexander Jannaeus, the Lion of Wrath, and his severe ways with his enemies.

Frgs. 3-4 Col. 1 ¹["Where is the lions' den, the feeding place for the cubs?"] (2:11a).

[This refers to . . .] a dwelling for the wicked Gentiles.

Jerusalem is a veritable lions' den for the commentator; Gentile lions seek to enter it, and Jewish lions come out of it. The contrast drawn below between the "kings of Greece" and the "rulers of the Kittim" confirms that Kittim is the code name for the Romans.

"Wherever the lion goes to enter, there also goes the whelp ²[without fear]" (2:11b).

[This refers to Deme]trius, king of Greece, who sought to enter Jerusalem through the counsel of the Flattery-Seekers; ³[but it never fell into the] power of the kings of Greece from Antiochus until the appearance of the rulers of the Kittim; but afterwards it will be trampled ⁴[by the Gentiles . . .]

"The lion catches enough for his cubs, and strangles prey for his mates" (2:12a).

⁵[This refers to . . .] to the Lion of Wrath who would kill some of his nobles and the men of his party ⁶[. . .]

Although moderns usually consider crucifixion an abhorrent act, the commentator and his community wholly approved of this method of punishing God's enemies; they believed it was prescribed by the Bible (see Deut. 21:23).

[“He fills] his cave [with prey], his den with game” (2:12b).

This refers to the Lion of Wrath ⁷[. . . ven]geance against the Flattery-Seekers, because he used to hang men alive, ⁸[as it was done] in Israel in former times, for to anyone hanging alive on the tree, [the verse app]lies: “Behold, I am against [you,] ⁹[says the LORD of Hosts” (2:13a).

It is tolerably clear that the ruthless “Flattery-Seekers” are the Pharisees, but it is not as clear what the code names “Ephraim” and “Manasseh” stand for. Sometimes Ephraim is associated with the Flattery-Seekers, as it is below; at other times, the writer is hopeful that some of Ephraim will repent. Manasseh may be the secular followers of Jannaeus, i.e., the aristocrats who have no sincere interest in religious controversy.

[“I will burn with smoke] your [horde], the sword will consume your lions, and I will annihilate] its prey [from the land.] ¹⁰[Your messengers' voice shall] no longer be heard”] (2:13b).

[The meaning of the] passage: “your horde” are the troops of his army wh[ich are in Jerusalem]; “its lions” are his ¹¹“nobles [. . .], “its prey” is the wealth that [the prie]sts of Jerusalem gathered, which ¹²they will give t[o . . . E]phraim, Israel will be given. **Col. 2** ¹⁴“His messengers” are his ambassadors, whose voice will no longer be heard among the Gentiles.

“Woe, you murdering city, all lies and full of plunder!” (3:1).

²The meaning of the passage: this is the city of Ephraim, the Flattery-Seekers in the Last Days, who conduct themselves in deceit and lies.

The “rule of the Flattery-Seekers” is portrayed here as fully equal to the tyrannical domination of the Assyrians of old. It is clear that from the wording of the commentary that the Flattery-Seekers are in power as the book is written.

³⁴Prey is never absent; the sound of the whip, the sound of rumbling wheels, galloping hooves, rattling chariots, rearing chargers, blades, flashing spears, a mass of slain, a horde of corpses, no end of bodies; one trips over the bodies” (3:2–3).

This refers to the rule of the Flattery-Seekers; ⁵never absent from their company will be the sword of the Gentiles, captivity, looting, internal strife, exile for fear of enemies. A mass ⁶of criminal carcasses will fall in their days, with no limit to the total of their slain—indeed, because of their criminal purpose they will stumble on the flesh of their corpses!

"All because of the harlot's many fornications. Beautiful is she, a witch indeed, who acquires peoples through fornication, whole clans through sorcery" (3:4).

"This refers to the deceivers from Ephraim, who through their deceptive teaching, lying talk, and dishonest speech deceive many: ⁹kings, princes, priests, native and foreigner alike. Cities and clans will pass away through following their principles, nobles and rulers ¹⁰will perish through their [arrog]ant talk.

According to Josephus, Jannaeus had to relinquish power over some of his Transjordanian conquests to buy the neutrality of the Arabians. "Cities of the East" being "stripped" may be a reference to this strategy.

"See, I am against you, says the LORD of Hosts. You will strip off ¹¹your skirts over your face and show the Gentiles your nudity, the kingdoms your shame" (3:5).

This refers to [. . .] ¹²[. . .] the cities of the East, for "the skirts" are [. . .] **Col. 3** ¹the Gentiles in their filth and in their abhorrent idols.

"I will throw your abominations at you, I will treat you with scorn, I will make you ²repulsive, so that everyone who sees you will avoid you" (3:6–7a).

³This refers to the Flattery-Seekers. In the time to come their bad deeds will be made manifest to all Israel and ⁴many will perceive their wrongdoing and reject them and be disgusted with them because of their criminal arrogance; and when the glory of Judah is made manifest, ⁵the simple-hearted folk of Ephraim will withdraw from their company, abandon the ones who deceive them, and ally themselves to the true Israel.

"They will say, "Nineveh is in ruins. Who will mourn for her? Where can I find people to comfort her?" (3:7b).

This refers to the Flattery-Seekers, ⁷whose faction will pass away, and whose assembly will be disbanded. They will no longer deceive the congregation and the simple-hearted ⁸will no longer hold to their opinions.

"Are you better than No-Am[on, who lived by] the streams?" (3:8a).

⁹The meaning of "Amon" is Manasseh, and "the streams" are the nobles of Manasseh, the respectable of [. . .]

¹⁰"Water surrounds her, her army is the sea, the waters her walls" (3:8b).

¹¹The meaning of the passage: they are the men of her army, the warriors for her battle.

The historical reference here is unclear.

"Cush [and Egypt] are her limitless strength, ¹²[Put and Libya her allies]" (3:9).

Col. 4 ¹The meaning of the passage: they are the wicked of [. . .], a divisive group who ally themselves to Manasseh.

"She, too, w[ent] into exile [a captive], ²her infants were smashed at the head of every street. They throw lots for her respectable citizens, all her nobles [have been bound] ³with chains" (3:10).

This refers to Manasseh in the Last Days, for his kingdom shall be brought low in Is[rael . . .] ⁴his women, his infants, and his children shall go into captivity; his warriors and his nobles [shall be killed] with the sword [. . .]

["You too shall drink] ⁵and become dazed" (3:11a).

This refers to the wicked of [. . .] ⁶whose cup shall come after Manasseh [. . .]

["You too will seek] ⁷shelter in the city from the enemy" (3:11b).

This [refers to . . .] ⁸their enemies in the city [. . .]

—E.M.C.

22. COMMENTARIES ON PSALMS

4Q171, 4Q173, 1Q16

In the Qumran commentaries on the Psalter, the Teacher of Righteousness, the Wicked Priest, and the Man of the Lie are on center stage (see the Introduction for an initial discussion of these figures). The largest surviving fragments of 4Q171 preserve a running commentary on Psalm 37, which deals with the necessity of the righteous to keep faith in God despite the apparent successes of the wicked. God will ensure that both righteous and wicked get their due: for the righteous, a reward for their faithfulness; for the wicked, punishment.

The *Yahad* members and their leader, the Teacher of Righteousness, represent the righteous of the psalms, while their enemies, the Wicked Priest and the Man of the Lie, who have persecuted them, represent the wicked. The psalm and its attendant commentary are shot through with a passionate desire to see the injustices of the world put right, tempered with a recognition that patience is required for the suffering that is inevitable while waiting for God to act. These commentaries, then, have an eschatological fervor that the more historical commentaries, such as text 4 (*A Commentary on Habakkuk*) and text 21 (*A Commentary on Nahum*) only occasionally display.

The righteous, who belong to the sect, must endure suffering, but may expect that a final judgment will set all accounts right.

4Q171 Frags. 1–2 Col. 1 ²⁰["He will make your innocence shine like the light, and your justice like] noonday" (37:6).

²¹[. . .] the will of ²²[. . .] lunatics have chosen ²³[. . .] those who love dissolution and lead astray ²⁴[. . .] wickedness through the power of [God].

²⁵["Be] silent before [the LORD and] wait for him, and do not be jealous of the successful man ²⁶who does wicked deeds" (37:7).

[This refers] to the Man of the Lie who led many people astray with deceitful ²⁷statements, because they had chosen trivial matters but did not listen to the spokesmen for true knowledge, so that **Col. 2** ¹they will perish by sword, famine, and pestilence.

“Renounce your anger and abandon your resentment, don’t ²yearn to do evil, because evildoers will be wiped out” (37:8–9a).

This refers to all who return ³to the Law and do not hesitate to repent of their sin, because all who refuse ⁴to repent of their faults will be wiped out.

“But those who trust in the LORD are the ones who will inherit the earth” (37:9b).

This refers ⁵to the company of His chosen, those who do His will.

The sect’s eschatological timetable allowed that there would be forty years from the time of their Teacher’s death to the final eschatological showdown between Good and Evil.

“Very soon there will be no wicked man; “look where he was, he’s not there” (37:10).

This refers to all of the wicked at the end of ⁷the forty years. When they are completed, there will no longer be any wicked person ⁸on the earth.

“Then the meek will inherit the earth and enjoy all the abundance that peace brings” (37:11).

This refers to ⁹the company of the poor who endure the time of error but are delivered from all the snares of ¹⁰Belial. Afterwards they will enjoy all the [. . .] of the earth and grow fat on every ¹¹human [luxury].

¹²“The wicked plots against the righteous and gnashes [his teeth against him. But the LORD laughs at him, for he knows ¹³his day is coming” (37:12–13).

This refers to the cruel Israelites in the house of Judah who ¹⁴plot to destroy those who obey the Law who are in the society of the *Yahad*. But God will not leave them ¹⁵in their power.

Ephraim and Manasseh are already present as code names in the Commentary on Nahum. They represent the religio-political factions that side with the sect’s enemies. The reference to “the Priest” is obscure—is he the same as the Teacher of Righteousness or a different leader?

“The wicked have drawn a sword, they have bent their bows, to strike down the poor and needy, ¹⁶to slaughter those who live honestly. May their sword pierce themselves, may their bows break!” (37:14–15).

¹⁷This refers to the wicked of “Ephraim and Manasseh,” who will try to do away ¹⁸with the Priest and the members of his party during the time of trial that is coming upon them. But God will save them ¹⁹from their power and afterwards hand them over to the wicked Gentiles for judgment.

²¹“Better is the little the righteous man has than the great abundance of the wicked” (37:16).

[. . . This refers to] ²²the one who obeys the Law who does not [. . .] ²³for wicked things, for “the arms [of the wicked will be broken, but supporting the righteous] ²⁴is the LORD” (37:17).

“The LORD cares about the life of the pure; what belongs to them will last forever” (37:18).]

[This refers to those with whom] ²⁵He is pleased [. . .]

“Returning from the wilderness” may mean that some of the sect were in exile but would return at the Last Days.

²⁶“They [will not] be put to shame in [an evil time]” (37:19a).

[This refers to] **Col. 3** ¹the ones who return from the wilderness, who will live a thousand generations in virtue. To them and their descendants belongs all the heritage of ²Adam for ever.

“In a time of famine, they will have plenty, but the wicked ³will perish” (37:19b–20a).

This means that He will sustain them in famine during the time of e[rror], but many ⁴will perish from famine and pestilence, all who did not go forth [. . .] to jo[in] ⁵the company of His chosen.

^{5a}“Those who love the LORD are as magnificent as rams” (37:20b).

This refers to [the company of His chosen] ⁵who shall be leaders and princes, [like leaders of] ⁶sheep among their flocks.

⁷“All shall vanish like smoke” (37:20c).

This refers to the wicked princes who oppressed His holy people, ⁸and who shall scatter like smoke that dissipates in the wind.

Control over the Temple Mount and the sacrifices made at the Temple was an important ambition of the Qumran group.

“The wicked borrow and do not repay; ⁹but the righteous give generously, for those whom God blesses will inherit the earth, but those whom He curses will be exterminated” (37:21–22).

¹⁰This refers to the company of the poor, w[ho will ge]t the possessions of all [. . .], who ¹¹will inherit the lofty mount of Is[rael and] enjoy His holy mount. [“Those whom He curses] ¹²will be exterminated”: these are the cruel [Jews, the w]icked of Israel who will be exterminated and destroyed ¹³forever.

¹⁴“A man’s path] is ordained by the LORD; he delights in all His ways. If he ¹⁵stu[m]bles, he shall not] fall, because the L[ORD holds his hand]” (37:23–24).

This refers to the priest, the Teacher of R[ighteousness, whom] ¹⁶God [ch]ose to be His servant [and] ordained him to form Him a company [. . .] ¹⁷[his] way He smoothed for the truth.

["I have been young], and now I am old, but I have not [seen a righteous man] ¹⁸abandoned and his children begging food. [All the time] he is lending generously, and his chil[dren are blessed"] (37:25–26).

¹⁹[This] refers to the Teacher of [Righteousness . . .]

Col. 4 ¹⁴“ . . . judg[ment, and will not forsake his devotees. For]ever they are protected. But the descendants of the w[icked will be exterminated”] (37:28).

[This refers to] the cruel ²[Israelites . . .] the Law.

“The righteo[us will inherit the earth and dwell for]ever on it” (37:29).

[This refers to . . .] for a thousand [generations].

³["The righteous man utters] wisdom, his tongue speaks ⁴[justice, in his heart is God's Law: that's why his steps are sure"] (37:30–31).

This refers to] the truth that the [Teacher] spoke ⁵[. . .] he declared it to them.

The wording of the following comment implies that the Teacher was in danger from the Wicked Priest, but still alive, at the time of composition. The writer is confident that the Teacher will live through this time of trial. The mention of the "Law that the Teacher sent to the Priest" is intriguing, and scholars have suggested that this "Law" may be text 84, A Sectarian Manifesto, or text 131, The Temple Scroll.

⁷"The wicked man observes the righteous man and seeks [to kill him. But the LO]RD [will not leave him in his power and will not co]ndemn him when he comes to trial" (37:32–33).

⁸This refers to the Wicked [Pri]est who ob[serv]es the [Teach]er of Righteous[ness and seeks] to kill him [. . .] and the Law ⁹that he sent to him, but God will not le[ave him in his power] and will not [condemn him when] he comes to trial. But to the [wicked God will give] his just [de]serts, by putting him ¹⁰into the power of the cruel Gentiles to do with him [what they want].

["Look to the L]ORD and obey his rules; then He will honor you so that you will inherit ¹¹the earth. You will [look on] while the wicked are exterminated" (37:34).

[This refers to . . .] who will see judgment passed on the wicked and with [the company of] ¹²His chosen they will rejoice in a sure heritage [forever].

¹³["I once saw] a wicked man, cruel, and stretched [out like a stately tree. But] when I passed by his home again, he was gone. I [looked for him] but he was ¹⁴[nowhere to be found"] (37:35–36).

[This refers to] the Man of the Lie, [who . . .] against God's chosen people [and sou]ght to put an end to [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] judgment [. . .] he defiantly presumed ¹⁶[. . .]

["Take note of the pure, observe] the honest, [for there is a future for the man] of peace" (37:37).

This refers to [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] of peace.

“Sinners ¹⁸perish as one, and the future [of the wicked will be cut short”] (37:38).

[This refers to . . .] they will perish and be exterminated ¹⁹from the company of the *Yahad*.

“The [deliverance of the righteous is the LORD’s work; He is their stronghold in time of trouble. The LORD helps them and] ²⁰rescues them and saves them from the wicked [and delivers them because they trusted in Him”] (37:39–40).

[This refers to . . .] ²¹God will deliver them and save them from the power of the wicked . . .]

Since the commentary on Psalm 45 comes immediately after that on Psalm 37, it is evident that the writer did not attempt to comment on every verse of the Psalter.

²²“To the choirmaster, on [Shosan]im. [For the sons of Korah, a wisdom psalm, a song of love . . . ”] (45: heading).

[This refers to . . . t]they are the seven divisions of ²⁴the captivity of Is[rael . . .]

“My heart is [astir] with a good message: ²⁵[I address my poem to the king”] (45:1a).

[This refers to . . . ho]ly spirit, for ²⁶[. . .] books of [. . .]

“My tongue is the pen of ²⁷[an adept scribe”] (45:1b).

[This refers to] the Teacher of [R]ighteousness . . .] God [gave] with an eloquent tongue [. . .]

Frag. 13 ³⁴“God spoke [in His holiness, I will joyfully divide Shechem] ‘[and the valley of Succ]oth I will measure. [Gilead is mine, Manasseh is mine, Ephraim is my chief fortress”] (60:6–7).

⁵[This refers to Gile]ad and the half-tribe [of Manasseh . . .] ‘they shall be gathered [. . .]

4Q173 Frag. 1 ²“[. . . vain] for you [to get up early, stay up late, eat your meals in worry, for truly] ³[He gives his friends sleep”] (127:2).

[This refers to those] who seek [. . .] ⁴[. . . secr]et things to the Teacher of Righteousness [. . .] ⁵[the pr]iest for the ti[me] to come [. . .]

⁷“[Now children are a perpetual gift from the LORD”] (127:3).

[This refers to] those who inherit the possessions [. . .]

A very fragmentary interpretation of Psalms was found in Cave 1. The few legible pieces speak, like the Habakkuk interpretation, of the “Kittim.”

1Q16 Frag. 3 ²[. . .] they had recognized [. . .] ³[. . .] “Kings of great armies flee, [flee away; even the housewife shares the spoil”] (68:12).]

[This refers to] ⁴[. . .] the beauty of [. . .] ⁵[. . .] who will share [. . .]

Frag. 8 ²[. . .] “In the midst maidens beating tambour]ines; in assemblies bless God” (68:25–26).

³[This refers to . . .] the convocation to bless the Name [. . .]

Frag. 9 ¹["From Your temple overlooking Jerusalem, kings bring You] tribute" (68:29).

This refers to all the rul[ers of] ²[the Kittim . . .] before him in Jerusalem.

"You have rebuked [the swamp beast,] ³[that herd of bulls, the Gentile heifers; he tramples on bars of] silver" (68:30).

The "swamp beast" refers to ⁴[. . . the] Kittim [. . .]

—E.M.C.

23. THE LAST DAYS: A COMMENTARY ON SELECTED VERSES

4Q174

Many people today are agitated about the dawning of a new millennium. Thoughts are turning with new urgency to what that change may portend. Similarly, the author of this text thought that events on earth were moving toward a climax, and he wanted to know what was going to happen. He was concerned not just for himself, but also for the group that he belonged to (apparently the *Yahad* mentioned in various texts above), which he called the "House of Judah." To find out what the future would bring, he turned to various passages in the Scriptures. For the most part, he considered portions of the Prophets, for among Second-Temple Jewry it was everywhere and by everyone agreed that prophecy meant predicting the future. Where better to find the answers, then?

Yet some of his selections might seem surprising. Why consult Psalms, and why certain parts of the book of Genesis? The answer is that our author thought the men he believed wrote those parts of the Bible were prophets. David, to whom he doubtless attributed Psalms, was acknowledged to have been among the prophets (cf. text 127). Moses, also, author of Genesis, had been a prophet—indeed, the preeminent prophet in the history of Israel. Therefore, when David or Moses wrote in the future tense, it was not some indefinite expression of hope or vague musing; it was prophecy, and fair game for the interpretive methods that could crack open a verse and reveal its hidden meaning.

One verse led our author to another, mostly on the basis of analogy. Finding a given word used in one biblical portion, he would then turn to another verse where the same word was used. (How well he knew the Bible!) Comparing the verses, he could then extract more information than just one verse would give him, for he would assume that because of their similar usage the verses were describing the same future person, institution, or situation. This approach is essentially the classical technique of Protestant Christianity, "Scripture interprets scripture." The type of rabbinic biblical interpretation known as *midrash* operated by similar methods. The rabbis employed one principle they called *gezerah shawah*,

literally “similar category.” This type of inference by analogy meant that when words of similar or identical meaning occurred in any two given parts of the Law, then both—no matter how different they might seem—would be of identical application.

Applying this sort of analysis, our author grouped verses that he believed spoke of the Last Days. He extracted predictions about his community’s enemies. He also discovered that two future heroes should arise from his group’s ranks: an inspired interpreter of the Bible he called “the Interpreter of the Law,” and a messianic deliverer, scion of Israel’s greatest king, “the Shoot of David.” He further teased out information about a future temple, the “Temple of Adam.” The name derived from a pattern commonly seen in Israel’s Prophets: the end shall be like the beginning. (Cf. Isaiah, for example: “The lion will lie down with the lamb.”) Some scholars have seen in this temple a reference to the notion of community as temple. This is the idea that the author’s group would somehow come to form, as it were, a temple; the apostle Paul speaks of Christians in just such terms in the book of Ephesians. But that notion does not seem to be intended here, though it is found in the scrolls (text 5).

The present text is clearly sectarian in language and concept and aligns with a number of the other biblical commentaries found among the scrolls. Note especially texts 4, 19, and 22 (*peshers* on Habakkuk, Isaiah, and Psalms). Its method is different, of course. Rather than commenting on a single biblical book from beginning to end, this text comments on the Bible thematically. For another sectarian work taking the same tack, compare text 130, *The Coming of Melchizedek*.

Quotation and interpretation of Deuteronomy 33, Moses’ final blessing upon the Israelites. What remains concerns the blessings of Levi, Benjamin, Zebulun, and Gad.

Col. 1 ⁹“Of Levi he said: ‘Give to Levi Your Thummim, and Your Urim to Your loyal one, whom You tested at Mass[ah], with whom You con[tes]ted at the waters of Meribah; who s[aid] ¹⁰[of his father and mother, “I regard them not”; he ignored his kin, and did not] acknow[ledge his children]. For [they observed Your wo]rd, [and kept Your] covenant. ¹¹[They teach Jacob Your ordinances, and Israel Your law; they place incense] before You, and whole burnt offerings on Your altar. ¹²[Bless his substance, O LORD, and accept the work of his hands; crush the loins of his adversaries, of those that hate him, so that they never] rise again”’ (Deut. 33:8–11).

¹³[. . . The] Urim and the Thummim belong to the man who ¹⁴[. . .] For he sai[d] ¹⁵[. . . the] land, because [. . .]

¹⁶“ . . . And of Benjamin he sa[id]: “The beloved of the LO[R]D ¹⁷[rests in safety—the High God surrounds him all day long—the beloved rests between his shoulders” . . .] (Deut. 33:12).

Col. 2 ¹And the glory [. . . i]t refers to the righte[ous] sacrifice [. . .] ²the goodness of the la[nd . . .]

³⁴“And of Gad he sa[*id*]: ‘Blessed be the enlargement of Gad! Gad lives like a lion; he tears at arm and scalp. He chose the best for himself, for there the allotment] ‘of a commander [was reserved; he came at the head of the people, he executed the justice of the LORD, and His ordinances for Israel’ . . .] (Deut. 33:20–21).

⁵concerning the captives, [. . .] the hidden [. . .] ‘to rescue [. . .] everything that He commanded us. They carried out the entire [. . .]

The author describes a time of trial for his community, the House of Judah, to be followed by a glorious era. This time of future glory shall witness heightened purity, triumph over the community's enemies, a new temple, an inspired interpreter of Scripture, and a messiah descended from David.

¹²[. . .] who swallow up the offspring of ¹³[. . . en]raged against them in his zeal ¹⁴[. . .] This is the time when Belial shall open his mouth ¹⁵[. . . to bring] trials [a]gainst the House of Judah, cultivating animosity against them ¹⁶[. . .] and he shall seek with all his might to disperse them ¹⁷[. . . th]at he brought them to be.

¹⁸[. . . the House of Ju]dah, but the God of I[sra]el sh[all] ¹⁹[be with them, as He said through the prophet: “And I will appoint a place for My people Israel and will plant them, so that they may live in their own place, and be disturbed no more; and] **Col. 3** ¹[no] enemy [shall overtake them a]gain, [nor] evildoer [afflict] them any [mo]re, as formerly, from the time that ²[I appointed judges] over My people Israel” (2 Sam. 7:10–11a). This “place” is the house that [they shall build for Him] in the Last Days, as it is written in the book of ³[Moses: “A temple of] the LORD are you to prepare with your hands; the LORD will reign forever and ever” (Exod. 15:17–18). This passage describes the temple that no [man with a] permanent [fleshly defect] shall enter, ‘nor Ammonite, Moabite, bastard, foreigner, or alien, forevermore. Surely His holiness ⁵shall be rev[eal]ed there; eternal glory shall ever be apparent there. Strangers shall not again defile it, as they formerly defiled ⁶the Temp[le] of I[sra]el through their sins. To that end He has commanded that they build Him a Temple of Adam (*or* Temple of Humankind), and that in it they sacrifice to Him ⁷proper sacrifices.

As for what He said to David, “I [will give] you [rest] from all your enemies” (2 Sam. 7:11b), this passage means that He will give them rest from [all] ⁸the children of Belial, who cause them to stumble, seeking to destroy the[m] by means of] their [wickedness]. They became party to the plan of Belial in order to cause the S[ons] of ⁹Li[ght] to stumble. They plotted wicked schemes against them, [so that they might fall p]rey to Belial through guilty error.

¹⁰“Moreover the LORD decl[ares] to you that He will make you a house,” and that “I will raise up your offspring after you, and establish the throne of his kingdom ¹¹[fore]ver. I will be a father to him, and he will be My son”

(2 Sam. 7:11c, 12b, 13b–14a). This passage refers to the Shoot of David, who is to arise with ¹²the Interpreter of the Law, and who will [arise] in Zi[on in the La]st Days, as it is written, “And I shall raise up the booth of David that is fallen” (Amos 9:11). This passage describes the fallen Branch of ¹³David, [w]hom He shall raise up to deliver Israel.

The author finds scriptural mention of his community, then turns his mind to the final war against the Gentiles and the time of persecution awaiting the House of Judah.

¹⁴The interpretation of “Happy are those who do not follow the advice of the wicked” (Ps. 1:1a): The meaning is, [th]ey are those who turn aside from the path of [the wicked], ¹⁵as it is written in the book of Isaiah the prophet in reference to the Last Days, “And it came to pass, while His hand was strong upon me, [that He warned me not to walk in the way of] ¹⁶“this people” (Isa. 8:11). These are they about whom it is written in the book of Ezekiel the prophet, namely, “They shall ne[ver again defile themselves with] ¹⁷their idols” (Ezek. 37:23). They are the Sons of Zadok, and the m[e]n of the [i]r council who pu[r]sue righ]teousness and follow them to join the *Yahad*.

¹⁸[“Why] do the nations [con]spire, and the peoples plo[t in vain? The kings of the earth s]et themselves, [and the ru]lers take counsel together against the LORD and His ¹⁹[anointed” (Ps. 2:1). The m]eaning [is that the na]tions [shall set themselves] and con[spire vainly against] the chosen of Israel in the Last Days. **Col. 4** ¹That will be the time of persecution that is to co[m]e upon the House of J]udah, to the end of sealing up [the wicked in consuming fire and destroying all the children of] ²Belial. Then shall be left behind a remnant of [chosen on]es, the pre[des]tined. They shall perform the whole of the Law, [as God commanded through] ³Moses. This is the [time of whic]h it is written in the book of Daniel the prophet, [“The wicked] will act ever more wicked[ly and shall not understand.] ⁴But the righteous will [be purified, clea]nsed, and refined” (Dan. 12:10). So, the people who know God shall be steadfast. These are [the men of] ⁴truth, [who shall instruct many] following the persecution that is to desc[en]d upon them [in that time . . .] ⁵ . . . in its descent [. . .] ⁶[ev]il, just as [. . .] to the wicked [. . .] ⁷[I]srael and Aaron [. . .] **Col. 5** ²⁴“Listen to the soun[d of my cry, my King and my God, for to You I lift my prayer. O LORD, in the morning You hear my voice” (Ps. 5:2–3a). The] ³meaning concerns the Last D[ays . . .] **Col. 6** ¹[written in the book of Isa]iah the prop[het, “They shall not build and another inhabit; they shall not plant and another eat;] ²[for like the days of a tree] shall the days of My people be, [and] My ch[osen shall long enjoy the work of their hands. They shall] no[t labor in vain,] ³[or bear children for calam]ity; for [they shall be] offspring [blessed by the LORD” (Isa. 65:22–23). For] they are [. . .]

24. A COLLECTION OF MESSIANIC PROOF TEXTS

4Q175

When John Allegro first published this text in 1957, he gave it the title “4QTestimonia.” By the name *testimonia* he referred to a theory that there circulated among ancient Jews, and even more so among early Christians, collections of passages selected from the Bible for use in disputation. These collections are known as *testimonia*. According to the theory, the collections were often of texts having messianic significance.

But why were these specific passages collected? What does their collocation mean? Many students of the text agree on the significance of the first three passages. They represent, respectively, the *Yahad's* expectations for the coming of a prophet like Moses, a royal scion of David to lead in war, and a proper high priest. All three could be considered “messiahs” in the sense that each was to be “anointed” by God (the basic meaning of the Hebrew word *messiah*).

Most problematic is the case of the fourth quotation, from the nonbiblical work *The Psalms of Joshua* (see text 78). Scholars are divided on whether the portion refers to two or to three figures and whom those figures represent. According to the Standard Model set out in the Introduction (see pp. 16–26), the “cursed man, one belonging to Belial” refers to the Wicked Priest and therefore (according to which subdivision of the Standard Model one follows) either to Jonathan or Simon of the Maccabee family. The son or sons vary accordingly. But if we are correct in adjusting the time of the Teacher downward by over fifty years, as we have suggested in the Introduction, then, of course, none of the solutions proposed by adherents of the Standard Model works. What then?

Note that there is no compelling reason to equate the “cursed man” with the Wicked Priest who persecuted the Teacher. He is certainly described in less negative tones than are his sons, whereas the Wicked Priest was public enemy number one for the group. Would they really have described someone else as even worse? The wording “a fowler’s net to his people and a source of ruin for all his neighbors” accurately and (more or less) objectively describes Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.). He was a fowler’s net to the Jews in that the nation was so divided during his reign that civil war continued for nearly a decade. Certainly Jannaeus was a source of ruin for his neighbors, as he incessantly attacked first one, then another in a series of wars. The text’s description of the sons fits Jannaeus’s sons Aristobulus and Hyrcanus from a certain perspective: “they shall work blasphemy in the land, a great uncleanness among the children of Jacob. They shall pour out blood like water upon the bulwark of the daughter of Zion

and within the city limits of Jerusalem.” The last statement, in particular, is a reasonably straightforward description of what actually happened at the climax of the civil war that turned into war with Rome in the period 67–63 B.C.E. At the end, the Romans broke into the Temple, where Aristobulus’s supporters were holed up and slaughtered many of them. Over twelve thousand Jews died in Jerusalem that day. If this explanation of the fourth passage is correct, then the present work fits into the historical period for the origin of the scrolls that we have suggested in the Introduction.

These two passages refer to a prophet like Moses, who was expected to arise. Possibly the author did not collate here two passages from Deuteronomy, but rather quoted a single passage from a “reworked Bible.” Compare text 16, frag. 6 above.

Col. 1 “‘And the LORD’ said to Moses, ‘I have heard the words of²this people, which they have spoken to you; they are right in all that they have spoken.³If only they had such a mind as this, to fear Me and to keep all ‘My commandments always, so that it might go well with them and with their children forever!’” (Deut. 5:28–29).

“‘I will raise up for them a prophet like you from among their own people; I will put My words ‘in his mouth, and he shall speak to them everything that I command. Anyone ⁷who does not heed the words that the prophet shall speak in my name, I Myself⁸will hold accountable” (Deut. 18:18–19).

This quotation apparently foretells the coming of a royal messiah who would lead in war.

“‘So he uttered his oracle, saying: ‘The oracle of Balaam son of Beor, the oracle of the man ¹⁰who sees clearly, the oracle of one who hears the words of God, and knows the knowledge of the Most High, who ¹¹sees the vision of the Almighty, who falls down, but with his eye uncovered: I see him, but not now; ¹²I behold him, but not near—a star shall come out of Jacob, and a scepter shall rise out of Israel; it shall crush ¹³the borderlands of Moab, and the territory of all the Shethites” (Num. 24:15–17).

Next the text quotes a portion of Scripture to foretell a future priestly figure. The Thummim and Urim were oracular stones that the high priest carried in a pouch on his breastplate.

“‘And of Levi he said: ‘Give to Levi Your Thummim, and Your Urim to Your loyal one, whom ¹⁵You tested at Massah, with whom You contended at the waters of Meribah; who said of his father ¹⁶and mother, “I know them not”; he ignored his kin, and did not acknowledge his children. ¹⁷For he observed Your word, and kept Your covenant. They shall cause Your ordinances to shine for Jacob, ¹⁸Your law for Israel; they place incense before You, and

*Apparently motivated by piety, the scribe did not write the divine name, but substituted four dots, one for each Hebrew letter. He did the same in line 19.

whole burnt offerings on Your altar. ¹⁹Bless his substance, O LORD, and accept the work of his hands; crush the loins of his adversaries, of those that hate him, ²⁰so that they do not rise again” (Deut. 33:8–11).

Last, the author quotes a portion from Joshua, adding its interpretation from an extra-biblical work, the Psalms of Joshua (preserved in text 78, 4Q379 frag. 22). Clearly he thought these lines foretold the rise of several—perhaps three—wicked figures, but no suggestion for precisely whom he meant to describe has won a scholarly consensus.

²¹When Joshua finished praying and offering psalms of praise, ²²he said, “Cursed be anyone who tries to rebuild this city! With the help of his first-born ²³he shall lay its foundation, and with the aid of his youngest he shall set up its gates!” (Josh. 6:26). “Behold, one cursed man, one belonging to Belial, ²⁴is about to arise to be a fow[ler’s n]et to his people and a source of ruin for all his neighbors. Then shall arise ²⁵[so]ns [after him,] the two of them [to b]e instruments of wrongdoing. They shall rebuild ²⁶[this city and s]et up for it a wall and towers, creating a stronghold of evil ²⁷[and a great wickedness] in Israel, a thing of horror in Ephraim and Judah. ²⁸[. . .] They shall [wo]rk blasphemy in the land, a great uncleanness among the children of ²⁹[Jacob. They shall pour out blo]od like water upon the bulwark of the daughter of Zion and within the city limits of ³⁰Jerusalem” (*Psalms of Joshua*, text 78, 4Q379 frag. 22).

—M.O.W.

25. A COMMENTARY ON CONSOLING PASSAGES IN SCRIPTURE

4Q176

Sometimes the words of Scripture needed little or no commentary; they just needed a little rearranging. If more of this commentary remained, no doubt we would find more explanatory comments from the compiler of these passages. Yet the proportion of comment to quotation in the fragments that survive shows that in general these verses from the Old Testament Prophets, all foretelling the future comfort of Israel, were allowed to speak for themselves.

If the following fragments belong at or near the beginning of the scroll itself, they seem to have introduced the anthology by pointing out that the Israel of that day was much in need of the consoling and saving power of God. Something had gone terribly wrong in the conduct of the worship in the sanctuary and priests had been killed.

Frag. 1 + 2 Col. 1 ¹So perform Your miracle and do good deeds among Your people and they will be [. . .] ²Your sanctuary, and so contend with kingdoms for the blood of [Your sacrifices . . .] ³Jerusalem, and see the corpses of Your priests [. . .] ⁴with none to bury.

And from the book of Isaiah, words of comfort: [. . . “Comfort, comfort my people], ⁵says your God. Speak gently to Jerusalem, and proclaim [to her that her punishment is over], for ⁶her sin is forgiven, that she has received from the LORD a double punishment for all her offenses. A voice cries: ⁷In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight [in the desert] a high-way for our God. Let every valley be filled, ⁸[every mountain and hill] be level, let every rugged place be a plain, [and the rocky areas a] meadow. ⁹The glory of the LORD [will be revealed]” (Isa. 40:1–5). “But you, Israel, are [my] servant, Jacob [whom I] have chosen. ¹⁰[Seed of Abra]ham, my friend, whom I have sustained [from the ends of] the earth, and from its far reaches ¹¹[I have summoned you, and said] to you, you are my servant; [I have chosen you and not rejected] you” (Isa. 41:8–9). **Col. 2** [“Thus says the LORD, Israel’s redeemer, its Holy One, to the despised in spirit, abhorred by Gentiles, slave of rulers: Kings shall see you and rise up; so will princes, and bow down, for the sake of the LORD] ¹[who is] faithful, the Holy One of Is[rael who chose you. Be glad, heavens, exult, earth,] ²give voice, mountains, for God has comforted [His people and showed mercy to His afflicted. Although Zion had said,] ³The LORD has abandoned me, [my LORD has forgotten me, can a woman forget her baby, a parent the child of her womb?] ⁴Even if these should forget, [I will never forget you. See, on my palms I have engraved you,] ⁵and your walls [are always on my mind. Your children have hastened, while those who have destroyed and ruined you] ⁶shall depart from you” (Isa. 49:7, 13–17).

Frag. 3 ¹[“And now thus] says the LORD, [Your creator, O Jacob, and Your maker, O Israel, ²Do not be afraid,] for I have redeemed you. [I have called you by your name, you are mine. When you pass] ³[through the water] I am with you, and in the [floods, they will not drown you]” (Isa. 43:1–2).

Frag. 4 + 5 ¹[. . . “I gave] men in exchange [for you, and nations in exchange for your soul.] ²[Do not be] afraid, [for I am with you.] From the East I will bring [your descendants, and from the West I will gather you.] ³[I will say] to the North, [Give them up; and to the South,] Do not retain them, but [bring back my children from afar, and my daughters from the end of] ⁴[the] earth” (Isa. 43:4–6).

Frag. 6 + 7 ¹[“Thus says] Your [LORD . . .] Your [God, who contends for His people: Behold, I have taken from your hand the] ²[cup that makes you] stagger, [the round] cup of [My wrath. You will never again drink of it. I will put it] in the hands of your enemies” . . . (Isa. 51:22–23).

Frag. 8–11 ²“Wake up, [wake up, put on your strength,] Zion! Put [on your beautiful clothes,] Jerusalem, holy city! For ³[the uncircumcised, impure Gentile will never again enter you. So shake off the dust, get up,] return, Jerusalem. Loosen ⁴the bonds of your neck, [dear] captive [Zion! For thus] says [the LORD: You were sold for nothing, so without] money you will be reclaimed” (Isa. 52:1–3). ⁵“Do not be afraid, for] you will not be ashamed. [Do

not be mortified [for you will not be disgraced. Truly the shame of “your [youth] you will forget, the contempt of your widowhood you will not [remember again,] for your Maker has become your husband, the LORD ⁷[of Hosts] is His name. Your redeemer is the Holy One of Is[rael; the God of al]l the earth He is called. For like an abandoned woman ⁸[downcast] in spirit the LORD has called you. Like a young wife when she is rejected—so says the LORD your God. ⁹[For a short] moment I left you alone, but in great mercy I am bringing you back. In raging wrath [I turned away] ¹⁰[briefly] from you, but by My eternal grace I had pity on you. So says your Redeemer, the LORD. This is as it was in the time of Noah, when ¹¹[I swore that the waters of] Noah [would not] cover the earth, so I have forsworn My anger forever, and My punishment of you. ¹²[For the mounta]ins may shift or the hills totter, but My grace will not shift from you [. . . ”] (Isa. 54:4–10).

Again the voice of the compiler is heard, buttressing the comforting words of the Bible with consolations of his own.

¹³[. . . one could not] grow tired of these words of comfort, for great honor is written in [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] for those who love [. . .] will never again [. . .] ¹⁵[Belial to oppress His servants [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] will rejoice [. . .]

Frag. 15 ³“I will put one-third in the fire, and refine them as one refines silver; I will test them] as one tests ⁴[gold. They will call Me by name, and I will answer them. I say,] My people, and they ⁵[say, The LORD is our God”] (Zech. 13:9).

The author of the scroll may be explaining the current tribulation of Israel as having been foreseen, and thus it is part of God’s wonderful, though mysterious, plan. Those who continue to trust God and obey him can count on sharing in his comfort.

Frag. 16 ¹⁻²[. . .] my secrets. He has cast the lot [. . .] ³[. . .] the sanctuary, and to give human speech to [. . .] ⁴[. . .] for those who love Him and to those who keep [His] commandments [. . .]

Frag. 19–20 belong to a different manuscript.

—E.M.C.

26. THE LAST DAYS: AN INTERPRETATION OF SELECTED VERSES

4Q177

The burden of making sense of the Qumran commentaries doubles when the already enigmatic text is fragmentary. Such is the case with the present work. It is a commentary on themes chosen because of their supposed relevance

to the "Last Days," the time of the final showdown between Light and Darkness, Righteousness and Evil. The method and theme have much in common with *The Last Days: A Commentary on Selected Verses* (text 23), and it has been argued that the two scrolls are actually two copies of the same work that do not happen to overlap.

This commentary mentions none of the central *dramatis personae* of the story the *Yahad* told about themselves. The Teacher of Righteousness, the Wicked Priest, the Man of the Lie—all are absent. The Flattery-Seekers, however, the sect's archenemies, are mentioned in one passage, as is the *Yahad* itself. Also appearing is the figure known as the Interpreter of the Law, who may be the anointed prophet or priest who was expected to come before the end.

The author sketches the "Last Days" in general terms: although Belial will make an attempt to destroy the righteous, the "children of light," the Angel of Truth will protect them; and in the end, Good will triumph, and Evil will perish.

Frag. 12 + 13 Col. 1 "[. . .] "Instruction [will not perish] from the [priest, or advice from the sage, or oracles] from the prophet" (Jer. 18:18).

⁷[This refers to] the Last Days, of which David said, "O LORD, do not [re-buke me] in Your anger. [Have mercy on me, for] I am fading. "[Heal me, O LORD, for my innermost being is tormented.] Yes, my soul is in great torment. But now, O LORD, how long? Have mercy, deliver [my] soul [. . .]" (Ps. 6:1–4).

[This refers to] the Last Days, about ⁹[the righteous, when] Belial [planned] to destroy them in his fury, so that none would remain of [. . . God will not allow] Belial ¹⁰[. . . Abra]ham up to ten righteous in a city, for the Spirit of Truth [. . . for] there is no ¹¹[. . .] and their brothers by the wiles of Belial, and he will strengthen [. . .] ¹²[. . . but] the angel of God's truth will help all the Children of Light from the power of Belial [. . .] ¹³[. . .] and to scatter them in a dry and desolate land. This is a time of tribulation that [. . .] ¹⁴[. . . but] the righteous are always beloved, and the great power of God is with them, helping them against all the spirits [of darkness . . .] ¹⁵[. . . and those who worship] God will hallow His name and come to Zion with joy, and Jerusalem [. . .] ¹⁶[. . . but as for] Belial and all those who belong to him, [they shall perish] forever, but all the children of [light] will be gathered in [. . .]

Before the end comes, the unrighteous will attack the righteous.

Frag. 5 + 6 ¹[. . .] the boasters who [. . .] come against the men of the *Yah*[ad . . .] ²[as it is written in the book of Isaiah the] prophet, "This year eat what grows [by itself, and next year the aftergrowth]" (Isa. 37:30). The meaning of] "what grows by itself" is [. . .] ³[. . .] up to the time of purifi[cation that shall come upon them in the Last Days,] and afterwards shall appear [. . .] ⁴[. . .] for all of them are children [. . .] said the boasters [. . .]

⁵[. . . that is written] about them in the book of [Isaiah the prophet . . . for] the Law of the [. . .] ⁶[. . .] it calls them, as [it is written about them in the book of Isaiah the prophet,] “He thinks up plots to [destroy the humble with lying words” (Isa. 32:7). . . .] ⁷[. . .] to condemn Israel. [. . .]

Those who belong to the sect will go into exile in the face of enemy persecution.

[“To the master singer,] to David. In the LORD I have taken refuge,] so how can You say to me, Flee ⁸[to your mountain, little bird, for now the wicked are bending their bow,] and fitting arrows to [the string to shoot in the night at the honest in mind”] (Ps. 11:1–2).

[This means that] the men of [the *Yahad*] shall flee [. . .] ⁹[. . . like] a bird from its place and be exiled [from their land . . . they are written about] in the book of the [prophet Micah: ¹⁰“Rise and go, this is not the right place to stay, impurity has marred it, it is completely ruined.] It belongs to one who walks [in lies and tells untruths . . . ”] (Mic. 2:10–11). [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] which is written about them in the book of [. . .] ¹²[. . .] “To the master singer, on the [eighth, a psalm of David . . . ” (Psalm 12:1).] ¹³[. . .] for them the eighth season [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] there is no peace, for they [. . .] ¹⁵[. . . “There is merriment,] slaying cattle, slaughtering sheep, [dining on meat, drinking wine . . . ” (Isaiah 22:13). . . .] ¹⁶[. . .] of the Law, those who make up the *Yahad* [. . .]

Despite the apparent success of the wicked during this period, the righteous are to regard it as a time when they themselves are tested and purified.

Frag. 10 + 11 + 7 + 9 + 20 + 26 ¹“The words of the LORD are pure, like silver purified in a clay furnace,] refined seven times” (Ps. 12:6). As it is written ²[in the book of the prophet Zechariah, “Here is a stone I have placed before Joshua the priest. Upon this one stone are seven eyes. I am] making an inscription on it, says the LORD” (Zech. 3:9). As it ³[says . . .] concerning them it is written, I will heal ⁴[. . .] the men of Belial and all the rabble ⁵[. . .] them the Interpreter of the Law, for there is no ⁶[. . .] each man on his own rampart when they appear ⁷[. . .] those who impede the Children of Light ⁸[. . . “How long, O LORD?] Will You forget [me forever? How long will You turn away] from me? How long will I turn over ⁹[thoughts] in my mind, [having pain in] my heart [every day?] How long [shall my enemy exult over me? . . . ”] (Ps. 13:1–2). This refers to the inner endurance of the men of ¹⁰[. . .] in the Last Days, for [. . .] to test them and to purify them. ¹¹[. . .] them in the spirit and pure and refined [. . .]

The enemies of the righteous are identified as the “Flattery-Seekers.” They will join forces with the Gentile forces from nearby Edom and Moab to attack the “children of light.”

[As for the verse that says,] “Lest the enemy say ¹²[I have overcome him . . .]” (Ps. 13:4). . . .] they are the company of the Flattery-Seekers, who [. . .] who seek to destroy ¹³[. . .] in their zeal and in their hostility [. . . which] is written in the book of the [prophet] Ezekiel, ¹⁴“Because Edom and Moab have said, Behold, the house of] Judah is like all the Gentiles” (Ezek. 25:8). [This refers to the Last] Days, when [the . . .] will gather together against [them . . .] ¹⁵[. . .] with the righteous and the wicked, the fool and the simple[ton . . .] of the men who have served God [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] who have circumcised themselves spiritually in the last generation [. . .] and all that is theirs is unclean [. . .]

Frag. 1 + 4 + 14 + 24 + 31(?) ¹[. . .] their words [. . .] praises of glory that [Israel] shall utter ²[. . . The LORD shall remove] from you every illness.

Those who are faithful and endure the time of suffering will live to see their vindication, when the true priesthood of God will be revealed and the works of darkness will perish.

“As for the holy [ones that are] in the land, the nobles, in whom is all my pleasure” (Ps. 16:3). [. . .] ³[. . .] has ever happened like this [. . .] “and knocking of knees and trembling in everyone’s bowels” (Nah. 2:10). [. . .] ⁴[. . .] “Hear, [O righteous LORD,] listen to my complaint, give ear to [my prayer . . .]” (Ps. 17:1). [. . .] ⁵[. . .] in the Last Days in the time when He shall seek [. . .] the society of the *Yahad*. He is [. . .] ⁶“From You shall flow my judgment” (Ps. 17:2). . . .] The meaning of the verse is that a man shall arise from the children of [. . .] ⁷[. . .] they will be like a fire on the whole earth. They are the ones of whom it is written in the Last [Days . . .] ⁸[. . .] he said concerning the company of the light who shall have grief when Be[li]al rules, [but concerning the company of darkness] who shall have grief [. . .] ⁹[. . .] from him [. . .] mourning, return, O LORD, [. . .] God of mercy and God of Israel [. . .] just deserts [. . .] ¹⁰[who have] indulged themselves in the spirits of [Be]li[al], but it will be forgiven them forever, and bless them [. . .] again forever and bless them [. . .] their times [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] their ancestors by the tally of [their] full names, one after the other [. . .] and the time of their term of office [. . .] their tongue [. . .] ¹²[. . .] the descendants of Judah.

All of the events of the Last Days are foreordained, written down on heavenly tablets. Note the reference to the “second book of the Law” that was “rejected.” The identity of this book is unknown; some scholars have suggested that it was the Temple Scroll (text 131), others that it was the Sectarian Manifesto (text 84). Just as likely, perhaps, is that the reference is to a work that has not survived.

Now, behold, all is written in the tablets that [. . .] in order to tell him the tally of [. . .] and he will make [them] inherit ¹³[. . .] and to his descendants

forever. Then he left there to go from Aram. "Blow the horn in Gibeah" (Hos. 5:8). The "horn" is the [first] book of [the Law. "Sound the trumpet in Ramah" (Hos. 5:8)...] ¹⁴[The "trumpet"] is the second book of the Law that [all the] men of his party rejected, and they advised rebellion against it and they sent [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] great miracles upon [. . .] and Jacob is to stand by the winepresses and he will rejoice when descends [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] is chosen [. . .] the men of his party are "the sword." As for the verse that says [. . .]

—E.M.C.

27. A LAMENT FOR ZION

4Q179

The lamentation for a fallen city was a well-known literary genre in the ancient Near East. One of the oldest known is the "Lamentation for the Destruction of Ur," written in Mesopotamia in the twentieth century B.C.E., and several others are known. The biblical exemplar of the form is the book of Lamentations, comprising five laments over the destruction of Jerusalem by the Babylonians in the sixth century B.C.E.

The scroll 4Q179 is clearly modeled after the biblical Lamentations and quotes from it occasionally. It is unclear whether this lament describes a historical incident. Between 586 B.C.E. and 70 C.E., the Holy City was not completely destroyed, but it suffered many conquests, most notably at the hands of the Syrian king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who, according to Josephus, robbed the Temple, took thousands captive, pillaged the city, and burned down many of the finest buildings (*Ant.* 12.5.4). This ordeal, which helped to incite the Maccabean war for independence, may well have inspired this lament.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ²[. . .] all our misdeeds and it is not within our power; for we did not obey [. . .] ³[. . .] Judah, that all these things should befall us, by evil ⁴[. . .] his covenant.

Woe to us ⁵[. . .] has become burned by fire and overthrown ⁶[. . .] our distinction, and there is nothing pleasing in it, in [. . .] ⁷[. . .] his holy courts have become ⁸[. . .] Jerusalem, city of ⁹[the sanctuary, has been handed over] to wild animals, and there is no [. . .] and her avenues ¹⁰[. . .] all her fine buildings are desolate ¹¹[. . .] there are no pilgrims in them, all the cities of ¹²[Judah . . .] our inheritance has become like the desert, no ¹³[. . .] we no longer hear rejoicing, and [there is none] who seeks ¹⁴[God . . . no] one to heal our wounds. All our enemies ¹⁵[. . .] our offenses [. . .] our sins.

Col. 2 ¹Woe to us, for the wrath of God has come upon [. . .] ²that we should congregate with the dead ³[. . .] like an unloved wife Is[rael . . .

neglects] ⁴her babies, and my dear people [have become] cruel [. . .] ⁵her young men are desolate, the children of [. . . fleeing] ⁶from winter, when their hands are weak [. . .] ⁷Ash heaps are now the home of the house of [Israel . . .] ⁸they ask for water, but there is no attendant [. . .] ⁹those who were worth their weight [in gold . . .] ¹⁰there is nothing to delight them, those who drew their strength from scarlet [clothing . . .] ¹¹nor fine gold, their garments bearing jewelry [. . . no longer] ¹²do my hands touch purple stuff, [. . .] has risen [. . .] ¹³the sensitive women of Zion with them [. . .]

Frag. 2 ¹["How] lonely [she sits], the city [once full of people]"

(Lam. 1:1) . . .] ⁵[. . .] the princess of all the nations is as desolate as an abandoned woman, and all her daughters are likewise abandoned. ⁶[. . .] like a woman abandoned and miserable, whose husband has left her. All her fine buildings and [walls] ⁷are like a barren woman, all her streets are like a woman confined [. . .] like a woman whose life is bitter ⁸and all her daughters are like those in mourning for [their] husbands [. . .] like those bereft ⁹of their only children, Jerusalem keeps on weeping [. . . tears] on her cheek for her children . . .

—E.M.C.

28. THE AGES OF THE WORLD

4Q180–181

An important theological tenet of the *Yahad* was the notion of predestination: from the very beginning, God had foreordained how history would develop, who would inherit eternal life, and who was destined for perdition. *The Ages of the World* is apparently a full discussion of this notion, proving the idea using examples drawn from the biblical text. In the surviving portions, the example of the ten generations between Shem and Abraham is the centerpiece.

The introduction to the work, which emphasizes God's predetermination of history.

4Q180 Frag. 1 ¹The prophetic interpretation concerning the ages which God made: an age to complete [all which is] ²and shall be. Before He created them, He established [their] workings [. . .] ³age by age. And it was engraved upon [eternal] tablets [. . .] ⁴[. . .] ages of their dominion. This is the order of the so[ns of Noah to] ⁵[Abraham un]til he bore Isaac, ten [generations (?) . . .] ⁶[. . .]

A version of the story of original sin similar to that known from 1 Enoch 6–11 and Jubilees 4:22 (Gen. 6:1–2, 4).

⁷The prophetic interpretation concerning Azazel and the angels wh[o went in to the daughters of man,] ⁸[so that] they bore mighty men to them.

And concerning Azazel [who taught them] ⁹[to love] iniquity and caused them to inherit wickedness all [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] judgments, and the judgment of the council of [. . .]

The fate of Sodom and Gomorrah was foreknown from creation (Gen. 18–19).

Frag. 2–4 Col. 2 ¹which [. . .] He who dwells [. . .] ²which [this] I[and] was beautiful to Lot [. . .] to inherit [. . .] ³[. . .] three me[n . . .] ⁴[who appeared to Abra]m at the oaks of Mamre were angels. [And the LORD said,] ⁵“How g[reat] is the [outc]ry against Sodom and Gomorrah, and their sin, how ⁶very [grea]t! I must go down and see whether they have done altogether according to their outcry that has come ⁷[to me]; and if not, I will know[w. . .] the word [. . . all] ⁸[fle]sh] which [. . .] concerning every [. . .] ⁹speaks [. . .] and I will see . . .” because everything [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] before He created them He knew [their] thought[s. . .]

God has a predetermined plan for man. This plan includes punishment (ll. 1–2) and rewards (ll. 3–6).

4Q181 Frag. 1 ¹for the guilt in the *Yahad* with the coun[cil of . . .], to wa[l]low in the sin of humankind, and for great judgments and evil diseases ²in the flesh, according to the powerful deeds of God, corresponding to their wickedness, according to their uncleanness caused by the council of the sons of h[ea]ven] and earth, as a wicked association until ³the end.

Corresponding to the compassion of God, according to His goodness, and the wonder of His glory, He brings some of the sons of the world near, to be reckoned with Him in [the council] ⁴[of the g]ods as a holy congregation, stationed for eternal life and in the lot with His holy ones [. . .] ⁵[. . .] each one [acco]mplishes according to the lot which falls t[o him . . .] ⁶[. . .] for e[te]rn[al] life [. . .]

There are sufficient similarities between ll. 1–4 of this fragment and 4Q180 frag. 1, ll. 5–9 to suggest that the texts are related.

Frag. 2 ¹[Abraham until he bor]e Isaac, [ten generations. The prophetic interpretation concerning Azazel and the angels who went in to] ²[the daughters] of man, so that [they] bore mighty me[n] to them. [And concerning Azazel . . .] ³[. . .] He satisfied Israel with plenty (*or* Israel in seventy weeks, He entreated) [. . .] ⁴and those who love iniquity, and cause them to inherit guilt, all [. . .] ⁵before all those who know Him [. . .] ⁶and there are no bounds to His goodness [. . .] ⁷these are the wonders of knowledge [. . .] ⁸He established them in His truth and [. . .] ⁹in all their ages [. . .] ¹⁰th[eir] creatures [. . .]

29. A SECTARIAN HISTORY

4Q183

This short text clearly derives from a commentary, perhaps a thematic one such as text 26, *The Last Days*. None of the biblical text that was the basis of this commentary has been preserved. What remains is a scrap of history from a sectarian perspective: of old God delivered the righteous and punished the wicked during the time of tribulation—and he still does. If the restoration suggested by the context in l. 2 is correct, we may have here a reaction to the events of the civil war between Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II and their supporters in 67–65 B.C.E.; for more on this war and its significance for the setting of the scrolls, see the Introduction.

Col. 2 'their enemies, and they defiled their sanctuary [. . .] ²from them, and they advanced to war, each [against his brother . . . those who were faithful] ³to his covenant, God delivered and rescued [. . . those deserving His] 'good pleasure, and He gave to them a single purpose, to walk [in His ways . . . to avoid all] ⁵filthy lucre, and they abstained from the ways [of wickedness . . . they withdrew from] "those who err in spirit, and with a truthful tongue [. . .] ⁷and they satisfied the debt of their sins by [their] sufferings [. . .] "their sin.

—E.M.C.

30. WILES OF THE WICKED WOMAN

4Q184

This work, entitled by its first editor, John Allegro, "The Wiles of the Wicked Woman," is another example of wisdom literature (see the introduction to text 10, *The Book of Secrets*). It is typical of wisdom literature to portray life in terms of a contrast between the wise man and the fool and between the wisdom and folly they live by.

The ancient Israelites personified wisdom itself as a wise woman, Lady Wisdom, who invited all and sundry to come to her house and learn from her (Prov. 8:1–9:6). According to the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon*, King Solomon desired to "marry" Lady Wisdom.

The natural next step would have been a personification of Folly, and such appears to be the intent of the present work. "Lady Folly" here is a seductress; she is a more sensational version of the archetypal loose woman depicted in the Bible

(Prov. 7:1–27). She seeks to draw men away from the path of truth and lead them to her own house of falsehood.

Folly's evil intent pervades her being.

Frag. 1 [Folly] produces nothingness, and in [. . .]. She is always seeking error, she whets the words of [her mouth]. With raillery² and jesting she flatters, and adds derision to useless [vanity]. Her heart creates lewdness, and her inner being [. . . Her eyes] ³are befouled with perversity, her hands grip corruption tight. Her feet come down to do evil, and to walk in the crimes of [. . . Her thighs are] ⁴pillars of darkness, a horde of sins is under her hem, her [. . .] blackest night.

Her clothing and dwelling reveal the corruption of wickedness.

Her attire [. . .] ⁵her robes are gloom of twilight, while her jewelry is infected with rot. Her bed is a couch of corruption [. . .] ⁶pits of hell. Her inns are where darkness lies down, she holds sway at dead of night. Among the pillars of gloom ⁷she pitches her tent, and settles among the tents of silence, in the middle of perpetual flames. She does not belong with any of those ⁸illuminated by brightness.

Those who follow Lady Folly, like those whom the adulteress seduces, shall be eternally punished ("her house is the way to Hades," Prov. 7:27).

No, she is the beginning of all evil paths: alas for all who take possession of her, and destruction comes to all ⁹who take hold of her, for her ways are deadly, her paths lead to sin, her by-ways end in ¹⁰evil, her tracks in criminal wrongdoing. Her gates are the gates of Death, in the entrance of her house she walks. To Hades ¹¹all, [without] return! All who take possession of her go straight to Hell.

Folly is always on the lookout for new prey; like the adulteress, "she lies in wait at every corner" (Prov. 7:12).

She lies secretly in wait [. . .] ¹²all [. . .] in the city streets she hides, in the town gates she takes her stand, and no one will [. . .] ¹³[. . .] her eyes dart here and there, she flutters her eyelids lewdly, looking for a ¹⁴righteous man to catch, looking for a strong man to trip up, for someone honest to lead astray, for innocent youths ¹⁵to keep from obeying the commandments, for the firm of [purpose] to make empty with lewdness, for those who live honestly to make them break the law; to cause ¹⁶the humble to rebel from God, and to divert their steps from the ways of righteousness, to put arrogance in their [hearts], so that they do not remain ¹⁷in the paths of integrity. She seeks to make people go wrong in the ways of Hell, seducing the human race by flattery.

—E.M.C.

31. IN PRAISE OF WISDOM

4Q185

Like text 10, *The Book of Secrets*, this is a wisdom instruction. It argues that true wisdom can come only from God and is a unique possession of the chosen people, Israel.

Mortals cannot rank with God and his angels, because their life span is comparatively short. Some of the wording is borrowed from Isaiah 40:6–8.

Frgs. 1–2 Col. 1 '[. . .] pure and holy [. . .] ⁵[. . .] His [. . .] and His anger [. . .] ⁶[. . .] up to ten times [. . .] ⁷[. . .] there is no strength to stand before His anger and no place to remain ⁸before His wrath [. . .] and who can stand before His angels, for by ⁹flames of fire they mete out judgment [. . .] of His spirits. And you, O mortals, [woe to you,] for just ¹⁰like grass man sprouts from the earth, and his virtue blossoms like the flower; but the wind blows [on it], ¹¹and his stalk dries up, and the wind carries its flower to nothingness, to [. . .] ¹²and it is no more, because of the wind. One may seek it, but not find it, and there is no place for it. ¹³He is like a shadow [. . .] upon the light.

In view of the brevity of human life, the righteous should devote themselves to learning more about God and his ways.

So now, pray give heed, my people, and learn ¹⁴from me, you who are unlearned. Grow wise by learning about the great deeds of our God, and call to mind the miracles He did ¹⁵in Egypt, and His wonders [in the land of Ham]. Let your hearts tremble before His awesomeness **Col. 2** ¹and do [His will . . . Renew] your spirit according to his tender mercies. Seek for yourselves the way ²of life, the highway [that . . .] something to leave your children after you; why should you give ³your[self] to futility? [. . .] judgment. Listen to me, my children, and do not defy the commandments of the LORD. ⁴Do not walk [in wickedness, but in the way He established for] Jacob, and the path He ordained for Isaac. Truly, better is one day ⁵[in His house] than ten [in the house of fools [. . .] His worship, and not to be burdened by fear or the trapper's lure ⁶[. . .] from His angels, for there is no darkness ⁷or fog [. . .] He [. . .] His [. . .] and His true knowledge. And you, what ⁸[. . .] calamity comes from Him on every people.

Happiness is only to be found by seeking true wisdom from God.

Happy is the man to whom [Wisdom] is given,⁹so also [. . .] The wicked should not boast, saying, It is not given ¹⁰to me, and it is not [. . . Wisdom was given] to Israel, and He measures it out generously, and He redeems all His people, ¹¹but kills [those who reject . . . nor should] the braggarts say, Truly we have found it by ourselves. Seek it, ¹²and you will find it. Hold fast to it, and you will own it, and gain for yourself [long] life and prosperity and true happiness [. . .] ¹³His eternal mercies and salvation [. . .]

Happy is the man who puts it into practice and is willing [. . . by means of] ¹⁴cunning one cannot find it, nor can one hold on to it by flattery. As it is given to his ancestors, so he will obtain it [and hold on to it] ¹⁵with all his might and with all his [. . .] without limit. Then he can bestow it on his offspring, and true knowledge to [his] people [. . .]

—E.M.C.

32. A HOROSCOPE WRITTEN IN CODE

4Q186

4Q186 is perhaps the closest thing to a scientific treatise that has yet emerged from the caves of Qumran. This writing combines astrology and the ancient “science” of physiognomy in an attempt to determine the character and destiny of given individuals. As the author of the third-century B.C.E. pseudo-Aristotelian tractate *Physiognomonica* describes it, “The physiognomist takes his information from movements, shapes, colors, and traits as they appear in the face, from the hair, from the smoothness of the skin, from the voice, from the appearance of the flesh, from the limbs, and from the entire character of the body” (806a). In other words, physiognomy tried to judge a book by its cover, to discover individuals’ true character—as opposed to how they might present themselves—from a close examination of every aspect of their outward appearance. By the time of the scrolls this was already an ancient form of divination. Examples many centuries older than our text are known from ancient Mesopotamia. In the Greco-Roman period, physiognomy had developed well beyond those Near Eastern forebears, and its practitioners memorized long catalogs of physical traits and the significance assigned to those traits.

Our text uses physiognomy as an adjunct to astrology, the “royal science” and true predictor of destiny. On the basis of a person’s appearance, the reader of the text learns how to discover the person’s birth sign. Knowing the birth sign enables the text’s user to predict what sort of character the person in question possesses and, in a very general way, what sort of future he or she will have. The text describes character as proportions of light and darkness, expressing the proportions as fractions of the number nine. Presumably the number derives from the

period of human gestation. The theory seems to be that for each month in the womb, the embryo takes on one "part." The fetus's crucial first month—the birth sign—would determine whether this allocation got off on the right foot, so to speak.

But how would the proportion of "parts" express itself in the way someone looked? That is, why was appearance related to astrology? To answer this question we have to read between the lines a bit and recall certain doctrines of Greco-Roman medicine. Our author seems to have believed that the "spirit" (which, as indicated, every human received in certain proportions) moved through the blood and thus to every extremity of the body. Once it reached a given locality in the body its nature would become manifest. For a bad birth sign, one such manifestation could be hairiness, for example. For such a theory the author could find biblical foundations such as Genesis 9:4, "The life is in the blood." A portion of the *Damascus Document* (text 1) explicitly states that spirits move through the blood and have physical outworkings; the *Damascus Document* is explaining skin diseases, but the principle is the same. This whole way of thinking is immediately reminiscent of Greco-Roman medical ideas that came to full expression in the writings of the famous Greek medical writer Galen (ca. 129–99 C.E.). Galen wrote of "humors" circulating in the body and used this idea to explain the observed truths of (pseudo-) Aristotelian physiognomy.

Two other particular aspects of our author's thinking deserve comment. First is his comparison of the individuals he describes to animals. Such comparisons were a commonplace of Greco-Roman physiognomy. The underlying idea was that if a person resembled a certain animal physically, he would also be similar "in soul." Thus if one knew a person's animal, it became possible to make valuable deductions about that person's character. To choose an example that parallels our own text (the second individual below), Pseudo-Aristotle writes, "Those with a wide and thick neck are bad-tempered; compare bad-tempered bulls" (*Physiognomonica*. 811a).

Also notable is our author's statement about the second individual, "This is the birth sign under which such a person shall be born: the haunch of Taurus." The reference to the "haunch" of the sign of Taurus implies the concept of *dodecatmoria*. This Greek word is a name for further subdivision of the zodiac. According to astrological doctrine, each sign occupied 30 degrees of space in the heavens (12 signs, 360 degrees). But each sign could be further subdivided into twelve parts, a sort of micro-zodiac or "zodiac of the zodiac." To say that someone was born under the haunch of Taurus meant that he was born when the sun, as observed, had nearly completed its movement through that sign. The "haunch" was the last 2.5 degrees of the sign of Taurus. Taken together with all the other elements of our text, this greater specificity indicates that our author may once have described a large number of individuals, for many unique combinations of these

elements are possible. The larger part of this writing is quite likely lost; 4Q186 may have been an entire handbook on physiognomic astrology.

A fragmentary description of the first individual. The reference in col. 2 to "granite" suggests that the text may have incorporated ideas about birthstones.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹Anyone, the ha[ir of whose head] shall be [. . . and whose head and forehead] ²are broad and curved [. . .] ³intermediate, but the rest of [his] head is not [. . .] **Col. 2** ¹[. . .] unclean ²[. . . his stone is] granite.

The second individual, a person more good than bad. "Fixed eyes" are a regular category in Greco-Roman physiognomy and are generally a bad sign. Note the virtuous significance of long and slender limbs.

³[And] anyone [whose] eyes are ⁴[. . . and lo]ng, but th[e]y are fix[e]d, ⁵whose thighs are long and slender, whose toes ⁶are slender and long, and who was born during the second phase of the moon: ⁷he possesses a spirit with six parts light, but three parts in the House of ⁸"Darkness. This is the birth sign under which such a person shall be born: ⁹the haunch of Taurus. He will be poor. This is his animal: the bull.

The third individual. This person has poor potential for righteousness, being eight-ninths bad. In particular, he has hairy thighs. In Greco-Roman physiognomy, hairy thighs signified one whose animal was the goat; like that animal, he tended to be lustful.

Col. 3 ⁵and whose head [. . .], [whose] ey[es] ⁶inspire fear [and are . . .], whose teeth protrude (?), whose ⁷fingers are thick, whose thighs are thick and extremely hairy, ⁸and whose toes are thick and short: he possesses a spirit with [ei]ght ⁹parts in the House of [Darkness] and one from the House of Light [. . .]

The fourth individual. This person has excellent potential for righteousness and evidences the "Golden Mean" that was important in Greco-Roman physiognomy: his physical characteristics are extreme in neither direction. Note that he is also relatively hairless.

†Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹regula[r], whose [e]yes are neither dark n[or] light (?), whose beard ²is sp[arse] and medium curly, whose voice resonates, whose

*Literally, "and he derives from the second column/stand." Similar phrasing in Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, where he is describing phases or "stations" of the moon (i.e., the places where it "stands"), suggests the present interpretation.

¹In *DJD* 5, Allegro joined another fragment to the text at line 7. That join was a mistake, only possible because Allegro used a scissors (!) to cut the larger fragment and make room. Here the mistaken join is removed.

teeth ³are fine and regular, who is neither tall ⁴nor short but is well built, whose fingers are thin ⁵and long, whose thighs are hairless, the soles of whose feet ⁶[and whose toes] are as they should be: he possesses a spirit ⁷[. . .] eight parts [from the House of Light] and o[ne] ⁸[in the House of Darkness. This is the birth sign under which] such a person shall be born . . .

—M.O.W.

33. THE BOOK OF GIANTS

4Q203, 1Q23, 2Q26, 4Q530–532, 6Q8

It is fair to say that the patriarch Enoch was as well known to the ancients as he is obscure to modern Bible readers. Besides giving his age (365 years), the book of Genesis says of him only that he “walked with God,” and afterward “he was not, because God had taken him” (Gen. 5:24). This exalted way of life and mysterious demise made Enoch into a figure of considerable fascination, and a cycle of legends grew up around him.

Many of the legends about Enoch were collected already in ancient times in several long anthologies. The most important such anthology, and the oldest, is known simply as *The Book of Enoch*, comprising over one hundred chapters. It still survives in its entirety (although only in the Ethiopic language) and forms an important source for the thought of Judaism in the last few centuries B.C.E. Significantly, the remnants of several almost complete copies of *The Book of Enoch* in Aramaic were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and it is clear that whoever collected the scrolls considered it a vitally important text. All but one of the five major components of the Ethiopic anthology have turned up among the scrolls. But even more intriguing is the fact that additional, previously unknown or little-known texts about Enoch were discovered at Qumran. The most important of these is *The Book of Giants*.

Enoch lived before the Flood, during a time when the world, in ancient imagination, was very different. Human beings lived much longer, for one thing; Enoch's son Methuselah, for instance, attained the age of 969 years. Another difference was that angels and humans interacted freely—so freely, in fact, that some of the angels begot children with human females. This fact is neutrally reported in Genesis (6:1–4), but other stories view this episode as the source of the corruption that made the punishing flood necessary. According to *The Book of Enoch*, the mingling of angel and human was actually the idea of Shemihaza, the leader of the evil angels, who lured 200 others to cohabit with women. The offspring of these unnatural unions were giants 450 feet high. The wicked angels and the giants began to oppress the human population and to teach them to do evil. For this reason God determined to imprison the angels until the final judg-

ment and to destroy the earth with a flood. Enoch's efforts to intercede with heaven for the fallen angels were unsuccessful (*1Enoch* 6–16).

The Book of Giants retells part of this story and elaborates on the exploits of the giants, especially the two children of Shemihaza, Ohya and Hahya. Since no complete manuscript exists of *Giants*, its exact contents and their order remain a matter of guesswork. Most of the content of the present fragments concerns the giants' ominous dreams and Enoch's efforts to interpret them and to intercede with God on the giants' behalf. Unfortunately, little remains of the independent adventures of the giants, but it is likely that these tales were at least partially derived from ancient Near Eastern mythology. Thus the name of one of the giants is Gilgamesh, the Babylonian hero and subject of a great epic written in the third millennium B.C.E.

A summary statement of the descent of the wicked angels, bringing both knowledge and havoc. Compare Genesis 6:1–2, 4.

1Q23 Frag. 9 + 14 + 15 ²[. . .] they knew the secrets of [. . .]
³[. . . si]n was great in the earth [. . .] ⁴[. . .] and they killed many [. . .]
⁵[. . . they begat] giants [. . .]

The angels exploit the fruitfulness of the earth.

4Q531 Frag. 3 ¹²[. . . everything that the] earth produced [. . .] ¹³[. . .]
the great fish [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] the sky with all that grew [. . .] ¹⁵[. . . fruit of]
the earth and all kinds of grain and all the trees [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] beasts and rep-
tiles . . . [al]l creeping things of the earth and they observed all [. . .]
¹⁸[. . . eve]ry harsh deed and [. . .] utterance [. . .] ¹⁹[. . .] male and female,
and among humans [. . .]

The two hundred angels choose animals on which to perform unnatural acts, including, presumably, humans.

1Q23 Frag. 1 + 6 ¹[. . . two hundred] ²donkeys, two hundred asses, two
hundred . . . rams of the] ³flock, two hundred goats, two hundred [. . . beast
of the] ⁴field from every animal, from every [bird . . .] ⁵[. . .] for miscegena-
tion [. . .]

The outcome of the demonic corruption was violence, perversion, and a brood of monstrous beings. Compare Genesis 6:4.

4Q531 Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] they defiled [. . .] ²[. . . they begot] giants
and monsters [. . .] ³[. . .] they begot, and, behold, all [the earth was cor-
rupted . . .] ⁴[. . .] with its blood and by the hand of [. . .] ⁵[giants] which
did not suffice for them and [. . .] ⁶[. . .] and they were seeking to devour
many [. . .] ⁷[. . .] ⁸[. . .] the monsters attacked it.

4Q532 Col. 2 Frags. 1–6 ²[. . .] flesh [. . .] ³al[l . . .] monsters [. . .]
will be [. . .] ⁴[. . .] they would arise [. . .] lacking in true knowledge

[. . .] because [. . .] ⁵[. . .] the earth [grew corrupt . . .] mighty [. . .]
⁶[. . .] they were considering [. . .] ⁷[. . .] from the angels upon [. . .]
⁸[. . .] in the end it will perish and die [. . .] ⁹[. . .] they caused great cor-
 ruption in the [earth . . .] ¹⁰[. . . this did not] suffice to [. . .] ¹¹they will be
 [. . .]

The giants begin to be troubled by a series of dreams and visions. Mahway, the titan son of the angel Barakel, reports the first of these dreams to his fellow giants. He sees a tablet being immersed in water. When it emerges, all but three names have been washed away. The dream evidently symbolizes the destruction of all but Noah and his sons by the Flood.

2Q26 ¹[. . .] they drenched the tablet in the wa[ter . . .] ²[. . .] the wa-
 ters went up over the [tablet . . .] ³[. . .] they lifted out the tablet from the
 water of [. . .]

The giant goes to the others and they discuss the dream.

4Q530 Frag. 7 ¹[. . . this vision] is for cursing and sorrow. I am the one
 who confessed ²[. . .] the whole group of the castaways that I shall go to
 [. . .] ³[. . . the spirits of the sl]ain complaining about their killers and crying
 out ⁴[. . .] that we shall die together and be made an end of ⁵[. . .] much
 and I will be sleeping, and bread ⁶[. . .] for my dwelling; the vision and also
⁷[. . .] entered into the gathering of the giants ⁸[. . .]

6Q8 ¹[. . .] Ohya and he said to Mahway [. . .] ²[. . .] without trem-
 bling. Who showed you all this vision, [my] brother? ³[. . .] Barakel, my fa-
 ther, was with me. ⁴[. . .] Before Mahway had finished telling what [he had
 seen . . .] ⁵[. . . said] to him, Now I have heard wonders! If a barren woman
 gives birth [. . .]

4Q530 Frag. 4 ¹[There]upon Ohya said to Ha[hya . . .] ²[. . . to be de-
 stroyed] from upon the earth and [. . .] ³[. . . the ea]rth. When . . . ⁴[. . .]
 they wept before [the giants . . .]

4Q530 Frag. 7 ¹[. . .] your strength [. . .] ²[. . .] ³Thereupon Ohya
 [said] to Hahya [. . .] Then he answered, It is not for ⁴us, but for Azazel, for
 he did [. . . the children of] angels ⁵are the giants, and they would not let all
 their [loved ones] be neglected [. . . we have] not been cast down; you have
 strength [. . .]

The giants realize the futility of fighting against the forces of heaven. The first speaker may be Gilgamesh.

4Q531 Frag. 1 ¹[. . . I am a] giant, and by the mighty strength of my arm
 and my own great strength ²[. . . any]one mortal, and I have made war
 against them; but I am not ³[. . .] able to stand against them, for my oppo-
 nents ⁴[. . .] reside in [Heav]en, and they dwell in the holy places. And not

⁷[. . . they] are stronger than I. ⁸[. . .] of the wild beast has come, and the wild man they call [me].

⁹[. . .] Then Ohya said to him, I have been forced to have a dream ¹⁰[. . .] the sleep of my eyes [vanished], to let me see a vision. Now I know that on [. . .] ¹¹⁻¹²[. . .] Gilgamesh [. . .]

Ohya's dream vision is of a tree that is uprooted except for three of its roots; the vision's import is the same as that of the first dream.

6Q8 Frag. 2 ¹three of its roots [. . .] ²[while] I was [watching,] there came [. . . they moved the roots into] ³this garden, all of them, and not [. . .]

Ohya tries to avoid the implications of the visions. Above he stated that it referred only to the demon Azazel; here he suggests that the destruction is for the earthly rulers alone.

4Q530 Col. 2 ¹concerns the death of our souls [. . .] and all his comrades, [and Oh]ya told them what Gilgamesh said to him ²[. . .] and it was said [. . .] "concerning [. . .] the leader has cursed the potentates" ³and the giants were glad at his words. Then he turned and left [. . .]

More dreams afflict the giants. The details of this vision are obscure, but it bodes ill for the giants. The dreamers speak first to the monsters, then to the giants.

Thereupon two of them had dreams ⁴and the sleep of their eyes fled from them, and they arose ⁵and came to [. . . and told] their dreams, and said in the assembly of [their comrades] the monsters ⁶[. . . In] my dream I was watching this very night ⁷[and there was a garden . . .] gardeners and they were watering ⁸[. . . two hundred trees and] large shoots came out of their root ⁹[. . .] all the water, and the fire burned all ¹⁰[the garden . . .] They found the giants to tell them ¹¹[the dream . . .]

Someone suggests that Enoch be found to interpret the vision.

[. . . to Enoch] the noted scribe, and he will interpret for us ¹²the dream. Thereupon his fellow Ohya declared and said to the giants, ¹³I too had a dream this night, O giants, and, behold, the Ruler of Heaven came down to earth ¹⁴[. . .] and such is the end of the dream. [Thereupon] all the giants [and monsters] grew afraid ¹⁵and called Mahway. He came to them and the giants pleaded with him and sent him to Enoch ¹⁶[the noted scribe]. They said to him, Go [. . .] to you that ¹⁷[. . .] you have heard his voice. And he said to him, He will [. . . and] interpret the dreams [. . .] **Col. 3** ³[. . .] how long the giants have to live. [. . .]

After a cosmic journey, Mahway comes to Enoch and makes his request.

[. . . he mounted up in the air] ⁴like strong winds, and flew with his hands like ea[gles . . . he left behind] ⁵the inhabited world and passed over

Desolation, the great desert [. . .] ⁶and Enoch saw him and hailed him, and Mahway said to him [. . .] ⁷hither and thither a second time to Mahway [. . . The giants await] ⁸your words, and all the monsters of the earth. If [. . .] has been carried [. . .] ⁹from the days of [. . .] their [. . .] and they will be added [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] we would know from you their meaning [. . .] ¹¹[. . . two hundred trees that from heaven [came down . . .]

Enoch sends back a tablet with its grim message of judgment, but with hope for repentance.

4Q530 Frag. 2 ¹The scribe [Enoch . . .] ²[. . .] ³a copy of the second tablet that [Enoch] se[nt . . .] ⁴in the very handwriting of Enoch the noted scribe [. . . In the name of God the great] ⁵and holy one, to Shemihaza and all [his companions . . .] ⁶let it be known to you that not [. . .] ⁷and the things you have done, and that your wives [. . .] ⁸they and their sons and the wives of [their sons . . .] ⁹by your licentiousness on the earth, and there has been upon you [. . . and the land is crying out] ¹⁰and complaining about you and the deeds of your children [. . .] ¹¹the harm that you have done to it. [. . .] ¹²until Raphael arrives, behold, destruction [is coming, a great flood, and it will destroy all living things] ¹³and whatever is in the deserts and the seas. And the meaning of the matter [. . .] ¹⁴upon you for evil. But now, loosen the bonds bi[nding you to evil . . .] ¹⁵and pray.

A fragment apparently detailing a vision that Enoch saw.

4Q531 Frag. 7 ³[. . . great fear] seized me and I fell on my face; I heard his voice [. . .] ⁴[. . .] he dwelt among human beings but he did not learn from them [. . .]

—E.M.C.

34. THE WORDS OF LEVI

1Q21, Geniza Fragments, Mt. Athos Greek text, 4Q213–214, 4Q540–541

A prominent form of religious literature in ancient Judaism and Christianity was the “testament,” containing the edifying teaching and prophetic words that bygone heroes of the faith were feigned to have uttered before their deaths. One of the most popular collections of testaments was the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, composed of the imagined last words of the sons of Jacob, the forefathers of the twelve tribes of Israel. Although parts of the collection contain Christian ideas added by later copyists, these testaments were originally Jewish works composed during the same period as the Dead Sea Scrolls. They are pre-

served only in Greek, but most now agree that the testaments were modeled after Aramaic or Hebrew originals. This fact is particularly clear in the case of the *Testament of Levi*. Although the Greek *Testament of Levi* was not found at Qumran, scholars did discover the present work, an Aramaic composition that seems to have influenced it.

Jacob's twelve sons were the ancestors of the twelve tribes of Israel. Since Levi, the third of the twelve sons of Jacob, was the forefather of the priestly tribe, *The Words of Levi* stresses the duties and prerogatives of the priests. The ideal priest, to judge from this text, would be a combination of a zealous warrior for God, a punctilious observer of ritual purity, an inspiring teacher, and a recipient of divine revelation through dreams and prophecy.

Testaments often begin with reflections by the "author" on his life, then move into ethical exhortations, and conclude with prophecy, as the hero looks beyond his death to foretell the "future"—generally the time when the text was actually composed and for whose readers it was really intended.*

According to The Words of Levi, Levi was the most righteous and zealous of all the sons of Jacob. His desire to please God is embodied in his prayer for righteousness. The Prayer of Levi is partially preserved in 4Q213 and completely in the Mt. Athos MS, which has been used to restore any missing text below. (The line numbers are for the Qumran fragment only.)

4Q213 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ⁶[Then] I [washed my clothing and purified them with clean water,] ⁷[and] I bath[ed all over in fresh water, so making] all ⁸[my ways correct. Then] I raised my eyes [and face] to heaven, ⁹[I opened my mouth and spoke,] and my fingers and hands ¹⁰[I spread out properly in front of the holy angels. So I prayed and] said:

"Lord, You ¹¹[know all hearts, all the thoughts of the mind] You alone understand. ¹²[Now my brothers <MS: sons> are with me, so entrust to me] the right ways. Remove ¹³[from me, O Lord, the immoral spirit,] rid me of wicked [thoughts] and unchastity. ¹⁴[Reveal to me, Lord, the holy spirit; counsel and] wisdom and knowledge and strength ¹⁵[grant me so I can do what pleases You and] find favor with You, ¹⁶[praising Your words with me, O Lord, doing] what is proper and right in Your eyes. ¹⁷Let no demonic adversary have power over me, ¹⁸[making me wander from Your path. Have mercy] on me, O Lord, and draw me near to be Your servant [. . .] **Mt. Athos MS . . .**
and to worship You properly. May Your wall of peace be around me, may the

**The Words of Levi* survives in three different forms. Like the *Damascus Document*, portions were found in the Cairo Geniza in the late nineteenth century and first published in 1906–7. (The Geniza fragments are divided between the libraries of Oxford and Cambridge.) The identification of fragments of the same document in Caves 1 and 4 at Qumran confirmed its great antiquity. Finally, certain passages inserted into a manuscript of the Greek *Testament of Levi* from Mt. Athos Monastery in Koutloumous, Greece, are translated directly from *The Words of Levi*. The present translation combines the texts from all these sources.

shelter of Your might protect me from all harm. Purify my heart, O Lord, from all impurity, that I myself may be lifted up to You. Do not hide Your face from the son of Your servant Jacob. **4Q213 Frag. 1 Col. 2**

⁵[. . . You], ⁶O Lord, [have blessed my great-grandfather Abraham and my great-grandmother Sarah, and commanded that they be granted] ⁷righteous descendants [forever blessed. So hear also] ⁸the prayer of Your servant [Levi, that he may draw near to You. Let me share Your words, so as to render] ⁹[proper judgment forever, yes, my sons and I, for all generations. So do not reject] ¹⁰[Your servant's son for all eternity."] And I began to pray silently.

Levi's first vision. After Levi's prayer, he is granted a vision of the heavens, in the course of which God reveals to him that he has been chosen to be the priest of Israel.

¹¹Then I went on [. . .] ¹²to my father Jacob, and when [. . .] ¹³from Abel-Main. Then [. . . where] ¹⁴I laid down. And I remained [. . .] ¹⁵Then I was shown a vision [. . .] ¹⁶in the appearance of a vision, and I saw heav[en . . . and a mountain] ¹⁷under me so high it reached heave[n . . . and they opened] ¹⁸for me the gates of heaven and an angel [. . .] **Mt. Athos MS** And he said to me: Levi, to you and to your descendants the priesthood is given, to serve the Most High in the midst of the land and to atone for the sins of the land.

Then he gave the blessings of the priesthood . . .

Revenge on Shechem and Hamor. Genesis 34 relates how Levi and Simeon kill Hamor and his son Shechem, who had raped Jacob's daughter Dinah. In the Words, Levi apparently resists the suggestion of Jacob and Reuben that Hamor and Shechem be brought into the family by circumcision. The fragments (preserved only in the Geniza texts from Cambridge) do not preserve the narrative of the actual killing.

Cambridge Geniza Text Col. A ¹⁵[. . .] region of Is[rael . . .] ¹⁶so that all [. . .] ¹⁷to act in this way against [. . .] ¹⁸Jacob my father and Reu[ben my brother . . .] ¹⁹and we said to them [. . . If] ²⁰you want our daughter, so that we all would become br[others] ²¹and partners, you must circumcise your penis, ²²so that you may appear like us and become sealed ²³like us with the [true] circumcision. Then we will be your [. . .]

Col. B ¹⁵[. . .] my brothers always ¹⁶[. . .] who were in Shechem ¹⁷[. . .] my brothers and his brothers. This is ¹⁸[. . .] in Shechem, and whatever ¹⁹[. . . weapons for committing] crimes. So ²⁰Judah told them that I and Simeon ²¹my brother had gone to [. . .] to Reuben ²²our brother, who [. . .] ²³and Judah jumped forward [to l]eave the flock.

Levi's second vision. After Levi had further displayed his zeal for God in the slaughter of the Shechemites, seven messengers from God visit him in a dream to confirm his appointment to the priesthood. No notion of this vision appears in the Bible. In the vi-

sion, only the end of which is preserved, the seven tell him some of the rights and responsibilities of his new office.

Oxford Geniza Text Col. A + 1Q21[. . .] peace, and the choicest first fruits of the ²whole land to eat. But during the reign of the sword there is only strife, ³war, slaughter, toil, ⁴hardship, killing, and famine. Sometimes you will eat, ⁵sometimes you will hunger; sometimes you will toil, sometimes ⁶you will rest; sometimes you will sleep, sometimes ⁷sleep will evade you. See now how we have magnified you (**1Q**: your priesthood) ⁸more than anyone (**1Q**: all humanity), and how we have given you the anointed office of ⁹peace eternal.

Then these seven left me, ¹⁰and I woke up from my sleep. ¹¹I said, This is a vision, and because I was ¹²astonished that I <MS: he> should have had a vision, I kept ¹³this one too to myself, revealing it to no one.

Levi's father, Jacob, performs a ritual installing his son as priest.

¹⁴So we went to my father Isaac, and he too blessed me. ¹⁵Then when Jacob my father was tithing ¹⁶everything he had in accordance with his vow, ¹⁷[. . .] I ranked first, at the head of ¹⁸[. . .]; and to me, of all his sons, he gave the gift of ¹⁹a ti[the] to God, and he dressed me in priestly vestments, and ²⁰officially appointed me as priest to God Eternal. ²¹I offered all his sacrifices and blessed my father ²²for life and also my brothers. Then all of them ²³blessed me, and my father too blessed me. When I finished **Col. B** ¹offering the sacrifices in Bethel, we left ²Bethel and lived in our great-grandfather Abraham's palace ³with Isaac our grandfather.

Levi's grandfather Isaac instructs Levi in the practical and moral duties of the priesthood.

When ⁴Isaac our grandfather saw us all, he greeted us ⁵joyfully. When he recognized that I had become priest to God ⁶Most High, the Lord of Heaven, he began ⁷to teach me authoritatively the ⁸priestly way of life.

He said to me, Carefully avoid ⁹all ritual impurity and every kind of ¹⁰sin. Your way of life is to be more strict than all ¹¹other humans. So now, my son, I will show you ¹²the proper way for you to live, not withholding ¹³from you any thing you need to know about the ¹⁴priestly way of life.

First, carefully avoid, ¹⁵my son, all impure lewdness and every kind of ¹⁶improper sexual act. You must marry ¹⁷a woman from my clan, so as not to defile your seed with foreign women, ¹⁸because you are a holy seed, and holy is ¹⁹your seed as the holy temple, and because ²⁰you are considered a holy priest to all the seed of ²¹Abraham. You are close to God and close to ²²all his holy angels. So keep ²³your flesh clean from every impurity of any man.

Col. C ¹When you rise to enter the house of God, ²bathe first in water, then put on ³the priestly vestments. When you are dressed, ⁴once more wash your hands ⁵and your feet before you come near the altar. ⁶When you begin to sacrifice ⁷whatever is fitting to place on the altar, ⁸once again wash your hands and feet.

⁹When you sacrifice split logs, examine ¹⁰them first for any worms ¹¹and then place them on the altar, for ¹²I saw my father Abraham taking care to do this. ¹³He told me that any of twelve kinds of wood ¹⁴are fitting to place on the altar, ¹⁵because the odor of their smoke is sweet-smelling ¹⁶as it ascends. These are their names: cedar, juniper, ¹⁷mastic, pine, small pine, aduna, ¹⁸cypress, thekaka, [bay], ¹⁹[tama]risk, myrtle, and camel's-thorn. These are ²⁰the ones he told me were suitable to place ²¹under the whole burnt offering on the altar.

²²When [you have placed] any of these kinds of wood on ²³the altar and the fire begins to kindle **Col. D** ¹in them, at that moment you should begin to sprinkle the blood ²on the sides of the altar. Then once more wash off your hands ³and feet from the blood and begin to put on the salted pieces. ⁴Put the head on first, ⁵and cover it with the fatty portions, so that none of the blood ⁶from the slaughtering of the bull is showing. After that, the neck, ⁷and after the neck, the forefeet; after the forefeet, ⁸the breast with the side; after them, ⁹the thighs with the lower spine; ¹⁰after the thighs, the hind feet rinsed ¹¹with the entrails. All these are to be salted with ¹²the right amount of salt proper to each. After this, fine flour ¹³mixed with oil, and after all of this, the libation wine. ¹⁴Then burn incense on them.

Let [all] ¹⁵your actions be done in order and all your sacrifices [will be acceptable] ¹⁶as a sweet-smelling savor to God Most High; [and] ¹⁷as you do [everything] in order, observe [the proper measures] ¹⁸and weights. Don't add anything that does not [belong], ¹⁹but don't lessen the proper amount, either!

The proper amount of wood ²⁰suitable to bring for whatever is sacrificed on the altar is as follows: ²¹for a large bull: a talent (about seventy-five pounds) of wood is a proper weight for it; ²²but if the fat alone is sacrificed, six ²³minas (about ten pounds).

If a second bull is offered . . . **Mt. Athos MS** fifty minas, but for its fat alone, five minas. For an unblemished calf, forty minas. If the sacrifice is a ram from the flock or a male goat, thirty minas, and for the fat alone, three minas. If it is a lamb of the flock or a kid, twenty minas; for the fat alone, two minas. If it is an unblemished one-year-old lamb or kid, fifteen minas; for the fat alone, one and a half a minas.

Bring salt for the large bull to salt its flesh and place it on the altar. One seah [about eleven quart jars] of salt is the proper amount for the bull. Salt the skin with the salt that remains. For the second bull, five-sixths a seah; for

the calf, half a seah; for the ram or the male goat, half a seah; for the lamb and the kid, one-third a seah.

The amount of fine flour proper to them: for the large bull and the second bull and the calf, one seah; for the ram and the goat, two-thirds a seah; for the lamb and the kid, one-third seah.

As for the oil, one-fourth seah for the bull, mingled with the fine flour; for the ram, one-sixth seah; for the lamb and kid, one-eighth seah.

As for the wine, pour out a libation on the bull, ram, and kid in the same amount as the oil.

Use six shekels of incense for the bull, half that for the ram, a third of it for the kid.

As for the mixed fine flour, if you offer it alone, not on the fat, pour out two shekels of incense on it.

The third of a seah is the third of an ephah, and two parts of a bath measure and the weight of the mina is fifty shekels; as for the shekels, the fourth of a shekel weighs four thermoi; therefore the whole shekel weighs about sixteen thermoi.

So now, my son, hear my words and pay heed to my commandments. Never forget my words, for you are a priest holy to the Lord, and all your descendants will be priests. Bid your descendants to live according to the priestly way of life as I have shown it to you, for so my father Abraham commanded me to do and to bid my children to do.

So now, my son, I rejoice that you have been chosen for the holy priesthood, to offer sacrifice to God Most High in the way that has been decreed to be fitting. When you offer a sacrifice from anyone to the Lord, receive from them the amount of wood, salt, flour, wine, and incense that I have instructed you along with whatever animal is to be sacrificed. You must wash your hands and feet every time you approach the altar, and whenever you leave the holy things, no blood must be touching your garments. Do not light a fire on it on that day.

You must constantly wash any flesh off your hands and feet. No blood or flesh must appear on you, for the blood is the soul in the flesh. Whenever you have meat to eat in the house, cover the blood in the ground first, before you eat the meat, so that you will not be eating with blood around. Thus my father Abraham commanded me, because he found it written so in the book of Noah concerning blood.

So now also I say to you, my beloved son, you are dear to your father and holy to God Most High; and dearer you shall be than any of your brothers. Your descendants shall be blessed in the land and placed in the book of the memorial of life forever, so that your name and your descendants' names will never be forgotten.

So now, Levi my son, may your descendants be blessed on the earth for all the ages of the world!

Levi's children and later Life.

Now when four weeks of years in my life had passed, when I was twenty-eight, I took a wife from the stock of my great-grandfather Abraham, Milkah, daughter of Bathuel, the son of Laban, my mother's brother. She became pregnant by me and bore a first son, and I called his name Gershon, for I said, My descendants shall be homeless in the land where they are born; and indeed we are considered homeless in this land today. And concerning this child I saw in my vision that both he and his descendants would be removed from the high-priesthood. I was thirty years old when he was born; it was in the tenth month, <on the . . . day>, toward sunset.

Once again she conceived by me at the proper time fitting for women, and I called his name Kohath. **Cambridge Geniza Text Col. C** ⁵I called his name [Kohath. I saw] that ⁶all [the people would] gather to him, and that ⁷the high-priesthood [over all Isra]el would be his. ⁸In the thirty-fourth year of my life ⁹he was born, in the first month, on the first day of the month, ¹⁰toward sunrise.

Once ¹¹again I was with her and she bore me a ¹²third son, and I called his name Merari, because ¹³his birth was painful (*mar*), for when he was born, ¹⁴he was dying, and it was very bitter (*merir*) to me ¹⁵indeed that he should die, so I appealed and prayed ¹⁶for him, and it was a bitter (*merar*) experience. ¹⁷In the fortieth year of my life he was born, in the third month.

¹⁸Once again I was with her and she conceived ¹⁹and bore me a daughter, I gave her the name ²⁰Jochebed. I said when she was born to me, For glory ²¹she is born to me, for the honor of Israel. ²²In the sixty-fourth year of my life was she born, ²³on the first day of the seventh month, after **Col. D** ¹we had entered Egypt.

In the sixteenth ²year, He brought us into the land of Egypt. ³At that time the daughters of my brothers [were given] to my sons, when considered ⁴worthy, [to bear] them children.

The names of the sons of ⁵Gershon: [Libni and] Shimei.

The names of the sons of ⁶Ko[hath: Amra]m, Izhar, Hebron, and Uziel.

⁷[The names of] the sons of Merari: Mahli and Mushai.

⁸Now Amram took a wife, my daughter Jochebed, ⁹while I was alive, in the ninety-fourth year ¹⁰of my life; I had called him Amram when ¹¹he was born, because when he was born I said, ¹²This one [shall bring] the people out of the land of Egypt, ¹³and so shall be called 'Exalted [People]' (*amma rama*). ¹⁴On one day were born [both he and] Jochebed ¹⁵my daughter.

When I was eighteen, I was brought ¹⁶into the land of Canaan, and I was eighteen ¹⁷when I killed Shechem and eliminated ¹⁸those who commit crimes.

I was nineteen ¹⁹years old when I became a priest, and I was twenty-²⁰eight when I took a wife for myself, and ²¹I was forty-eight when ²²God brought us into the land of Egypt. ²³I lived eighty-nine years in Egypt. **Col. E** ¹In all I lived 137 ²years and I saw my descendants to the third generation before ³I died.

After a long life serving God, Levi passes on to his sons the duty to pursue wisdom. Levi's praise of wisdom echoes similar themes in other Jewish literature, particularly the poem commending wisdom in Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) 51:13–30.

In the one hundred and eighteenth year ⁴of my life, the year that ⁵my brother Joseph died, I called together my sons and their sons ⁶and I began to command them everything that was ⁷in my mind. I raised my voice and said to my sons,

Listen ⁸to your father Levi's speech, pay heed to the precepts of ⁹God's friend. I will instruct you, my sons, I ¹⁰will tell you what is right, my dears. The whole ¹¹of your actions must be right, ¹²so may goodness remain forever with you, ¹³and the right [. . .] ¹⁴a blessed yield. Whoever sows ¹⁵goodness will reap goodness; but whoever sows ¹⁶evil, his seed will return to him.

¹⁷So now, my sons, teach writing and discipline ¹⁸and wisdom to your children, so that ¹⁹wisdom may be their perpetual glory, ²⁰for the one who learns wisdom shall have glory ²¹through it. But whoever disdains wisdom becomes an object of scorn. ²²Consider, my sons, my brother Joseph, ²³who teaches writing and discipline and wisdom.

Col. F ¹⁻⁵[. . .] Do not ignore the teaching of wisdom, [for] every man who learns wisdom, his days [will be long], ⁶and his reputation will grow in every land ⁷and nation that he goes to. He will be like a brother there, ⁸and will be recognized, and will not seem like ⁹a foreigner or ¹⁰a half-breed, for all of them will give ¹¹him honor, and all will want ¹²to learn from his wisdom. ¹³His friends will be many, his well-wishers numerous, ¹⁴and they will make him sit in the chair of honor ¹⁵to hear his words of wisdom. ¹⁶So wisdom is a great fortune of glory, and a fine ¹⁷treasure for all who possess it.

If ¹⁸mighty kings come with many people, ¹⁹and an army, horsemen, and many chariots ²⁰with them, and if they seize the wealth of lands and ²¹nations, plundering everything in them, ²²they still could not plunder the storehouses of wisdom, ²³nor could they find its hidden riches. **4Q213 Frag. 6 + 7** ¹They could not enter its gates, nor could they [. . .] ²could not overrun its walls [. . .] nor [. . .] ³would they see her treasure ruined [. . .] ⁴for there is

no price equal to it [. . . he who] ⁵seeks wisdom, [will find] wisdom . . . and nothing will] be ⁶hidden from him [. . .] ⁷he will lack nothing [. . .] ⁸in truth [. . .] from all who seek ⁹wisdom [. . .] reading and discipline ¹⁰[. . .] you will inherit them ¹¹[. . .] great [honor] you shall give ¹²[. . .] honor. ¹³Tr[uth . . .] in the books ¹⁴[. . .] rulers and judges ¹⁵[. . .] and servants ¹⁶[. . .] priests and kings ¹⁷[. . .] your kingdom ¹⁸[. . .] there shall be no end ¹⁹[. . . the priesthood shall never] pass from you until all ²⁰[. . .] in great honor.

Along with edifying narrative and moral exhortation, prophecies of future woes and blessings are typical ingredients of the testament genre. Levi's prophecy is specially concerned with the fate of the priesthood and of the high priests of Israel.

Only disconnected portions of Levi's prophecy survive among the scrolls. Occasionally there are indications of a conversation between two parties, either between Levi and his sons or between a messenger angel and Levi.

4Q214 Frag. 8 + 10 ¹[. . . to] you all the peoples ²[. . . the] moon and stars ³[. . . for]ever ⁴[. . .] to rejoice ⁵[. . .] you will grow dark [in your thoughts . . .] ⁶[. . .] truly [En]och had received [. . .] ⁷[. . .] So on whom will the guilt rest? [. . .] ⁸[. . .] Is it not on me and you, my sons, for they had known it [. . .] ⁹[. . .] you shall leave the ways of truth, and all the paths of ¹⁰[goodness] you will give up, and you will walk in darkness [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] great distress will come upon you, and you will be handed over ¹²[. . .]

Now sometimes you will be abject [. . .].

The placement of this fragment is uncertain, but it seems to be an admonition about sexual immorality.

4Q213 Frag. 2 ¹⁷[. . .] committing sin [. . .] as wife. She will profane her name and her father's name ¹⁸[and the name of] her husband [. . .] and shame. Every ¹⁹[vir]gin who has corrupted her reputation also brings shame on her parents and all her kinfolk ²⁰[. . .] her father. The name of her disgrace will never be erased from all her people ²¹[. . .] for all generations [. . .]

Apparently from the same prophetic section are two scrolls describing the fate of certain high priests of Israel. The first (4Q540) describes a priest who will lose his possessions.

4Q540 ¹[. . .] Again tribulation will come upon him, and the lesser will lack possessions [. . .] ²[. . .] Again privation will come upon him and he will lack possessions [. . .] ³[. . .] He will not be [like] a man who lacks possessions, but on the Great Sea [. . .] ⁴[. . .] The house he was born in he shall depart, and another home [. . .] ⁵[. . .] the sun [. . .]

Another scroll (4Q541), unfortunately very fragmentary, also preserves parts of Levi's prophecy about his descendants. The numbering of the fragments does not necessarily reflect their original order.

4Q541 Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] everything. Meditate on [. . .] ²false gods shall fall [. . .] ³and all their souls [. . .]

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ⁵[. . . w]ords he [shall] speak and according to the will of ⁶[God . . . he showed] me another writing ⁷[. . .] it spoke about him in riddles ⁸[. . .] was [not] near to me but far away from me ⁹[. . .] shall be [. . .] a vision. And I said, The fruits [. . .] **Col. 2** ¹was suspended, because [. . .] ²from God [. . .] ³you shall receive a blow [. . .] ⁴I will bless you. The burnt offering [. . .] ⁵your spirit, and you shall rejoice [. . .] ⁶because [he is] wise [. . .] ⁷comely [words . . .] ⁸he persecuted him and sought [to kill him . . .]

Frag. 3 + 4 ²[. . . upon] them the suffering of your peace [. . .] ³I shall t[ake] up a parable against you [. . .] ⁴[. . .] and he will ponder deep things and he will speak riddles ⁵[. . .] shall come to you, for you are possessed by zeal, and the fowl ⁶[for sacrifice . . .] to consume. For you will greatly re[joice, and greatly . . .]

Frag. 6 ¹[. . .] wounds upon w[ounds . . .] ²[. . . you will be found innocent in your] case, and you will not be guil[ty . . .] ³[. . .] the tracks of your wounds th[at . . .] ⁴[. . .] what has been entrusted to you and all [. . .] ⁵[. . .] your heart from [. . .]

A large fragment of 4Q541 describes a priest who is to appear in the future, whose righteous teaching brings light to his generation, but who also arouses fierce opposition. Like Jesus, he is a "light for revelation" but also "a sign to be spoken against" (Luke 2:32, 34).

Frag. 9 Col. 1 ²[. . .] his wisdom. And he shall make atonement for all those of his generation, and he shall be sent to all the children of his ³people. His command is like the command of Heaven, and his teaching is like the will of God. The Sun everlasting will shine ⁴and its fire will give warmth to all the ends of the earth. It will shine on darkness; then will darkness vanish ⁵from the earth, and mist from the land.

They will speak many words against him, and many ⁶[falsehoods]; they will concoct lies and speak all kinds of slander against him. His generation is evil and perverse; ⁷[. . .] will be; his term of office will be marked by lies and violence [and] the people will go astray in his days and be confounded. **Col. 2** ⁵[. . .] seven rams are fitt[ing . . .] ⁶some of his children shall go [. . .] ⁷and they shall be added to [. . .]

Another brief fragment apparently speaks of the same priest's great wisdom and insight and mentions his power over the "great sea," recalling Jesus' power to calm the winds and seas (cf. Mark 4:39-41).

Frag. 7 ¹The hid[den mysteries] he shall reveal [. . .] ²[for the one] who does not understand he shall write [. . .] ³the Great Sea shall be quiet because of him [. . .] ⁴Then the books of wis[dom] shall be opened [. . .] ⁵his command; and like [. . .] his wisdom [. . .] ⁶his teaching [. . .]

The final fragment speaks of books or scrolls entrusted to the descendants of Levi through which the reader may find joy and wisdom in "the light of the world" (cf. John 8:12).

Frag. 24 ²Do not mourn [for him . . .] ³God will prepare many [books? scrolls? . . .] many revelations and [. . .] ⁴Examine them and seek and know what will befall you. But do not damage them by erasure or [we]ar like [. . .] ⁵Do not bring shame on the priestly headplate.

Thus you will keep up a good reputation for your father and you will become a sound foundation for your brothers. ⁷You will grow and understand and be glad in the light of the world; you will not be a disowned vessel [. . .]
—E.M.C.

35. THE LAST WORDS OF NAPHTALI

4Q215

This work is another example of the genre "testament." As seen in *The Words of Levi*, testaments often have similar outline: an autobiographical sketch of the speaker, followed by a heavy dose of moral exhortation, and concluding with a prophetic glimpse into the future. Parts of the biography and the prophecy survive in the present fragments of *Naphtali*.

What remains of Naphtali's autobiography mainly has to do with his mother, Bilhah. The twelve sons of Jacob were borne by four mothers: two of them were Jacob's wives, Rachel and Leah, and two were the wives' handmaidens, Bilhah and Zilpah (Gen. 29–30). Naphtali, the fifth son of Jacob, plays little role in the Bible beyond the narrative of his birth in Genesis 30:7–8, which is retold in the first fragment below. The prophecy fragment tells of a future age of peace for all the descendants of Jacob. It may be from a different text.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹Bilhah my mother was with my father. Her [aunt] was Deborah who had nursed my lord [and her brother was Ahioth]. ²He had been taken captive, but Laban sent and redeemed him, and gave him for a wife Hannah, one of his maidservants.

[Hannah conceived and gave birth to] her first daughter, ³Zilpah. He called her Zilpah after the name of the city where he had been captured.

[He again lay with her] ⁴and she conceived and gave birth to my mother Bilhah. Hannah named her Bilhah, because when she was born [. . . she]

⁵was eager to suckle, and she said, "How eager my daughter is!" So from then on she was called Bilhah [. . .].

⁶When my father Jacob came to Laban fleeing from his brother Esau and when [. . .] ⁷my father, my mother Bilhah, then Laban led forth my grandmother Hannah and her two daughters [and gave one to Leah] ⁸[as a servant] and one to Rachel.

When Rachel continued not to bear children, [she asked her servant to bear children] ⁹[in her place for] my father [Jacob]. She gave to him my mother Bilhah and she gave birth to Dan my brother.

[She conceived again and gave birth a second time] ¹⁰[. . . that] I have borne after him the name Naphtali [. . .]

The prophecy of Naphtali contains themes very typical of the Dead Sea sect, particularly the division of history into "eras" predetermined by the plan of God.

Col. 2 [. . . they will endure] ²the affliction of distress and the ordeal of the pit, and they will be purified by these things and become the chosen ones of righteousness; and He will efface all sin ³for the sake of those who are devoted to Him; for the era of wickedness is complete and all iniquity [. . .

For] ⁴the time of righteousness is coming, and the land is becoming full of true knowledge and the praise of God in the days of [. . .] ⁵the era of peace is coming, and the reliable statutes and the proper times, making wise [every one] ⁶in the ways of God, and in His powerful deeds [from this time and] for the eternal ages.

All the world ⁷shall bless Him, and every person shall bow down to Him [. . .] their [. . .], for He [knows] ⁸their actions before they were created, and the right way of worship He distributed, the borders of [. . .] ⁹in their generations, for the dominion of Good is coming and the [holy] throne will be exalted [. . .] ¹⁰and strength, reverence, wisdom, insight, and perception are tested by His holy purpose [. . .]

—E.M.C.

36. A PARAPHRASE OF GENESIS AND EXODUS

4Q225

Like *An Annotated Law of Moses* (text 71) and other examples of "rewritten Bible" among the scrolls, *A Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus* interprets the Bible by retelling selected portions. The most interesting of the fragmentary remains concern the story of the "binding of Isaac," a theme that was richly developed in later Judaism and that continues to generate profound reflection to the present day.

In the text before us, the story of the binding reads much like that of the biblical Job: a man of transcendent righteousness undergoes sore testing because Satan (here called Mastemah) has received permission from God to bring trials upon him. The Jobian parallels are, of course, absent from the passages in Genesis that recount the tale of Isaac nearly being sacrificed upon God's command. Yet the rationale for their introduction is compelling, for the biblical story does present a difficult problem: how could God command Abraham to sacrifice his own son? If God did not really intend Abraham to go through with it, was God being deceitful? Why would God act as described? Our author urges an interesting solution to the problem by introducing the figure of Mastemah and rooting the entire episode in evil that God merely countenances, but does not originate—just as in Job.

This fragment evidently discussed the period of bondage in Egypt, suggesting that God appointed Moses to rescue Israel out of God's own faithfulness to his covenant with Abraham.

Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] because of the sin of fornication [. . .] ²[. . .] he [. . .] ³[. . .] so He struck them with [. . .] ⁴[. . . the covenant which] was made with Abraham [. . .] ⁵[. . .] Egypt, and God sold them [. . .] ⁶[. . .]

And you, Moses sto[od fast] in my words [. . .] ⁷[. . .] the creation, until the day of creation [. . .] ⁸[. . .] standing, and he arose [. . .] ⁹[. . .] and in the day that [. . .] ¹⁰[. . . Israel saw the Egyptians dead up]on the shore [of the sea . . .]

Abraham and Sarah are childless (Gen. 15:2).

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] that pe[rson] shall be cut off ²[from his people . . . and he lived in Haran for twen[t]y [y]ears. ³[. . . and Ab]raham [said] to God. "Lord, behold I continue to be ch[ild]less and Eli[ezer] ⁴[one born in my house] shall be my heir."

God promises Abraham a descendant, and he believes (Gen. 15:5–6).

⁵[So Go]d [said] to A[b]raham, "Look up at the stars and see [. . .] ⁶[the] sand which is upon the shore of the sea and the dust of the earth, unless ⁷[. . .] if your seed shall not be so." And [Abraham] be[lieved] ⁸[in] Go[d] and it was reckoned to him as righteousness.

Isaac is born and the Prince of Malevolence (Mastemah) conspires to destroy him (Gen. 21:1–3; 22:2–4).

And a son of lov[e] was born ⁹[to Abraha]m and he named him Isaac. Now the Prince of Malevolence (Mastemah) came ¹⁰[to G]od, and brought his animosity to bear against Abraham because of Isaac. And [G]od said ¹¹[to Abra]ham, "Take your son, Isaac, [your] only one [. . .] ¹²[whom] you [love]

and offer him up to [Me] as a burnt offering upon one of the [high] mountains ¹³[which I will point out] to you." So he r[ose and we]n[t] from the wells [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] And Ab[raham] lifted [his eyes and saw the place at a distance.]

The plot of the Prince of Malevolence (Mastemah) is foiled because of Abraham's obedience (Gen. 22:7-12).

Col. 2 ²[Then] Isaac s[aid] to Abraham, "Here is the fire and the wood, but where is the lamb] ³for the [bur]nt offering?" And Abraham said, "Go[d will supply a lamb for the burnt offering, my son,] ⁴for Himself." Isaac said to his father [. . .] ⁵In those days Holy angels were standing upon [the mountain (?) . . . to bring up] ⁶his son from the earth. And the angels of ma[levolence . . . and they] ⁷were rejoicing and saying, "Now he shall perish and [. . .] ⁸he shall be found deceitful, and if not, shall he be found trustworthy?" [. . . And God said,] ⁹"Abraham, Abraham!" And he said, "Yes!" And He said, "N[ow I know that you fear God.] . . .] ¹⁰you shall not be loving. Then he blessed the LORD [. . .] ¹¹Jacob. And Jacob bore Levi [. . .] ¹²The days of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Lev[i . . .] ¹³and the Prince of Malevolence (Mastemah).

"I shall turn aside [. . .] ¹⁴Prince of Male[vo]lence (Mastemah)." And Belial heard [. . .]

—M.G.A.

37. ISRAEL AND THE HOLY LAND

4Q226

The present work paraphrases biblical episodes in the tradition of the book of *Jubilees* and the many other examples of "rewritten Bible" found among the scrolls. Surviving portions correspond to passages in Genesis, Exodus, and Joshua. Although the work is so fragmentary that analysis is hazardous, the mention of "jubilees" is notable and suggests that the author may have been wrestling with chronological concerns. The connection of jubilees and Joshua also appears in the *Psalms of Joshua* (text 78). For a fuller explanation of the role of jubilees in the scrolls, see the introduction to the *Calendar of the Heavenly Signs* (text 59).

God appears to Moses (?) and commissions him to rescue Israel from bondage (Exod. 3:1-12).

Frag. 1 ²[. . .] in a flame of fire [. . .] ³[. . .] to you in order to go down to Egypt and to bring [you] ou[t . . .] ⁴[. . .] the signs have been [gi]ven to you, and you shall return (or become a grey-haired old man) [. . .] ⁵[. . .] two I have made [. . .] from the week [. . .] ⁶[. . .] this jubilee, for it is holy [. . .] ⁷[. . .] holy [fo]r ever [. . .]

Moses is forbidden entrance to the land of Canaan (Deut. 3:27; 31:2).

Frag. 3 ¹[. . .] when [you (?)] do [. . .] ²[. . .] you shall do and [. . .] ³[. . . this] wilderness [. . .] ⁴[. . .] and you shall not cro[ss over . . .] ⁵[. . .] to the land of Canaa[n . . .]

Joshua instead of Moses shall lead Israel into the promised land (Deut. 31:3).

Frag. 4 ¹[. . . Joshua the s]on of Nun, he will cross over befo[re you . . .] ²[. . .] deed and set for [yourself (?). . .] ³[. . .] for yourself all [. . .]

Joshua prepares the people to cross the Jordan (Josh. 3:1–2).

Frag. 6 ²[. . .] until three [. . .] ³[. . .] since coming [. . .] ⁴[. . .] from the day they cross [. . .] ⁵[. . .] these under [. . .] ⁶[. . .] in order that they may cross [. . .] ⁷[. . .] exce[pt . . .] ⁸[. . . wh]o said [. . .]

Abraham is faithful. See text 36 for a possible overlap.

Frag. 7 ¹Abraham was recognized as faithful to [G]o[d . . .] ²that he might be accepted. And the LORD blessed [him . . . one hundred and seventy five years was the length of] ³his life, and he bore I[saac . . .] ⁴Levi, the thi[rd] generation [. . .] ⁵Abraham, Isaac, and Ja[cob . . .] ⁶and the holy angels [. . .] ⁷for which he commanded them [. . .]

—M.G.A.

38. ENOCH AND THE WATCHERS

4Q227

This fragmentary manuscript is similar to portions of the book of *Jubilees*, an important writing of Second-Temple Judaism that survived only among Christian readers and that has long been known to us from versions in Greek and Ethiopic. Among Ethiopian Christians *Jubilees* was so treasured that it actually became a part of the Old Testament. Fifteen fragmentary exemplars of *Jubilees* have turned up among the scrolls, establishing the work as one of the most common among those caches and clearly testifying to its importance for those who hid the texts. Like the Ethiopian Christians, they may have considered the book a part of the canon of Holy Writ.

In that light, the present work seems to be a retelling of *Jubilees*, and it may be that we should consider it an example of “rewritten Bible,” the interpretive phenomenon we encounter so often in the scrolls. Surviving fragments of 4Q227 relate to *Jubilees* 4:17–24, but give the material in a different order. *Jubilees* 4:18 reports that the angels taught Enoch the calendar, which seems to be the subject of our frag. 2, l. 1. *Jubilees* 4:22 says that Enoch testified against the Watchers, or

fallen angels, who had taken human wives and whose progeny were the Giants (Gen. 6:1–2; cf. text 33, *The Book of Giants*). Our author also relates this story, in l. 4, and apparently goes on to connect it, under the influence of *Jubilees* 4:23, to the judgment of the entire world.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . . E]noch, after we taught him ²[. . . he was with the angels of God] six full jubilees ³[. . . the la]nd, into the midst of the sons of man and he testified against them all ⁴[. . .] and also against the watchers. And he wrote all ⁵[. . .] heaven and the ways of their hosts and [ho]ly ones “[. . . so th]at the ri[g]hteous ones] shall not commit error [. . .]

—M.G.A.

39. THE HEALING OF KING NABONIDUS

4Q242

Nabonidus was the last king of the Neo-Babylonian Empire, reigning from 556 to 539 B.C.E. Beset by political problems and economic difficulties in Babylonia, Nabonidus decided to appoint his son Belsharusur as regent (“King Belshazzar” in the Bible: Dan. 5:22; 7:1; 8:1), while he himself moved west to Teima, an oasis in northwest Arabia. By removing to this locality, the king hoped to secure the trade routes from southern Arabia and thereby to ameliorate his money problems. He remained in Teima for a full decade, establishing garrisons and planting colonies to the south of his base of operations. Among these colonies were five oases that, at the time of Muhammad a millennium later, were occupied by Jews. Almost certainly, then, Nabonidus had a strong contingent of Jews among his colonists, whether drawn from those in exile in Babylonia or from those left behind in Judah. The presence of “a Jew, a member of the community of exiles” in the scroll here translated may be an accurate memory of this historical situation.

The king’s ten-year absence from the capital city is probably the basis for the tale our scroll recounts. In turn, the correspondences between the scroll and the story told in Daniel 4 about the much more famous king, Nebuchadnezzar, are systematic and striking. These similarities have convinced most scholars that in some fashion the present story lies behind the biblical episode. If that theory is right, it would mean that we have discovered in this scroll a previously unknown source for the Bible. The story in this scroll would then antedate 200 B.C.E., and it could be a century or two older. The change of names, from Nabonidus to Nebuchadnezzar, was not done to protect the innocent, but to implicate the guilty. Nebuchadnezzar, of course, was the Neo-Babylonian king who had sacked Jerusalem, burned the Temple, and carried the people into exile in 586 B.C.E. Likewise, the change from Nabonidus’s “inflammation” to Nebuchadnezzar’s

lupine madness in Daniel 4 represents a raising of the stakes: an increase in the tension the storyteller hoped to create.

Eventually, King Nabonidus returned to Babylonia but was overthrown by the forces of the Persian empire builder, Cyrus. A form of that story appears in our Bibles in Daniel 5.

The actions of the Jewish exorcist described in our scroll accord exceedingly well with what we read about the figure of Daniel in the biblical book of the same name. Scholars have convincingly suggested that there once existed a “Daniel cycle” that included more stories—possibly quite a few more—than have survived in our Bibles. This would be one of them, as would *The Vision of Daniel* (text 40) and, perhaps, *The Vision of the Four Trees* (text 120). Further, bearing in mind the many New Testament parallels, the exorcism described here may profitably be compared with that carried out by Abraham in the *Tales of the Patriarchs* (text 2) and the actual wording of an exorcism preserved in text 122.

Nabonidus confesses his sins and explains how he was healed.

Frgs. 1–3 'The words of the pra[y]er of Nabonidus, king of [Ba]bylon, [the great] kin[g, when he was smitten] ²with a severe inflammation at the command of G[o]d, in Teima.

[I, Nabonidus,] was smitten [with a severe inflammation] ³lasting seven years. Beca[use] I was thus changed, [becoming like a beast, I prayed to the Most High,] ⁴and He forgave my sins. An exorcist—a Jew, in fact, a mem[ber] of the community of exiles—came to me and said,] ⁵“Declare and write down this story, and so ascribe glory and gre[at]ness to the name of G[od] Most High.” Accordingly, I have myself written it down:] ⁶“I was smitten with a severe inflammation while in Teima, [by the command of God Most High. Then] ⁷for seven years I continued praying [to] the gods made of silver and gold, [bronze, iron,] ⁸wood, stone, and clay, for I [used to th]ink that th[ey] really were gods.

—M.O.W.

40. THE VISION OF DANIEL

4Q243, 4Q244, 4Q245

“An excellent spirit, along with knowledge and insight sufficient for interpreting dreams and explaining riddles and solving problems are found in this Daniel” (Dan. 5:12). Such was the judgment of the queen of Babylon, and her endorsement reflected the common image of Daniel in the last few centuries B.C.E. Like Enoch (see text 33, *The Book of Giants*), Daniel was made into the hero of a cycle of stories, most of which are now lost. The biblical book of Daniel

is part of this literature. The ancient Greek translation of the Old Testament contributes more stories about Daniel, and the Qumran caches offer even more. Text 39, *The Healing of King Nabonidus*, is one; this text is another.

Unfortunately, *The Vision of Daniel* is so fragmentary that not even an incomplete story can be recovered from it. It is clear only that Daniel is relating a vision (as he does several times in the biblical book, chaps. 7–12) that relates to the history of Israel.*

The first few lines give the setting: Daniel is speaking to Belshazzar, as in Daniel 5.

¹[. . .] Daniel befo[re . . .] ²[. . . King] Belshazzar [. . .] ³[. . .]

Daniel gives an account of the history of Israel, beginning apparently with the story of Noah's flood (Gen. 6–9).

⁴[. . .] after the flood [. . .] ⁵[. . . N]oah from [Mount] Lubar [. . .]

The story of the Tower of Babel (Gen. 11).

⁶[. . . they built a] city [. . .] ⁷[. . .] a tower, [its] height [reached the heavens . . .] ⁸[. . .] ⁹[. . . agai]nst the tower and He sent [them away . . .]

This section may have described God's choice of Abraham to produce a chosen race (Gen. 12).

¹⁰[. . .] to search among the sons of [men, to find one righteous . . .]
¹¹[. . . Abraham, I]s[aac, and Jacob . . .]

The prediction to Abraham of the Egyptian captivity (Gen. 15:13).

¹²[. . . fo]ur hundred [years . . .]

The Exodus is predicted (Gen. 15:14; Exod. 15–16). Note the division of history into "jubilees" (cf. text 81 for such a method).

¹³[. . .] all of them shall come out of ¹⁴Egypt by the hand of [Moses . . . the day] they cross the Jordan is the [x]th Jubilee [. . .]

The Israelite apostasy is described in terms borrowed from the Old Testament.

¹⁵[. . .] but their descendants [sinned . . .] ¹⁶[. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] the children of Israel hid themselves from [the presence of God] ¹⁸[and "sacrifi]ced their children to the demons of idols" (Ps. 106:37). "So God grew angry with them" (Ps. 106:40) "and commanded that they be given ¹⁹into the power" (Ps. 106:41) of Nebu[chadnezzar king of Ba]bylon and that their land be destroyed from them, and whatever [. . .]

The punishment of the Exile is limited to seventy years (Jer. 25:12), and then God will bring the Israelites back.

*The arrangement of the fragments is hypothetical, and follows J. T. Milik.

²⁴[. . .] the exiles [. . .] ²¹[. . .] He scattered them [. . .] ²²[. . .] seventy years [. . .] ²³[. . . by] his strong hand, and He will save them [. . .]

Daniel describes a succession of kingdoms to come after Babylon. The text apparently gives the names of some of the kings, none of which is recognizable as historical. The name "Balakros" may correspond to the name "Belikra," a wicked Samaritan, who, according to the apocryphal Martyrdom of Isaiah (second century B.C.E.), brought about the death of the prophet Isaiah.

²⁴[. . .] mighty [kings,] the kingdoms of the Gentiles [. . .] ²⁵[. . .] it is the first kingdom [. . .] ²⁶[. . .] he will reign for [x] years [. . .] ²⁷[. . .] Balakros [. . .] ²⁸[. . . kingdom] will [be . . .] ²⁹[. . . he will reign for x] years [. . .] ³⁰[. . .] RHWS son of [. . .] ³¹[. . . he will reign] thirty-five years [. . .] ³²[. . .] they will speak [slandorous lies . . .] ³³[. . .] will go astray [. . .]

A gathering of some kind is foretold—perhaps the formation of a sect?

³⁴[. . . in that time] those who are called [by name] shall be gathered [. . .] ³⁵[. . . from among] the Gentiles, and it shall be, from [that] day [. . .] ³⁶[. . . the holy] ones, and the kings of the Gentiles [. . .] ³⁷[. . .] servants to the day [that . . .]

At this point Daniel apparently speaks of a writing of some kind containing a list of names of some of the priests and kings of Israel. Some of the names may refer to the Hasmoneans John and Simon (l. 47).

⁴¹[. . .] Daniel ⁴¹[. . .] a writing that was given ⁴²[. . .] Kohath ⁴³[. . .] Uzziah ⁴⁴[. . .] Abiathar ⁴⁵[. . . Zede]kiah ⁴⁶[. . .] Jehoniah ⁴⁷[. . . Jo]hn, Simon ⁴⁸[. . .] David, Solomon ⁴⁹[. . .] Ahaziah [. . .] ⁵⁰[. . .]

God will bring the final apostasy to an end.

⁵¹[. . .] to end evil ⁵²[. . .] these in blindness and error ⁵³[. . . th]ese then shall arise ⁵⁴[. . .] the holy ones will return ⁵⁵[. . . and there will be an end of] evil.

—E.M.C.

41. A VISION OF THE SON OF GOD

4Q246

This small text ignited a controversy when a portion of it was published in 1974. It speaks of a powerful figure who shall appear in a time of tribulation and be called "the son of God" and "son of the Most High" and whom all nations

obey. The expressions irresistibly recall the language that the Gospels use of Jesus, especially in the episode describing the angel's message to Mary that she would bear a son: "He will be great, and will be called the Son of the Most High . . . and of his kingdom there will be no end" (Luke 1:32-33).

At the time, some scholars argued that the published portion proved an important idea: that an earthly king destined to come and bring peace (i.e., the Messiah) would also be called by Second-Temple Jews "the Son of God." Certain biblical texts could be taken to support this idea (e.g., 2 Sam. 7:14), and if true, it would shed substantial light on the New Testament's portrayal of Jesus. Other scholars, however, understood the text's "Son of God" as a villain, one who usurps the place of God but is subsequently overthrown by the "people of God," who have God on their side. Now that the entire work has finally become available, a careful reading confirms this second, "Antichrist" option.

The historical background of this text may well be the persecution of the Jews under the Syrian tyrant Antiochus IV in the period 170-164 B.C.E. This ruler's chosen second name, "Epiphanes" (Greek for "appearance"), encapsulated the notion of a human king as God manifest. Such human pretensions to deity have never been welcome in Judaism and were condemned out of hand in the prophecies of Isaiah (14:12-21) and Ezekiel (28:1-10). Jesus' claims to more-than-human status were likewise rejected by his contemporaries: "We would stone you for blasphemy, because you, though you are a man, are making yourself God" (John 10:33). A similar distaste for claims to divinity seems to animate this fragmentary prophecy.

The seer receives the power to interpret the king's vision.

Col. 1 '[. . . a spirit from God] rested upon him, he fell before the throne.

The beginning of the interpretation: war and slaughter is imminent. This tribulation will culminate in the accession to power of a cruel tyrant.

²[. . . O ki]ng, wrath is coming to the world, and your years ³[shall be shortened . . . such] is your vision, and all of it is about to come unto the world. ⁴[. . . Amid] great [signs], tribulation is coming upon the land.

⁵[. . . After much killing] and slaughter, a prince of nations ⁶[will arise . . .] the king of Assyria and Egypt ⁷[. . .] he will be ruler over the land ⁸[. . .] will be subject to him and all will obey ⁹[him].

The tyrant's son will succeed him and begin to accrue to himself the honor due only to God. Yet the reign of father and son will be brief.

[Also his son] will be called The Great, and be designated by his name.

Col. 2 'He will be called the Son of God, they will call him the son of the Most High. But like the meteors ²that you saw in your vision, so will be their kingdom. They will reign only a few years over ³the land, while people tramples people and nation tramples nation.

Deliverance from distress finally comes when the people of God arise, bringing peace and prosperity. God is working through them and in them and his rule shall finally prevail.

‘until the people of God arise; then all will have rest from warfare. ⁵Their kingdom will be an eternal kingdom, and all their paths will be righteous. They will judge ‘the land justly, and all nations will make peace. Warfare will cease from the land, ⁷and all the nations shall do obeisance to them. The great God will be their help, ⁸He Himself will fight for them, putting peoples into their power, ⁹overthrowing them all before them. God’s rule will be an eternal rule and all the depths of ¹⁰[the earth are His].

—E.M.C.

42. THE ACTS OF A KING

4Q248

In the year 332 B.C.E., in the process of assembling the greatest empire the world had ever seen, Alexander the Great conquered the region of Palestine. Within a short time, however, the young Macedonian died, and his remaining generals divided the empire among themselves. Naturally, this division did not occur entirely peacefully, as each of the generals jockeyed for the position of greatest power. It is in this context of war and the ebb and flow of power that the present scroll finds its most natural setting.

Alexander’s general Ptolemy came to control Egypt, while, after various battles that shall not concern us here, another general, Seleucus, took power in Syria. For the next decades, Palestine was ground between these upper and lower millstones as the two generals fought to control the region, regarded by each as crucial to the defense of his own realm. Eventually, Ptolemy—now styling himself king and bearing an appropriately grandiose name, Ptolemy I Soter (the Greek word for “savior”)—took control of Palestine more or less permanently. The Jews remained under the aegis of Egypt for virtually all of the third century, only passing to the Syrian realm in the year 199/8 B.C.E.

Using biblical imagery and cast in the form of a prophecy, this scroll seems to be describing two of the four separate occasions on which Ptolemy I conquered Palestine. Which two of the four is uncertain, not only because of what has been lost from the scroll, but also because our knowledge of Ptolemy’s campaigns is spotty and susceptible to various interpretations.

The text begins with a picture of general conquest, apparently including the notion of God himself fighting on the side of the enemy forces (l. 5). Lines 2–4 draw their imagery from Deuteronomy 28.

Frag. 1 ²[. . .] Egypt and Zion and [. . .] ³[. . . For it is a grim-fac]ed nation. Then they shall consume [the fruit of their livestock . . .] ⁴[All] their [s]ons and daught[e]rs [shall be] besieged in [their settlements . . .] ⁵And the LORD* shall cause [His] spirit to pass through their settlements and [all of their land . . .]

The focus now is on the return of the enemy forces, this time to conquer the "Temple city," Jerusalem. Line 9 is a paraphrase of conquest imagery found in Jeremiah 48:32.

⁶[Then] he shall come to Egypt and sell her dust and [stones . . . He shall come] ⁷to the temple city and seize it, together with a[ll its booty . . .] ⁸He shall overthrow the nations and return to Egyp[t . . .] ⁹[The destroyer shall fall] upon the vintage and the sum[mer fruits . . . And after] ¹⁰all these things, the children [of Israel] shall return [to the LORD . . .]

—M.O.W.

43. A COMMENTARY ON THE LAW OF MOSES

4Q251

This work is a collection of legal dicta, including among other things laws about the proper observance of the Sabbath, the tithing of agricultural produce, what portions of produce priests were to receive from the laity, proper sacrifice, and marriage. These laws are extremely revealing for anyone interested in the late Second-Temple period and Palestine in the time of Jesus, for they are a window into certain segments of society, revealing how people of the time actually lived their lives.

Whereas portions of the *Commentary on the Law of Moses* do little more than quote relevant biblical texts, others legislate for situations not explicitly recognized by the authors of the Bible. We learn here, for example, that if a priest had a daughter who turned to prostitution, she could no longer eat at his table. We learn that in the author's system, priests were to receive the fourth-year fruit from newly planted fruit trees, a requirement that contrasts with rabbinic law, wherein the grower took the fruit to Jerusalem and ate it there before God. The commentary agrees with the stipulation on the same topic in the *Sectarian Manifesto* (text 84); further, the *Temple Scroll* (text 131, col. 60), the *Damascus Covenant* (text 1), and the book of *Jubilees* (7:36) all agree with the position of the commentary.

So this law serves well to illustrate two general principles that apply to the legal materials among the scrolls: (1) the laws tend to be stricter than those of the rabbis where the same topics are addressed and, as the rabbinic laws go back

*The scribe did not write the four letters of the holy name, but substituted four strokes for the letters.

in some cases to the Pharisees, the laws here are presumably part of a system stricter than that of the contemporary Pharisees; and (2) the legal materials of the scrolls seem to represent a single school of thought. That is to say, whenever different Dead Sea Scrolls address the same or similar topics, they take the identical general approach, one particularly favorable to the interests of the priesthood. While the different scroll writers sometimes disagree among themselves, their disagreement is incidental, not systematic. The Dead Sea Scrolls therefore represent a school of legal thought different from and competing with the Pharisaic approach. That such should be the case is hardly surprising given the attitudes toward the Pharisees manifested in nonlegal, historical writings among the scrolls. As discussed in the Introduction, for the movement behind the scrolls, the Pharisees were public enemy number one.

Sabbath Laws. Compare the Damascus Document, Geniza text col. 10 (text 1).

Frag. 1 ¹[. . .]five [. . .] ²[. . .] all [. . .] ³[. . .] cattle, and to draw water from a well, ⁴a drawing [. . . Let no] man go out from his place for the entire Sabbath, ⁵nor from the house to the ou[tsi]de [. . .] to expound or to read the Book aloud on [the Sabba]th ⁶[. . . to] profane [. . . to make] oneself impure in the fle[sh] on [the] Sabbath day ⁷[. . .] on the sixth d[a]y, ba[re] flesh [. . .]

Laws concerning damage done by beasts (Exod. 21:19, 28–29).

Frag. 4 ¹[. . .] for the iniquity [. . .] ²[. . .] he shall compensate for [his] loss of time [and assure his full] recovery. ³[If a bull gores a man or] a woman, then the bull shall be put to death, they shall stone it. ⁴[. . . If the ox] has been accustomed to gore in the past ⁵[. . . and it kills a ma]n or a woman, ⁶[then the ox shall be stoned and its owner put to death as well. . . . a ma]n [. . .]

Laws concerning the first fruits of agricultural produce (Exod. 22:29).

Frag. 5 ¹[. . . grain, and fresh wi]ne and fresh oil, unless [. . . You shall bring] ²the choicest of the first fruits and all the produce. Let no man delay, for [. . .]'s [. . .]. The choicest of the produce is the grain. The juice [is . . . And the bread] ⁴of the first fruits is the leavened bread which they shall bring [on the d]ay of the [first fruits]; ⁵these are the first fruits. Let no m[a]n eat the new wheat [. . .] ⁶until the day the bread of the first fruits is brought to [the . . .]

Laws concerning the redemption of the firstborn of man and beast (Num. 18:15, 17) and first harvest of the fruit trees (Lev. 19:23–25).

Frag. 6 ¹[. . .] ²[. . . fe]wness. Let no [man] decre[ase its price . . .] ³[. . .] the tenth for [. . .] ⁴[. . . the firstborn of m]an and the unclean ani-

mal [. . .] ⁵[. . . you shall redeem] the first born of man and the unclean animal ⁶[. . . also the first born of the ox [and] the sheep. And as for the Temple, from [. . .] ⁷[. . . it] is as the firstborn, and the produce of a tree ⁸[. . . every fruit tree, the fig, the pome]granate, and the olive, in the fourth year ⁹[all its fruit shall be holy . . .] the offering, every devoted thing [shall be] for the priest.

Laws concerning the proper slaughter and sacrifice of beasts (Exod. 22:29–30; Lev. 7:24; 22:8; Deut. 14:21).

Frag. 7 ¹[. . . the] seventh [day. Let no] man [eat] an ox, a lamb, or a goat that has not completed [seven] ²[days with] its mother, [tha]t is, in the wom[b] of its mother. And let no man eat its flesh because [. . .] ³[. . .] is [. . .] Let no man eat the flesh of an animal [which dies] ⁴[. . . carc]asses or that torn by beasts, that which is not alive, for ⁵[. . . take the flesh] to [se]ll to the foreigner, and use its fat to ma[ke . . .] ⁶[. . .] and to [sa]crifice it (the fat?) from it, he shall [certainly] be c[ut off from his people . . .] ⁷[. . .]

Laws concerning unclean animals (Lev. 27:11) and devoted fields (Lev. 27:28).

Frag. 9 ¹[. . . If it concerns] the unclean animal that ²[may not be brought as an offering to the LORD, you may not] redeem it. And the devoted field shall be the property ³[of the city. (?) . . . redemptio]n for his life, to pay [. . .]

Laws concerning property set aside for the priests (Lev. 27:21).

Frag. 10 ¹[. . .] it shall be [most ho]ly [. . .] ²[. . . and] he shall set it apart for the priest to pass it [. . .] ³[. . . And you shall be] as a priest for him. And the man wh[o . . .] ⁴[Let no] man eat [from the holy gifts who . . .]

Laws concerning those who might eat the priest's portion (Lev. 21:7–9, 14).

Frag. 11 ¹[. . . a priest's wife shall ea]t her husband's bread ²[. . . children of his household] shall eat his bread. Only a prostitute ³[or a harlot may not eat the holy bread. . .] all the treachery which a man might practice ⁴[against the LORD . . .] to eat, for it is an abomination ⁵[to the LORD. . . whoever does not have a] master or next of kin . . .

Laws concerning proper marriage (Lev. 18:6–19; 20:11, 17, 19; Deut. 23:1). Note the attack on niece marriage in l. 3; such marriages were encouraged by the Pharisees. Compare these lines to col. 66 of the Temple Scroll (text 131).

Frag. 12 ¹Concerning nakedness: [. . .] ²Let no man take the w[ife of his father, let him not uncover the skirt of his father. Let no one take] ³his brother's daughter or the daughter of [his] si[ster . . . Let no] man [uncover] ⁴the nakedness of [his] mo[ther's] sister [. . . no woman shall be the wife of

the brother of] ⁵her father or the brother of her mother [. . .] ⁶Let no man uncover the nakedness of [his mother . . .] ⁷Let no man take his daughter [. . .]

Laws concerning expiation for the unknown murderer (Deut. 21:1–9). The elders of the nearest town were to sacrifice a heifer to bear the bloodguilt that would otherwise attach to the town.

Frag. 13 ¹[. . . a ma]n with his neighbor [. . .] ²[. . . under] the tree as uncleanness ³[. . . if one should find] a corpse that is lying in [a field . . .] ⁴[. . . and they shall break the heifer's neck there in the wad]i in return for the life [of the slain . . .] ⁵[. . .] it is a substitution which is put to death for [the slain . . .] ⁶[. . .] everyone who has no soul within him is dead, [he must be buried] in a g[ra]ve . . .]

—M.G.A.

44. COMMENTARIES ON GENESIS

4Q252–254a

The *Commentaries on Genesis* share characteristics of the sectarian commentaries on Habakkuk, Hosea, and Psalms (texts 4, 20, and 22, respectively), on the one hand, and with *An Annotated Law of Moses* (text 71) and similar writings, on the other; yet they have a character distinctly their own.

The *Commentaries on Genesis* have in common with the other commentaries certain techniques of interpreting the Bible, notably the use of *peshet* method (for an explanation of this method see the introduction to the *Commentary on Habakkuk*). But unlike the other commentaries, the purpose here is not to discover current fulfillments of biblical prophecies, but to give selected passages a particular “spin,” to show how they support the authors’ ideas. Indeed, unlike the other commentaries, here the authors recognize that only some of the chosen passages are prophetic.

Like the *Annotated Law*, the present works excerpt and amplify Scripture, but they do not do so verse by verse. Rather, these writings skip from passage to passage, having no discernible overarching purpose or thematic link.

Whether the *Commentaries on Genesis* are all one work or several is unclear. Of the four manuscripts, 4Q252 is the best preserved; its six columns cover Genesis 5:32–49:21. The tiny fragments of 4Q253 are here taken as the remains of a commentary on Genesis, but the matter is tenuous. (The word “ark” found in frag. 1 is only suggestive.) 4Q254a appears to be an intentional alteration of 4Q252 frag. 1, cols. 1–2.

Col. 1 and the first lines of col. 2 is a retelling of the Flood story (Gen. 6:3–8:18) that becomes a clear polemic for the 364-day sectarian calendar. After charting the major events of the year-long flood by month and day of the week, the writer concludes that Noah went out of the ark “at the end of . . . three hundred and sixty four days.”

4Q252 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[In the] four hundred and eightieth year of Noah's life, he came to the end of them, and God ²said, “My spirit shall not dwell with man forever, their days shall be determined to be one hundred and twenty ³years until the waters of the flood come.” And the waters of the flood came upon the earth in the six hundredth year of ⁴Noah's life; in the second month, on Sunday, the seventeenth. On that day ⁵all the fountains of the great deep broke open and the windows of the heavens were opened. And the rain fell upon ⁶the earth forty days and forty nights until the twenty-sixth day of the third month, ⁷on Thursday. The waters prevailed upon the earth one hundred and fifty days ⁸until the fourteenth day of the seventh month, on Tuesday. And at the end of one hundred and fifty ⁹days, the waters decreased for two days—Wednesday and Thursday—and on ¹⁰Friday, the ark came to rest upon Mount Ararat. T[his was] the seventeenth day of the seventh month. ¹¹And the waters continued to abate until the tenth month. On the first of the month, on Wednesday, ¹²the tops of the mountains appeared. At the end of forty days, at the appearance of the tops of ¹³the mountain[s], Noah [op]ened the window of the ark. It was Monday, the tenth ¹⁴of the ele[venth] month. He sent out the dove to see if the waters had subsided, but ¹⁵it found no roosting place and came back to him to the ark. He waited a[nother] seven days ¹⁶and again sent it out, and it came to him and in its beak was a freshly plucked olive leaf. [This was the twenty-] fourth [day] ¹⁷of the eleventh month, on Sunday. [So Noah knew that the waters had subsided] ¹⁸from the earth. At the end of anothe[r] seven days [he sent out] the [dove and it did not] ¹⁹return to him again. This was the f[ir]st day [of the twelfth] month, [on Sunday]. ²⁰And at the end of thirt[y-one] days from the sending of the dove which had not ²¹returned again, the wat[ers] were dried up [from the earth, and] Noah removed the covering of the ark ²²and looked, and saw they had dried up. [It was Wednesday,] the first day of the first month.

Col. 2 ¹In the six hundred and first year of Noah's life, on the seventeenth day of the second month, ²the earth was dry, on Sunday. On that day Noah went out from the ark, at the end of an exact year, ³three hundred and sixty four days, on a Sunday. On the seventh, ⁴one and six (a scribal error has confused the text here), Noah went out from the ark, to the day, ⁵after a complete year.

The curse on Canaan, the grandson of Noah (Gen. 9:24–27).

And Noah awoke from his wine and knew what “his youngest son had done to him, he said, “Cursed be Canaan, the lowest of slaves shall he be to

his brothers." And he did not ⁷curse Ham, but rather his son, because God had already blessed the sons of Noah. "And let him live in the tents of Shem."

The chronology of Genesis 11:31–12:4. The age of Terah agrees with the Masoretic Text (205 years) rather than the Samaritan Pentateuch (145 years).

"He gave the land to Abraham His beloved. Terah was one hundred and forty years old when he left ⁹Ur of the Chaldees and went to Haran and Ab[ram was s]eventy. And he dwelt five years ¹⁰in Haran. Then [Terah died] six[ty years after Abram] went out [to] the land of Canaan. ¹¹The heifer, the ram, and the go[at . . .] Abram to God [. . .] ¹²the fire when he crossed [. . .] he took for himself [. . .] ¹³for Ab[ram] to go out [to the land of] Canaan to [. . .]

Sodom (Gen. 18:16–33).

Col. 3 ¹just as it is written [. . .] twelve ²men [. . . Gomor]rah, and also ³this city [. . .] righteous ⁴I [will] not [destroy . . .] these only shall be put to death ⁵And if [ten (?)] are not found there [. . . and everything] which is found in it, its spoil, ⁶its children, and the rest of [. . .] forever.

The binding of Isaac (Gen. 22:10–12).

And Abraham reached out ⁷his hand [and took the knife to kill his son. But the angel of the LORD called to him from heav]en ⁸and said to him, ["Now I know that you fear God, since you have not withheld your son,] ⁹your only son, fr[om me." . . .]

This portion may parallel the biblical blessing on Joseph (Gen. 49:25–26).

¹²El Shaddai will b[less you with the blessings of heaven above . . .] ¹³the blessing of your father [is stronger than the blessings of the eternal moun- tains . . .] ¹⁴[. . .] shall be [. . .]

An account of the descendants of Esau, which ends with the curse on Amalek (Gen. 36:12; Exod. 17:14; Deut. 25:19).

Col. 4 ¹Timna was a concubine of Eliphaz, Esau's son; she bore Amalek to him, he whom Saul def[eated].

²Just as he said to Moses, "In the Last Days, the remembrance of Amalek shall be blotted out ³from under heaven."

Israel's prophecy concerning Reuben (Gen. 49:2–4).

The Blessings of Jacob: Reuben, you are my firstborn, and the first fruits of my vigor, ⁴excelling in rank and excelling in power. You are unstable as water, so you shall no longer excel. You went up ⁵onto your father's bed; then you defiled it—he went up onto his couch!

Its interpretation is: He rebuked him because he "lay with Bilhah, his concubine, so he [s]aid, "Reuben, you are my firstborn," [. . .] Reuben was 'the first of his order . . . [. . .]

The prophecy concerning Judah is interpreted as fulfilled in the messiah of David (Gen. 49:10).

Col. 5 ¹A ruler shall [no]t depart from the tribe of Judah when Israel has dominion. ²[And] the one who sits on the throne of David [shall never] be cut off, because the "ruler's staff" is the covenant of the kingdom, ³[and the thous]ands of Israel are "the feet," until the Righteous Messiah, the Branch of David, has come. ⁴For to him and to his seed the covenant of the kingdom of His people has been given for the eternal generations, because ⁵he has kept [. . .] the Law with the men of the *Yahad*. For "[. . . the "obedience of the people]s" is the assembly of the men of ⁷[. . .] he gave

The prophecies concerning Asher and Naphtali (Gen. 49:20–21).

Col. 6 [Asher's food shall be rich] ¹he shall provide [royal] delicacies [. . . Naphtali is a doe let loose that bears] ²lovely [fawns . . .] ³the [. . .]

The curse on Canaan, the grandson of Noah (Gen. 9:24–25).

4Q254 Frag. 1 ¹who said [. . .] ²upon the doorways and the [. . . When Noah awoke from his wine] ³and knew wha[t his youngest son had done to him, he said, "Cursed be Canaan;] ⁴lowest of slaves [shall he be to his brothers.]"

Joseph with his father, Jacob (Gen. 48:11?).

Frag. 2 ³and for his bread and for [his . . . Israel said to Joseph, "I did] not [expect to see] ⁴your face; [and here God has let me see your children also." (?) . . .] ⁵[. . .] "who took [. . .] ⁷[and] he separated [. . .] "[. . .]

This portion is a commentary on the two anointed ones of Zechariah 4:14; it may be part of the blessing on Judah (Gen. 49:8–12).

Frag. 4 "[. . .] to them [. . .] ²[. . . "These are] the two anointed sons who [stand by the Lord of the whole earth." . . .] ³[. . .] those who keep the commandments of God [. . .] ⁴[. . .] for the men of the *Yahad* [. . .]

Israel's prophecy concerning Issachar and Dan (Gen. 49:15–17).

Frag. 5 ¹So he bowed [his shoulder to the burden and became a] slave [at forced labor.]

[. . .] ²which [. . .] the great ones [. . .] ³servant [. . . Dan shall judge] his [peo]ple as on[e] of the t[ri]bes of Israel. ⁴And Dan shall be as a sna[ke] by the roadside, a vi]per along the w[ay . . . that bites] ⁵the horse's heel[s . . .] "[. . .]

Israel's prophecy concerning Joseph (Gen. 49:24–25).

Frag. 6 ¹[. . . Yet his] bow [remai]ned taut, [and his arms were made agile by the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,] ²[by the name of the Shepher]d, the Rock of Israel [by the God of your father, who will help you by the Almighty who will bless you] ³[with blessings of heaven] ab[o]ve [. . .]

As in 4Q252 cols. 1–2, the Flood is reckoned at exactly one year (l. 2). This fragment of 4Q252a begins with the sending of the birds (Gen. 8:7–8), then records the dimensions of the ark (Gen. 6:15).

4Q254a ¹[. . . In the six hundredth year of Noah's life, on the] seven-teenth day of the [second] month ²[. . .] Noah went out from the ark exactly one year later. ³[. . .]

⁴[And he sent out the ra]ven; and it went to and fro and returned in order to make known to the l[ast] generations ⁵[. . .] before him, for the ra[ven] went to and fro and re[turned.] ⁶[Then he sent out] the dove [. . .] ⁷And this is the account of the construction of the [ark: three hundred cubits shall be the leng]th of the ark, and fi[fty cubits] ⁸the width, and thirty [cubits its height . . .] ⁹and the measurement of the ark [. . .]

—M.G.A.

45. PORTIONS OF SECTARIAN LAW

4Q265

Portions of Sectarian Law is a medley composed from other legal texts found among the Dead Sea Scrolls. The work may be an *ekloge*, the technical term used to refer to a writing that gathers extracts from various works. Often such selections were made by ancient scholars for private study; in other cases “authors” made extracts in order to pirate the work of more gifted writers and claim it for themselves. By this method many anthologies arose in the ancient world. An author's work might appear in extended or truncated form, combined with extracts from other authors, while ironically no one read his original book. This was what apparently happened to the Greek writer Menander (ca. 341–293 B.C.E.), for example; much of what we know of his work we know only through anthologies.

Portions bears a particularly close relationship to the *Damascus Document* (text 1) and the *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (text 5). The present author has sometimes changed the penalty clauses of the laws his work has in common with those others, however, indicating a certain process of development among those who consulted these writings.

Punishments for various transgressions. See the Damascus Document 14:21–22 (text 1) and 1QS 6–7 (text 5). Col. 2, ll. 4–9 gives rules for the entrance into the group, rules that vary from those of text 5.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ²[Anyone who . . .] ³[. . . and he shall be punished for t]en d[a]ys.

[Anyone who . . .] ⁴[. . . shall be set apart for] thirty days [. . . and punished] in them ⁵with half rations for fift[een days].

[Anyone who . . .] ⁶he shall be punished for three months wi[th half rations].

[Anyone who speaks preceding] ⁷his comrade who is his superior, they shall set [him] apart [for . . . and he shall be punished] ⁸in them with half rations.

Anyone who rev[iles . . . and he shall be punished] ⁹for thirty days.

Anyone who deceives [know]ingly [shall be punished for six] ¹⁰months and fined in them with half rations.

[Anyone who . . .] ¹¹consciously in any matter, shall be punished for thirty days [. . .]

[Anyone who . . .] ¹²conscio[usly, they shall] set him apart for six months.

Col. 2 ¹[Anyone who sleep]s in the assembly of the general member[ship] shall be punished thirty ²[days . . . If during the reading of] the book [he shall] fall asleep up to three times, and if ³. . . [Anyo]ne who enters to [. . .] to the society of the [Yah]ad [. . .] ⁴[. . . and it comes to the attention of the Overseer of the Assembly of] the general membership, if his [und]erstanding fails him, he shall investigate it for [one] year. ⁵[. . . and the Overseer shall bring him] before the general membership and they shall be consulted [concerning] him, and if he is not found ⁶[reliable . . . then] the Overseer [shall in-struct him] before the *Yahad* concerning [the interpretation] of the law, and he shall not [touch the pure food . . .] ⁷[. . .] yet a full year. [And when] the year of [his inquiry is complet]ed [. . .] ⁸[. . . the ma]n who oversees the general membership [. . .] ⁹[. . . w]he[n] he enters [. . .]

Biblical quotations.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] ²[. . . ju]st as it is written [in the book . . .] ³[. . . just as] it is written in the b[ook] of Isaiah the prophet, ⁴[“ ‘Sing, O barren one who did not bear; burst into song and] shout, you who have not been in labor! For the children of the desolate will be more ⁵[than the children of her that is married,’ says the LORD.] “ ‘Enlarge the site of [your] ten[t and let the curtains . . . ’” (Isa. 54:1–2).

Proscriptions concerning the Passover.

Frag. 4 ¹[. . . “Have we not all one father? Has not one God] ²created us? W[h]y then are we faithless to on[e an]other, [profaning the covenant of our

ancestors?" (Mal. 2:10). Let not] ³a young boy or a woman eat [the] Passover [fea]st [. . .]

Laws concerning the Sabbath. Note the extreme severity: an animal that has fallen into water on the Sabbath must be left to drown; a man can only be drawn out with a garment, and not an implement, since the use of an implement would be "work," and work on the Sabbath was forbidden. Presumably if no garment were available, the man must be allowed to drown. Contrast the dictum of Jesus as given in the Gospels: "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath" (Mark 2:27).

Frag. 7 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] ²the Sa[bbath . . .] ³on the Sabbath day, let no [one wear] dirty [garment]s. ⁴Let no one [we]ar garments wh[ich] have dust or [. . .] on them ⁵on the Sabbath day.

Let no one ta[ke] a vessel or foo[d out] from his tent ⁶on the Sabbath day.

Let no one raise up an animal which has fallen ⁷into the water on the Sabbath day. But if it is a man who has fallen into the water ⁸[on] the Sabbath [Day,] one shall extend his garment to him to pull him out with it, but he shall not bear an implement ⁹[to pull him out with on the] Sabbath [day]. And if an army [. . .]

Col. 2 ¹[. . .] on the [Sabbath] Day. [. . .] ²[. . . on the] Sabbath [Day.] And not [. . .] ³[Let n]o one from the seed of Aaron sprinkle the wa[ter for cleansing on the Sabbath Day. . . .] ⁴[. . . a] great fast day, on the [Sabbath (?)] day [. . .] ⁵[the] animal shall walk two thousand cub[its . . . a distance from the city of] ⁶[the Sa]nctuary, thirty ris (i.e., four miles). Let no [one] dep[art from . . .] ⁷when there are fite[en men] in the society of the *Yahad* [. . .] ⁸[. . . the pr]ophets, then shall the society of the *Yah[ad truly]* be established [. . . and the elect of] ⁹God's will, and a soothing aroma to atone for the [l]and, cleansing it from a[ll iniquity . . .] ¹⁰and shall end in the judgment of the times of unrighteousness and the[y . . .]

The author indicates that Adam was not brought into the Garden of Eden immediately after his creation but had to wait to be purified from ceremonial uncleanness. He then appears to suggest an inference concerning the purification of women after giving birth (Lev. 12:2-5).

¹¹In the firs[t] week [. . .] ¹²because he was not brought to the Garden of Eden and [this] very [man . . .] ¹³It was her witness that she was not brought with him [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] the Garden of Eden is holy, and every growing thing in its midst is holy. There[fore, if she conceives and bears a male child,] ¹⁵she shall be ceremonially unclean seven days; as at the time of her menstruation she shall be unclean. And [she shall remain for thirty-three days in the blood] ¹⁶of her p[u]rification. And if she bears a female child, then she shall be unclean [for two weeks, as in her menstruation; and for sixty-six days] ¹⁷[she shall

remain in the blood of her purification. No holy thing [shall she touch, nor come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purification are completed.]

—M.G.A.

46. RITUAL PURITY LAWS CONCERNING LIQUIDS

4Q274

According to Numbers 5:2, there were three areas of ritual uncleanness with which the nation Israel had to be concerned: leprosy, bodily discharges of any kind, and contact with the dead. Each of these types of uncleanness rendered a person ritually unfit. This concept differed from sin, for it required no confession or forgiveness, but it was similar in that it created a barrier between the individual and God. In the Bible, the man or woman who was unclean had to separate for a stated period from the Israelite camp in which God dwelled. The period's length varied according to the type of uncleanness.

For Jews of Second-Temple times, determining the proper time period was sometimes a problem, but the main difficulty was the meaning of the "camp." Did biblical laws concerning the camp now apply only to the Temple environs? Or did they apply to all of Jerusalem, the holy city? Or, more broadly yet, were they meant to regulate life throughout the Holy Land? The present author casts his vote for the third alternative and here seeks to interpret certain biblical laws of uncleanness in a way that will guarantee the purity of the "holy ones of Israel," who live in "camps" all through the land.

Preserved portions mostly echo Leviticus 15 and are thereby concerned with bodily discharges—that is, the menstrual blood of the woman and the seminal discharge of the man. Areas of life we consider very private were a public concern for these ancients, since one unclean person could "infect" everybody, with the result that an unknowingly unclean person might touch holy things or, worse yet, enter the Temple—an abomination according to biblical law. An important principle of laws on discharges was that liquids were thought to "transmit" uncleanness like an electrical cord transmits a charge. Accordingly, frag. 2 explicates ritual problems that might be caused by handling different kinds of liquids.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 'he shall begin by reducing his rank (?). He shall lie down on a bed of trouble, and in a dwelling of grief he shall dwell. He shall dwell apart with all the unclean, at a distance ²of twelve cubits from the pure when they speak to him. He shall dwell to the northwest of any habitation at a distance of the same measurement.

³Any one of the unclean [wh]o h[as a dischar]ge, shall bathe in water and wash his clothes and then he may eat. For as it says, "Unclean, unclean" (Lev. 13:45), 'he shall cry all the days of the discharge; [this is an afflic]tion. And she

who is discharging blood, for seven days let her not touch the man who has a discharge or any of the vessels [t]hat he is using. Likewise for anything that he has laid ⁵upon or sat upon. And if she has touched anything, she shall wash her clothes and bathe and then she may eat. In [n]o way may she intermingle during her seven ⁶days that she might n[o]t defile the camps of the hol[y ones of] Israel. Nor may she touch any woman [who has had a dischar]ge of blood for man[y] days.⁷ And the one who is counting (the seven days), whether male or female may not tou[ch . . .] during the infirmity of her period, unless she is clean from her m[enstruatio]n. For, behold, the blood ⁸of menstruation is considered as a discharge for the one who touches it. And if a flow of semen is disch[arged], it is an affliction. And he shall be unclean [. . . and anyo]ne who touches any of ⁹these unclean people, he may [no]t eat during the seven days of [his] impu[rity], just as he who is unclean through contact with a corpse [and he shall b]athe and wash and the[n]

Col. 2 ¹[. . . whi]ch he sprinkles on him the first time, and he shall bathe, and wash before ²[. . . he shall imm]erse him the seventh time on the Sabbath. He may not sprinkle on the Sabbath because ³[. . .] the Sabbath da[y]. He may not touch the pure food until he changes ⁴[his clothes . . .] anything which touches a discharge of semen, whether it be a person or any vessel, he shall immerse, and the one who carries it ⁵[shall immerse . . .] and he shall immerse the garment which is on him and the vessel which he carries ⁶[. . .] And if there is a man in the camp whose hand or fo[ot] has not reached ⁷[. . .] the garment which has not touched it. Only, he may not touch his food. And the one who touc[h]es it ⁸[shall immerse . . .] he shall dwell [alone]. If he has not touched it, wash [his clothes] in water and if [. . .] ⁹[. . .] and he shall wash. And concerning all the holy things, he shall wash in water [. . .]

Liquids are conductors of uncleanness.

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹[. . . when] God reveals the apple of his eye and he calls o[ut . . .] ²[. . .] and every statute [. . .] ³[. . .] who eats [. . .] ⁴[. . .] not [. . .] ⁵[. . .] it is his [fle]sh and it is unclean ⁶[. . .] his drink [and] he may [not] eat the pure food and all ⁷[. . . afte]r they are pressed and their juice runs out, no one may eat them ⁸[. . . if] the unclean person touches them [and] also the greens [. . .] ⁹[. . .] or boiled cucumber, and a person who wat[ers]

More on uncleanness transferred by liquids.

Col. 2 ¹[. . .] they are unclean. The [. . .] ³

Anything which has a seal [. . .] ⁴he shall leave all the greens for the person who is cleansed [. . .] ⁵from the moisture of dew, he may eat, but if n[ot . . .] ⁶in the midst of the water unless a person [. . .] ⁷the land, if they come against it [. . .] ⁸the rain upon it, and if the [. . .] touches it [. . .] ⁹on

the field in all its measure in respect to the season [of the year . . .] ¹⁰any clay vessel tha[t shall] fall [in it . . . and any] ¹¹that [are clean] in its midst [. . . and every] ¹²drink t[hat he shall drink . . .]

—M.G.A.

47. RULE OF INITIATION

4Q275

The “official” catalogues of the Dead Sea Scrolls classify the *Rule* as a work concerned with ritual purity, but it lacks the themes common to such writings (cf., for example, text 46, *Ritual Purity Laws Concerning Liquids*, or text 48, *The Ashes of the Red Heifer*). Therefore, the older, original classification is probably more accurate, and we have adopted it. The writer appears to be discussing initiation and membership procedures. The liturgical expression, “he shall say in response” (frag. 3, l. 4) and the curses on the unrighteous or disobedient (frag. 1, l. 4) suggest a relationship to the *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (1:16–2:18, text 5).

Frag. 1 ¹and the elders with him, until [. . .] ²they shall enter in the genealogy [. . .] ³And the Overseer sha[ll damn (?) . . . without] ⁴mercy, [“He] is dam[ned . . . and they shall remove him] ⁵from his inheritance fore[ver . . .] “when he appoints all [. . .]”

Frag. 2 ¹[. . . judgme]nt and they shall discipline themselves until the [. . .] week [. . .] ²[. . .] they [shall pos]sess their inheritance, for he (it?) [. . .] ³[. . . me]n of truth and those who hate of unjust gain [. . .] ⁴[. . .] his [pl]edge not to kill a man [. . .] ⁵[. . .] the judgment [. . .] ⁶[. . .] a place [. . .] ⁷[. . .] if he was [. . .]

Frag. 3 ¹[. . . those who wal]k the paths of the [. . .] ²[. . . the elect of Israe]l, those who are called by the Name [. . .] ³[. . .] in the third month. [And they shall damn . . .] ⁴[. . .] and he shall say in response [. . .] ⁵[. . .] and nations in the lan[d . . .]

—M.G.A.

48. THE ASHES OF THE RED HEIFER

4Q276–277

Today, among certain groups in Israel, plans go forward for the building of a Third Temple. Since the destruction of Herod’s Temple, the so-called Second Temple, by the Romans in 70 C.E., there has been no Jewish Temple in

Jerusalem. But plans are underway to change that two-thousand-year-old fact. Priestly garments are being woven, guided by the laws preserved in the Bible and in rabbinic literature; molten silver and gold is being poured into molds to produce the many necessary Temple accoutrements—ladles, bowls, sprinklers, etc. A great deal of preparation is required.

Perhaps the most daunting task is the quest for a red heifer. According to Numbers 19, the ashes of a red heifer were a primary ingredient in the “water of impurity,” a solution that restored the purity of those unclean because they had touched a corpse. The water of impurity is an indispensable element of Temple life, for the impure cannot enter the Temple, and only this water can render them pure again. The impurity does not otherwise grow weaker or disappear with time; it never goes away.

The writing before us describes how to prepare a red heifer, once you have one—it is not exactly your run-of-the-mill cow. But the procedure described is contrary to what rabbinic literature stipulates (Mishnah Parah 3.7). The rabbis required the priest who was to burn the red heifer to be rendered unclean before the procedure began. The procedure our author recommends is the one, according to the Mishnah, the Sadducees endorsed. See the Introduction for further discussion of Sadducean connections with the scrolls.

4Q276 Frag. 1 ¹[. . . And the priest shall put on garments] which he has not worn to serve in the holy place ²[. . .] and he shall declare the garments guilty (?) and slaugh[ter] ³[the] heifer [be]fore him and he shall collect its blood in an earthen vessel that ⁴[has not been used to present an off]ering on the altar. He shall then sprinkle some of the blood with [his] finger seven ⁵[times to]ward the front of the t[e]nt of meeting. And he shall throw the cedar bough and ⁶the hyssop and the crimson [material] into the midst of its burning. ⁷[Then the one who does the burning shall wash his clothes and a man who is pure from any corpse uncleanness shall gath]er the ashes of the heifer ⁸[and st]ore them; kept ⁹[for the sons of Israel for the water for cleansing. It is a purification offering. And] the priest shall put on [. . .]

4Q277 Frag. 1 ¹[And he shall throw the cedar bough] and the hyssop and the [crimson material into the midst of its burning. Then the one who does the burning shall wash his clothes] ²and a man who is pure from any corpse uncleanness [shall gather the ashes of the heifer and store them; kept for the sons of Israel for the water for cleansing.] ³[It is a purification offering. And] the priest who makes atonement with the blood of the heifer and all [. . . shall pu]t on] ⁴[. . .] seam [. . .] they made atonement by them, the ordinance of the [red heifer (?) . . .] ⁵[. . .] with water. [And he shall be un]clean until the [eveni]ng. The one who carr[ies the p]ot of the water for cleansing shall be un[cle]an. He shall bathe in water and wash his clothes.] ⁶[And no] man [shall sprinkle] the water for cleansing upon the unclean [. . .] except a clean priest [. . .] ⁷[. . . upo]n them fo[r] he [shall] make

atonement for the unclean. One who is negligent (or a child) may not sprinkle on the unclean. And o[ne who . . .]⁸[. . . the] water for [c]leansing. And he shall enter the water and shall be cleansed from corpse uncleanness [. . .]⁹[. . .] another. [The pr]iest [shall sp]lashed the water for cleansing upon them to cleanse [them from . . .]¹⁰[. . .] however, they [shall] be cleansed, and their flesh shall be c[lean.] And everyone who touches [. . .]¹¹[. . .] his discharge [. . .] and is not rinsing [his] ha[nd] in water. ¹²They shall be [un]clean [. . .] his [b]ed and [his] dwel[ling . . .] they have touched his discharge, it is as an unclean affliction. ¹³[The] one who touches [. . . shall be un]clean until [the] evening. The one who carries [the pot and] the boughs (?) of [the tr]ees, shall be unclean until the [ev]ening.

—M.G.A.

49. RITUAL PURITY LAWS CONCERNING MENSTRUATION

4Q278

This small fragment is related to the *Ritual Purity Laws Concerning Liquids* (text 46) and *Laws for Purification* (text 52). *A Purification Ritual* (text 107) appears to be a “handbook” containing readings for the ritual accompanying the cleansing. The author here interprets Leviticus 15:19–24.

Frag. 1 '[. . . and he shall] rinse ²[in water . . .] ³[. . . N]o one may lie ⁴[with an unclean woman . . . And any furniture] which she shall sit ⁵[upon shall be unclean . . . And] if he has not touched it, ⁶[he shall be clean . . . on the th]ird [day], those who touch ⁷[. . . any]one, contact with the bed ⁸[. . .] in the place [. . .]

—M.G.A.

50. LAWS CONCERNING LOTS

4Q279

Ordinarily, when the Hebrew term translated as “lot” appears in the scrolls, it refers to the two groups into which all humanity is divided. In the language of the *War Scroll* (text 8), these groups are the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness. In this small fragment, however, the word “lot” appears to mean something different. It seems to refer to a literal division of wealth or rank. Four groups are involved, of which two are clearly identifiable: the sons of Aaron (priests) comprise the first group, and the fourth group consists of proselytes, or

converts to Judaism. A passage in the *Damascus Document* (text 1, Geniza 14:3–4), may shed light on the situation and on the identity of the two groups whose names are missing: “All shall be mustered by their names: the priests first, the Levites second, the children of Israel third, the proselytes fourth.”

Frag. 1 ²[. . .] his wealth which was written after [. . .] ³[. . .] and great, he has a pedigree [. . .] ⁴[. . . for the pries]ts, the sons of Aaron, the [first] lot shall fall [. . .] ⁵[. . .] each man according to his disposition, and the [third] lo[t is for the children of Israel . . .] ⁶[. . . and] the fourth lot is for the pro[selytes . . .]

—M.G.A.

51. A LITURGY OF BLESSING AND CURSING

4Q280, 4Q286–289

Moses never lived to enter the promised land, the Bible says; but that did not keep him from issuing detailed commands for what was to happen once Israel did enter Canaan. “On the day that you cross over the Jordan into the land that the LORD your God is about to give you . . . these shall stand on Mount Gerizim for the blessing of the people: Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin. And these shall stand on Mount Ebal for the curse: Reuben, Gad, Asher, Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali” (Deut. 27:2–13). The antiphonal blessings and curses that followed were a defining element in God’s covenant with Israel.

The *Yahad* took this unique biblical ceremony extremely seriously. They incorporated its pattern into both their initiation ceremony (*Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* 2:1–18, text 5) and their battle liturgy (*War Scroll* 13:1–4, text 8). Furthermore, the present work takes over the structure of the biblical ceremony wholesale. The writer details first blessings upon God and his holy angels, then curses upon Satan—here called Belial and Melkiresha’—and his attendant evil spirits. Clearly this work represents a liturgy, as witnessed by the repeated introductory formula “they shall say in response.” Each blessing or curse ends with the *Yahad*’s characteristic twofold “Amen,” which is rare in the Bible (it occurs only in Neh. 5:22; 8:6). In Deuteronomy 27 and elsewhere in the Old and New Testaments the “Amen” is never repeated twice—except, of course, for the twofold “Amen” with which Jesus is said to preface his most sober pronouncements.

Origin of and curse on Melkiresha’.

4Q280 Frag. 1 ¹[. . . God shall separate him out] for evil from the midst of the Sons of Li[ght because of his apostasy.] ²[And they shall say in response, “Cur]sed are you, O Melkiresha’, for all the pur[poses of your guilty desires. May] God [appoint you] ³as an object of terror in the hands of those who wreak vengeance. May God not be gracious to you when you call out,

[and may He lift up His angry face] ⁴to you in indignation, so that you might not have peace in the mouth of all who make interces[sion. Cursed are you] ⁵without remnant. You are damned, without survivor. And cursed are all who perpetra[te deception, . . .] ⁶and those who [es]tablish evil plans in their hearts, to plot against the covenant of God [. . .] ⁷[. . .] all those who see [His] tru[th. And ev]ery one who despises to enter [into the covenant of God, walking in the stubbornness of his heart . . .]

In praise of God.

4Q286 Frag. 1 Col. 2 ¹Your honored abode and Your glorious footstool are in the heights where You stand, and Your holy treading place ²and Your glorious chariots, with their multitudes and their wheels and all [their] counsels, ³foundations of fire, flames of light, majestic brightness, shining lights, wondrous luminaries, ⁴splendor and majesty, glorious height, holy counsel and [sh]ining pla[ce], splendorous height, w[onders of] ⁵[. . .] and a gathering of powers, majesty of praises, greatness of fears, [. . .] ⁶wondrous works, wise counsel, an image of knowledge and source of understanding, place of wisdom ⁷and holy counsel, a true foundation, storehouse of insight from the sons of righteousness and dwellings of the uprig[ht . . . recompense] ⁸of mercies and pleasant humility, true loving-kindness, eternal mercies, wondrous mysteries ⁹[. . .] and holy weeks in their plan and signs of the months [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] in their seasons, and time of glory in [their] fixed times [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] and the Sabbaths of the earth in [their] divis[i]ons and ti[m]es of liber[ty . . .] ¹²[. . .] perpetual [li]berties and [eternal] ju[bilee]s . . .] ¹³[. . .] light and darkne[ss . . .]

Blessing to God for giving the land as an inheritance to Israel.

Frag. 5 ¹[. . .] the earth and all of [its inha]bitants [. . . and all] those who dwell in it, the land and all of their purposes [. . .] ²[. . . and eve]ry living thing, [al]l the hill[s], the valleys, and all the ravines, the wildernes[s . . .] ³[. . .] the deep[s], the forests, and all the wilderness of Hore[b . . .] ⁴[. . .] and the wasteland, and the foundations of its heights, the islands, and [. . .] ⁵[. . .] its fruit [trees], tall trees, and all the cedars of Leban[on . . .] ⁶[. . . grain, fr]esh wine and fresh oil, and all the produce [. . .] ⁷[. . .] and all the offerings of the earth in the tw[elve] months [. . .] ⁸[. . . the tru]th of Your word. Amen. Amen. [. . .] ⁹[. . .] and the [. . .] of the seas, the springs of the deep [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] and all the wadis, the streams of the deeps [. . .] ¹¹[. . .]. water [. . .] ¹²[. . . a]ll their foundations [. . .] ¹³[. . .] Your [. . .]

Blessing to God for his protection.

Frag. 7 Col. 1 ¹[. . . all] the lands ²[. . . and all] of their elect ³[. . .] and all their companions in psalms of ⁴[Your glory . . .] and true blessings to the

ends of the g[enerations . . .] ⁵[. . .] Your [. . .] and the One who supports Your kingdom in the midst of . . . ⁶[. . . the se]cret of the gods of purity with all those who know how to prai[se] eternally. ⁷[And to ble]ss Your glorious name through all [eterni]t[y.] Amen. Amen.

"[And] they shall continue to bless the God of [Israel and relate a]ll the [. . . of] His truth.

Col. 2 ¹The society of the *Yahad* shall say, in unison, "Amen, Amen."

Curse on Belial and the spirits of his lot.

Then [they] shall denounce Belial ²and all his guilty lot. Then they shall say in response: "Cursed is [B]elial because of his malevolent [pu]rposes, ³he is damned for his guilty dominion. And cursed are all the spir[it]s of] his [lo]t for their wicked purpose, ⁴they are damned for their filthy [un]clean intentions. For [they are the lo]t of darkness and their punishment ⁵is the eternal pit. Amen. Amen.

Belial and his sons are destined for annihilation.

And cursed is the Wick[ed One in all of the purposes of] his dominion, and damned ⁶are all the sons of Beli[al] for all the iniquities of their office, until their annihilation [. . . Amen. Amen.]

Curse on the angel of the pit and the spirits of perdition.

⁷And [cursed are you . . . O ange]l of the pit, and the spir[it]s of per]d]ition for al[l] the purposes of [your] g[uilt]y] desire. ⁸[. . .] and the Party of the wick[ed. And] you are [da]mned for [. . .] ⁹[. . . and for your guilty dominion . . .] with all [his] l[ot . . .] ¹⁰[. . . without forgi]veness by the fierce anger of [God . . .]. Amen. A[men]. ¹¹[Cursed are you . . .] their [wickednes]s and those who establish their evil plans [. . .] ¹²[. . .] and to alter the command[ments of God . . .]

Blessing to God and his angels.

4Q287 Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] their [. . .] and [. . .] their [. . .] their basins [. . .] ²[. . .] their [. . .] their [co]ming splendor [. . .] ³[. . .] their glorious [na]mes, their wondrous gates [. . .] ⁴[. . .] and, angels of fire and spirits of cloud [. . .] ⁵[. . . shin]ing, variegated patterns of the spirits of the most hol[y . . .] ⁶[. . . the heave]ns and the holy expanse [. . .] ⁷[. . . the most] holy in all the time[s of eternity . . .] ⁸[. . .] the glorious name of Your divinity [. . .] ⁹[. . .] their [. . .] and all the h[ol]y ministers [. . .] ¹⁰[. . . their] works are perfect [. . .] ¹¹[. . . hol]y in the palaces of [Your] d[ominion . . .] ¹²[. . .] all the minister[s of . . .] their splendor, the angels of ¹³[. . . And they shall bless there] Your holy [name] in the dwell[ings of the] a]ngels of Your righteousness

Frag. 3 ¹[. . .] them, and they will bless Your holy name with blessings [. . .] ²[. . .] Your [. . .] all the creatures of flesh, all of them that [You] created [. . .] ³[. . . b]easts and birds and creeping things, and fish of [the s]eas and all [. . .] ⁴[. . . Y]ou created all of them anew [. . .]

Blessings to God.

Frag. 5 ⁸[. . . a mu]ltitude of nations, to giv[e them the land . . .] ⁹[. . .] their families in [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] in Your righteous truth when [Your kingdom] is exalt[ed . . .] ¹¹[. . . and to bless Your glo]rious [name] all in unison, Amen. A[men].

[. . .] ¹²[. . .] dra[win]g near to You and the see[d . . .] ¹³[. . . in all] the families of the land, to be [as one in the law]

4Q288 Frag. 1 ¹[. . . me]n of the *Yahad* [. . .] ²[. . . m]en of deceit and [. . .] ³[. . . and] you [shall guard] His works from all [. . .] ⁴[. . .] his life, any matter, for [. . .] ⁵[. . .] God shall deliver [. . .] ⁶[. . .] in anger and in zeal for [. . .] ⁷[. . .] and burning anger [. . .]

Curse on Belial.

4Q289 Frag. 1 ¹[and the par]tyof wickedness, their [ser]vice is in [. . .] ²[and] etern[al] condemnations [in] complete [reproach . . . Amen. Amen.]

Liturgical instructions in preparation for blessing God.

[. . .] ³for the truth of God and to bless His name and [. . .] ⁴then the priest [ap]pointed as leader of the head of [the general membership] shall [exam]ine [. . .] ⁵[. . . men] of holiness in the midst of all [their congrega]tion . . .] ⁶[. . . and to give than]ks before Him [and they shall say in response,] "Blessed [are You, O God of Israel . . .] ⁷[. . .] all [. . .]

Blessing for God the creator.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . . You] created the [heavens and the earth . . .] ²[. . .] all of them and al[. . .] ³[. . . the prie]sts, those who enter [. . .] ⁴[. . .] Amen. Ame[n. . . .]

—M.G.A.

52. LAWS FOR PURIFICATION

4Q284

This text containing liturgical instructions is concerned with purity laws and may be related to *Ordinances* (text 17) and *Ritual Purity Laws Concerning Menstruation* (text 49). See the introduction to text 46 for a discussion of the important concept of ritual purity.

Laws concerning purification after sexual relations (Lev. 15:18).

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ²[. . . all the days of] the Sabbaths (?), and all the weeks (?)
³[of the year . . . the year and] its twelve months ⁴[. . . the appointed] times of
 the year and days of ⁵[. . . This is] the Rule of Impurities for Israel ⁶[. . .]
 water of cleansing that [a ma]n might sprink[le . . .] ⁷[. . . If a man has] sexual
 relations [with a woman,] ⁸[they shall bathe with water and shall be un-
 clean until evening . . . who shall] be unclean to him [. . .] ⁹[. . .] who
 [. . .]

Laws concerning proper cleansing (Lev. 15:18) from an unknown uncleanness.

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] un[cle]an [. . .] he shall not eat ²[from the holy
 food . . .] everything which touched h[im (?)] . . . in the days of ³[his impu-
 rity . . . and when] his [full] week has been completed, [he shall wash his
 clothes and bathe in wate]r ⁴[and he shall be clean . . .] bathe [his] fle[sh in
 water and shall be clean . . .]

Laws concerning proper cleansing from menstrual uncleanness (Lev. 15:19).

Col. 2 ¹They shall leave [. . .] in the menstrual impurity of [. . .] ²holy
 ones and no[t . . .] ³from food the seven [days of her uncleanness . . . after the
 setting of] ⁴the sun on the seventh day [. . . and he shall say in response,]
⁵"Blessed are You O God of Israel [. . .] ⁶forsaking [his] peace for [. . .]

Continuing laws concerning proper cleansing from menstrual uncleanness (Lev. 15:19).

Frag. 3 ¹[. . . al] the periods of her times [. . .] ²[. . .] when the sun sets
 on the [seventh] day [. . .] ³[. . .] menstrual impurity. And he shall say in re-
 sponse, "Blessed are yo[u, O God of Israel . . .] ⁴[. . . and Yo]u inscribed a
 purification of truth for Your people, for [. . .] ⁵[. . . to] cleanse them from
 all their uncl[e]an[ess] to [sanctify them . . .]

Laws concerning uncleanness from a corpse (Num. 19:14).

Frag. 4 ²to the sons of Your covenant [. . .] ³in Your t[rue] lot for [. . .]
⁴and pure before You in [. . .] ⁵concerning the person who dies in the [tent,
 everyone who is in the tent shall be unclean . . .] ⁶And at that time of the
 mark [. . .] shall be [. . .]

—M.G.A.

53. LAWS ABOUT GLEANING

4Q284a

The *Charter* (text 5) stipulates various kinds of punishments for members of the *Yahad*, including being barred from community food (e.g., *Charter* 7:16). This law raised an ancillary issue: were members under such a sanction barred

from gleaning the crops of the community (i.e., gathering dropped or unharvested produce)? The humane answer, according to this text, was that they be allowed to glean, but without mingling with the other members. The text (perhaps from a supplementary book of statutes?) also indicates that members not under sanction may glean the same fields that the punished members glean, provided they do so in a state of ritual purity. Compare Leviticus 19:9–10 and 23:22.

Members under sanction may glean the fields of the group.

Frag. 1 ²[he may gle]an it [but] they shall [not] glean them [. . .] ³[who] does not touch the drink of the general membership, for these [. . .] ⁴[he may glean] it but the figs and the shrubs [. . .] ⁵their [drinks] he may bring out just [as] he squeezes (?) all of them, they may glean [in a state of ritual purity . . .]

Nonmembers and excommunicated members may not glean the fields, nor may members buy back produce illicitly gleaned by nonmembers.

⁶[. . . a man] who has not been brought [into the] covenant, and if they mock [. . .] ⁷[. . .] he may not redeem them from [any stran]ger, even so much as a date stone, until he en[ters . . .] ⁸[they may glean] in purity and [. . .] their work [. . .]

Frag. 2 ²[. . . all of] them may glean in purity [. . .] ³[. . .] and each will glean [. . .] ⁴any of the men of the *Yahad* [. . .] ⁵[. . .] purity [. . .] ⁶[. . .] clean [. . .] ⁷[. . .] unless [. . .]

—E.M.C.

54. THE WAR OF THE MESSIAH

4Q285, 11Q14

“Rediscovered” among the unpublished fragments of the scrolls when they first became available late in 1991, 4Q285 frag. 5 of *The War of the Messiah* created a flurry of excitement and generated front-page headlines all over the world. Line 4 of the fragment is ambiguous in the original Hebrew, which is written without vowels. According to the vowels mentally supplied by the Hebrew reader, l. 4 could say either “they (the enemy) will put the Leader of the community to death” or “the Leader of the community will have him (the enemy leader) put to death.” The Leader of the community is a messianic figure known from other Dead Sea Scrolls (see *Priestly Blessings for the Last Days* and *Commentaries on Isaiah*, texts 7 and 19, respectively). Thus, following the first option, frag. 5 appeared to be describing the execution of a messiah, and the obvious parallels to Jesus of Nazareth were drawn.

The excitement has since died down. After a whirlwind of research activity and a number of critical assessments, scholarly consensus has rejected the first option and settled on the second. Even the primary exponent of the “dying messiah” interpretation, Robert Eisenman, has publicly recanted, saying that in fact he never really believed it in the first place. Scholars have concluded in favor of the second option largely because of parallels between frag. 5 and other Dead Sea Scrolls. They argue that the Leader of the community is elsewhere always a victorious deliverer, a son of David raised up to lead Israel back to primacy at the head of the nations. The context of the fragment itself commends a victorious messiah, beginning as it does with a quote from Isaiah 11, which continues “He shall strike the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked” (v. 4). Frag. 5, according to current consensus, describes a particularly important instance of messianic slaughter of the wicked: the enemy leader is killed.

The War of the Messiah is an important find for another reason, for it may preserve the missing end of the *War Scroll* (text 8). The text might be arranged to give the following description of the final battle: the high priest takes his stand before the troops and blesses them before the seventh and final foray against the Sons of Darkness. This blessing reflects the imminent age of peace and prosperity that lies on the horizon (frag. 1). Frags. 4 and 6 describe a battle that begins in the mountains of Israel and concludes on the Mediterranean Sea. The forces of the Sons of Darkness are routed with the aid of the angelic forces (frag. 10), and the wicked leader is brought before the Royal Messiah (the Leader) for judgment. Fulfilling Isaiah 10:33–11:5, the wicked leader is slain. The people of Israel then rejoice with dancing and song. Finally, the high priest orders the troops to cleanse the land from the corpses of the Kittim (frags. 5 and 2).

A Cave 11 manuscript, 11Q14, has been discovered to coincide with frag. 1 of 4Q285, so the caves apparently housed two copies of this extraordinary writing.

The last (?) address of the high priest before the final and victorious battle against the Kittim. Reconstructed with the aid of 11Q14 1–2ii.

4Q285 Frag. 1 [. . . And he blessed them] before Israel [and said in response “. . .] ¹[. . . Israel, Blessed are you in the name of G]od Most [High who . . .] ²[and blessed is His holy name f]or ever and ever [and blessed are His true . . . works and blessed] ³[are all His holy angels. May] God Mos[t High bless] you, [and shine His face upon you and open] ⁴[His] good [treasure for you whic]h is in heaven to [bring down upon your land showers] ⁵[of blessing, dew and] rain—both early and late—in their season to give [you bountiful fruit, grain,] ⁶[fresh wine, and] oil abundantly. And let the earth [pro]duce for yo[u delicacies, and you shall eat] ⁷[and become fat] and there will be no barren woman [in your la]nd and no [sickness. Smut or mildew] ⁸shall not ap-

pear in [its] produce, [and n]o stum[bling block in your congregation. Wild animals shall cease] "from the land, nor shall there be any plagu[e in yo]ur [land.] For God is w[ith you and His holy angels shall take their stand in your congregation, and] "His holy name shall be called u[p]on you . . .] "together."

And before you engage [in battle, the priest shall come forward and speak to the troops. . . .]

In the aftermath of the battle, the soldiers dig graves and cleanse the land of the dead.

Frag. 2 ²[. . . He shall separate them] from the midst of the congregation [. . .] ³[. . . leave the] unjust gain and profit [for them . . .] ⁴[. . .] and you shall eat [the spoil of your enemy . . .] ⁵[. . . And they shall dig] grave[s] for them [. . .] ⁶[. . . and you shall cleanse yourselves from all] their corpses [. . .] ⁷[. . . and afterwar]ds they shall return [. . .] ⁸[. . .] water (?) [. . .] ⁹[. . .] God (or to) [. . .]

The battle is fought on land and sea and ends with the leader of the forces of evil standing in judgment before the Leader of the congregation.

Frag. 6 + Frag. 4 ¹[. . . in three lots] evil shall be smitten [. . .] ²[. . . Lead]er of the nation. And all Is[rael . . .] ³[. . . concerning that which wa]s written [. . .] ⁴[. . .] upon the mountains of [Israel you and all your troops and the peoples that are with you shall fall . . .] ⁵[. . .] to the sea (?) [. . .] ⁶[. . . the L]eader of the nation to the [Mediterranean] Sea [. . .] ⁷[. . . And they shall flee] from Israel at that time [. . .] ⁸[. . . And the High Priest] shall stand before them and they shall arrange themselves against them [in battle array . . .] ⁹[. . .] and they shall return to the land at that time [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] then they shall bring him before the Leader of [the congregation . . .]

As it is written in Isaiah 10:34–11:1, the forces of evil are cut down by the messianic "shoot of Jesse." The shoot, who is the Leader, condemns the leader of the forces of evil to death and the chosen of Israel rejoice.

Frag. 5 ¹[. . . just as it is written in the book of] Isaiah the prophet, "And [the thickets of the forest] shall be cut down ²[with an ax, and Lebanon with its majestic trees w]ill fall. A shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse ³[and a branch shall grow out of his roots" (Isa. 10:34–11:1). This is the] Branch of David. Then [all forces of Belial] shall be judged, ⁴[and the king of the Kittim shall stand for judgment] and the Leader of the nation—the Bra[nch of David]—will have him put to death. ⁵[Then all Israel shall come out with timbrel]s and dancers, and the [High] Priest shall order ⁶[them to cleanse their bodies from the guilty blood of the c]orpse[s] of the Kittim. [Then all the people shall . . .]

Angelic forces fight on the side of the Sons of Light (1QM 9:15–16).

Frag. 10 ¹[. . .] and upon [. . .] ²[. . .] for the sake of His name and [. . .] ³[. . .] Michael, G[abrie]l [Sariel and Raphael . . .] ⁴[. . .] and with the chosen [of heaven . . .]

This tiny fragment mentions the mysterious book (or possibly the prophet?) Haguy. Several other Dead Sea Scrolls refer to this book, among them the Damascus Document (text 1) and The Secret of the Way Things Are (text 88).

11Q14 Frag. 5 ¹[. . . commandm]ents of Haguy, prophe[sy thou (or the proph[et] . . .) ²[. . . Arise O h]ero. Take captive [. . .] ³[. . .] infantry . . .
—M.G.A.

55. THE SAGE TO THE “CHILDREN OF DAWN”

4Q298

The Sage to the “Children of Dawn” is one of a handful of texts found in Cave 4 that were written in a Cryptic Script A, the secret form of writing discussed in the Introduction. This form of writing used a secret symbol for each letter of the Hebrew alphabet, making it impossible for the uninitiated to read works so inscribed. The decision to encrypt the present work suggests that only those instructed in the mysteries of the group were supposed to read its contents, although what remains may not seem particularly remarkable as compared to other scrolls.

The addressees of this exhortation are called “the children of dawn” (initiates?), a mysterious title found nowhere else among the scrolls. The writer speaks in the first person and calls himself the “Instructor” or “Sage,” an office of leadership and instruction within the *Yahad*. This work is a “wisdom instruction” comparable to *The Book of Secrets* (text 10) and *The Secret of the Way Things Are* (text 88). For further discussion of the characteristics of wisdom writings, refer to those texts.

Introduction exhorting the initiates to listen to the words of the Instructor.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹The [word]s of the Instructor which he spoke to all the Sons of Dawn: “Hear[ken unto me, a]ll men of understanding ²[and those who purs]ue righteousness. Unders[ta]nd my words and you shall be seekers of faithfulness. L[iste]n to my words, all ³[which comes o]ut of [my] lips, and [you shall under]stand. Expo[und] them and attai[n the path of] life, O m[en of] ⁴His [wil]l [. . .] eternal [. . .] search [. . .] ⁵[. . .] and saw [. . .]

Fellowship to be established on wisdom and law (?).

Col. 2 'her roots go [out . . .] lofty dwelling ²in the deeps be[neath . . .] and in them ³consider [. . .] dust ⁴[. . .] He gave to ⁵[. . .] in all the earth ⁶[. . .] He measured their ranks ⁷[. . . un]der the name ⁸[. . .] their [r]anks to walk ⁹[. . .] storehouse of understanding ¹⁰[. . .] and which

Doing justice and walking humbly (Mic. 6:8) bring understanding. The notion of "predestined trials" in l. 8 reflects the Yahad's doctrine that God has not merely foreseen, but actively willed, all of history. Therefore, trials and tribulations are part of the Yahad's life, intended by God to purify them.

Col. 3 '[. . .] and the number of its boundaries ²[. . .] that his heart may not be lifted up ³[above his brothers . . .] lofty dwelling. And now ⁴hear[en . . .] and those of you who know, listen! And men of ⁵understanding [. . .] and those who require justice, walk ⁶humbly [. . . he who has clean hands] grows stronger and stronger, and men of ⁷truth [. . .] and love kindness, increase ⁸humility and [. . .] predestined trials (?) which ⁹interpret (?) [. . .] that you might understand at the end ¹⁰of the eternal ages and look in the ancient things, to know [. . .]"

—M.G.A.

56. THE PARABLE OF THE BOUNTIFUL TREE

4Q302a

In his classic work *The Parables of Jesus*, Joachim Jeremias wrote in 1954, "Jesus' parables are something entirely new. In all the rabbinic literature, not one single parable has come down to us from the period before Jesus." This is a strong statement, and not all scholars have affirmed it. Many are inclined to see the use of parables for teaching as reasonably widespread in Second-Temple Judaism. These scholars argue that Jesus drew from a common fund of popular stories or that his themes, at least, came from such a fund. Nevertheless, their view has, until now, relied more upon inference than evidence. Concrete proof was just not to be found.

Rabbinic literature abounds with parables similar to those of Jesus, but those writings are, as Jeremias implied, uniformly later than the time of Jesus. Thus they cannot safely be used to prove that parables were common teaching devices when Jesus walked the shores of the Sea of Galilee. Further, no parables appear in the Apocrypha or the pseudepigraphic writings that have come down to us. Nor was it known, before the release of the unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls in 1991, that

parables survived among the materials from Qumran. The text before us is therefore of great interest and importance, for it is manifestly a parable.

Unfortunately, the work is very fragmentary, but enough survives to see some parallels with New Testament parables. The introductory address, "Please consider this, you who are wise," reminds one immediately of the Gospel statement that often frames Jesus' teaching: "Let anyone with ears to hear, listen!" (e.g., Mark 4:9). Our author's choice of a tree as the parable's metaphor also resonates with Gospel parables, including the budding fig tree (Mark 13:28–32), the good and bad trees (Matt. 7:16–20), and Luke's story of the barren fig tree (Luke 13:6–9).

A parable of a fine tree and its owner's prudent concern for its welfare.

Frag. 1 Col. 2 ²Please consider this, you who are wise: If a man has ³a fine tree, which grows high, all the way to heaven [. . .] ⁴[. . .] of the soil, and it [pr]oduces succulent fruit [every year] ⁵with the autumn rains and the spring rains, [. . .] and in thirst, ⁶will he not [. . .] and guard it ⁷[. . .] to multiply the boughs (?) of ⁸[. . .] from its shoot, to increase ⁹[. . .] and its mass of branches [. . .]

Whether or not the parable of the tree continues in this fragment is uncertain. The contents might be seen as an interpretation of the parable, in which the people of Israel represent the tree. God's treatment of them is analogous to the careful cultivation of a tree.

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ²[. . .] your God ³[. . .] ⁴[. . .] your hearts [. . .] ⁵[. . .] with a willing spirit. ⁶[. . .] Shall God establish [. . .] from your hand? When you rebel, ⁷[. . .] your [in]tentions, will He not confront you, reprove ⁸you and reply to your complaint? ⁹[. . .] As for God, His dwelling is in heaven, and [His king]dom ¹⁰embraces the lands; in the seas [. . .] in them, and [. . .]
—M.O.W.

A READER'S GUIDE TO THE QUMRAN CALENDAR TEXTS

We in the modern world are obsessed with time. We tell time, keep time, mark time, fill time, kill time—some even do time. We have alarm clocks, atomic clocks, cuckoo clocks, pocket watches, and stopwatches. We consult chronicles, registries, annals, journals, time sheets, timecards, logs, datebooks, date slips, and timetables. Time obsesses us, time possesses us. It was not so for the ancients.

Inhabitants of the ancient world generally did without the chronometric cycles that structure our lives. Farmers for the most part, they were concerned with

little more than the seasons and the changing weather the seasons brought with them. Though it seems incredible to us, ancient testimony shows that the average person often did not know what year it was. Longer spans of time were utterly beyond normal comprehension. Peasants appearing before the Spanish Inquisition (for which ample documentation exists) could not say, when asked, how old they were. Most members of ancient society just did not think measuring time was very important.

But there were two groups for whom it was important: astronomers and priests. In antiquity the two were often one and the same. Priests were interested in time for different reasons than we are. Our interest in timekeeping usually springs from economic concerns ("Time is money"). Ancient priests kept track of it as a way of serving God. For them, time was sacred. The astronomical bodies by which time was measured had been created by God; consequently, its measurement was a sacred priestly task. This task gave rise to festival calendars. Alongside all our other concerns with time, we still follow such festival calendars, we who celebrate Passover or Easter.

Calendars, or writings that presuppose them, comprise a very substantial percentage of the Dead Sea caches. Indeed, as stated in the Introduction, adherence to a peculiar calendar is the thread that runs through hundreds of the Dead Sea Scrolls. More than any other single element, the calendar binds these works together. It is the calendar that makes the scrolls a collection. The calendar is the intentional element. No matter who wrote the scrolls or put them in the caves, the manuscripts do, in some sense, form a library because they all embrace one particular type of solar calendar and its ancillary developments. Therefore, if we want to understand the Dead Sea Scrolls, we must come to terms with their system for measuring sacred time. Understanding this system can be demanding, as matters get technical; the best approach is to read the next few pages once over to get a rough idea of what's involved and then, when reading the calendars themselves, return to this discussion as needed.

The authors and readers of the scrolls differed from most Jews of their day in the importance they ascribed to the sun. The sun's annual journey through the heavens was the basis for their calendar. Most Jews, in contrast, embraced a lunar calendar that was the primitive ancestor of the modern Jewish calendar. The difference in outlook was not absolute, but rather a matter of degree. The writers of the scrolls were interested in the moon; the other side perforce kept an eye on the sun. The lunar calendar of most Jews employed a system of intercalation (intermittent adding of months) based on the solar cycle. The dispute—and it was a bitter dispute to judge from the polemics we read in the scrolls—was really about which heavenly body was more important. Logically, the more important body should rule, should govern sacred time. Would the sun and its cycle govern the festivals of Israel's sacred year, or would the moon have pride of place? The authors of the scrolls cast their vote for the sun.

The calendar of the scrolls proposed a 364-day solar year. The moon, as a secondary body, was sometimes considered, and when it was, its movements were described in terms of the sun. The movements of the moon are inherently much more complicated than those of the sun, and the scroll writers knew this fact. Their struggles to describe those movements are evident in erasures and marginal comments on the scrolls. In fact, despite the pleasing symmetry of their solar system, these calendrical works were not very accurate in the long term. Their solar year fell behind the astronomical year by more than a day each time the earth revolved around the sun. Likewise, their lunar calendars lost nearly half an hour a month. These differences might be relatively insignificant for a few years, but eventually the seasons would begin to wander through the year, and the phases of the moon would not correspond to what was expected. Inaccuracy would become a major problem. Yet so far scholars have been unable to identify any system of intercalation that the writers would have used to make the differences good. How did the calendars actually function in real life?

For they did function; these writings were not mere abstract theory. We know that from *A Commentary on Habakkuk*, which describes a Day of Atonement on which the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers were attacked by the Wicked Priest (see text 4, 11:4–8). As Shemaryahu Talmon has shown,⁸ this attack was only possible because the Teacher was following one calendar, the Wicked Priest another. For the Teacher, it was the Day of Atonement. Battle, as a type of work, was forbidden. For the Priest, it was an ordinary day and a perfect opportunity to strike. At least in this instance, people were actually trying to live by the Qumran calendar. Did they keep doing so long enough to perceive an incipient inaccuracy, and did they try to fix it?

Logic would suggest they did, but we must be wary of assuming our logic was that of the ancients. Perhaps no system of intercalation ever did develop. A passage in *1 Enoch* points to this possibility, as Roger Beckwith has noted.⁹ *1 Enoch* is a work that embraces the solar calendar; indeed, nearly a dozen copies of this work were found among the scrolls. *1 Enoch* 80:2–4 contains a prophecy couched in literary fiction: “In the days of the sinners the years shall be shortened, and their seed shall be tardy on their lands and fields, and all things on the earth shall alter, and not appear in their time . . . the moon shall alter her order, and not appear at her time.” These lines seem to describe the seasonal and lunar drift that would arise without intercalation of the Qumran calendar. The author’s explanation is noteworthy: “Many chiefs of the stars shall transgress the order” (80:6). Seasonal drift was not, in his view, the result of an imperfect calendrical system; no, it stemmed from angelic sin. Yet given his presuppositions, this was a

⁸Shemaryahu Talmon, “Yom Hakippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll,” *Biblica* 32 (1951): 549–63.

⁹Roger Beckwith, “The Modern Attempt to Reconcile the Qumran Calendar with the True Solar Year,” *Revue de Qumran* 7 (1969–71): 379–96.

logical move. The problem could not be with the calendar, for that had been divinely revealed and was therefore perfect. The *Damascus Document* argues that God revealed to his chosen “things hidden, in which all Israel had gone wrong: His holy Sabbaths, His glorious festivals, His righteous laws, His reliable ways” (text 1, 3:14–15). The revelations about the Sabbaths and festivals involved the solar calendar, which the author of the *Damascus Document* knew most Jews did not follow. He blamed that fact on ignorance. Other scrolls show that followers of the solar calendar found support for their ideas in the creation narratives and, explicitly, in time references in the story of Noah’s Flood (Gen. 6–8; see *Commentaries on Genesis*, text 44).

Beyond the problem of intercalation, another basic area of ignorance hindering complete understanding of the calendars involves the meaning of the recurrent Hebrew term *duq*.^{*} This word, describing one of the phases of the moon, occurs frequently in *Synchronistic Calendars* (text 60). The system of lunar observation associated with the term clearly underlies other texts as well, even though they don’t mention *duq*. Before the discovery of the scrolls, scholars had never encountered this word. (Knowledge of ancient Hebrew is far from perfect; quite a bit of lost vocabulary has been recovered from the scrolls.) Reasoning from etymology, *duq* most likely means “carefully examined.” But what is being examined?

Given the context in which *duq* occurs, the options are just two: the first crescent or the full moon. Either understanding implies that the scroll writers once again differed from other Jews. Not only did they support a solar calendar, but they evidently also used an unorthodox lunar calendar. As with the modern Jewish calendar, for most ancient Jews the lunar month began with the first sighting of the moon’s crescent. But if *duq* refers to the observation of the first crescent, then the lunar month of the scrolls must have begun with a full moon. If, on the other hand, *duq* refers to observation of the full moon, then the lunar month of the scrolls must have begun with a “dark day,” i.e., with the (invisible) astronomical new moon, as in modern astronomy. For both options analogs exist.

The medieval writer Albiruni spoke of a Jewish sect called the “cave dwellers” (the *Yahad* or their descendants?). This group followed a lunar calendar in which the month began with a full moon. Albiruni wrote that their practice stood “in opposition to the custom of the majority of the Jews, and to the prescriptions of [the Law].”[†] Perhaps the lunar practice of the Qumran calendars lived on among the “cave dwellers,” and Albiruni is our key to understanding them.

On the other hand, the ancient Egyptians held to a lunar calendar based upon the astronomical new moon. Moreover, so did a Jewish sect, the Samaritans, who

^{*}The lack of vowels in Hebrew would also allow for the word to be pronounced *daveq*.

[†]C. E. Sachau, ed., *The Chronology of Ancient Nations: An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athar-ul-Bakiya of Albiruni* (London:Wm. H. Allen, 1879), 278.

were contemporary with the scrolls. For both peoples, the month began with a dark day.

In short, scholars are still debating the options for *duq*, and a reasonable case can be made for either approach. The authors of this book do not themselves agree on what it means but have decided to translate according to the full-moon option. Hence, we will take *duq* to refer to observation of the first crescent.

The calendars of the Dead Sea Scrolls plot time using five different cycles. None of the calendars uses them all, but frequently more than one cycle appears in the same work. These cycles are as follows, beginning with the shortest:

(1) The 364-day year. Some writers further divide the year into four equal quarters of thirteen weeks each (ninety-one days). Text 65, *Priestly Service As the Seasons Change*, is an example of such a work. Each quarter comprises three solar months—thirty, thirty, and thirty-one days long, respectively. The year begins in the spring, and New Year's Day—day one of month seven—is always on a Wednesday. The reason is that the writers understood time to begin only with the fourth day of creation week, Wednesday, when God made the sun, moon, and stars. *The Sabbaths and Festivals of the Year*, text 64, is an example of a one-year calendar.

(2) A three-year lunar cycle. Lunar months (as opposed to the solar months above) alternate between twenty-nine and thirty days long (the cycle always beginning with a twenty-nine-day month). After thirty-six lunar months the moon is exactly thirty days behind the solar calendar. Then a thirty-day "leap month" is added to synchronize sun and moon once again. The three-year lunar cycle is the subject of *Calendar of the Heavenly Signs*, text 59.

(3) A six-year cycle of priestly service in the Temple. Twenty-four priestly divisions, or courses, took turns serving in the Temple. Each division would serve for a week, then rotate out as a new division arrived. Because there were twenty-four divisions for the fifty-two weeks of the solar calendar, each division would serve twice a year, and four divisions would serve a third week. Six years were needed to equalize the courses; that is, only after six years would all have served the same number of weeks. This six-year cycle is very important for the scroll writers. They name years and other periods of time according to the priestly division in service at the point in question. The names of the priestly divisions are those we know from 1 Chronicles 24:7–18. Text 60, *Synchronistic Calendars*, is a good example of a calendar employing the priestly cycle.

(4) A forty-nine year cycle, called a jubilee. Text 59, *Heavenly Signs*, relies heavily upon this cycle; see the introduction to that work for more on jubilees.

(5) A 294-year cycle of six jubilees. This is the cycle that plots a rare occurrence: the service of the first priestly division, named Gamul, on New Year's Day at the beginning of a jubilee period. Two hundred and ninety-four years would pass between occurrences. The scroll's writers believed that this situation reprised

that of the fourth day of creation. The only text that mentions this cycle is *Heavenly Signs* (text 59).

In the Western world we take the calendar for granted, but this is the first century in history in which all major cultures use the same calendar. Even quite recently, travel across certain borders in Europe entailed a thirteen-day shift in the date. Only in 1923 did Greece embrace the current Gregorian calendar; France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Luxembourg had adopted it in 1582. The Russian Orthodox church and several Middle Eastern Christian groups still reckon by the old Julian calendar, now fallen nearly fourteen days behind the Gregorian. These differences are not something we really fight about anymore, but we once did. History is replete with Christian imbroglios over the date of Easter. Essentially these were calendar controversies. Medieval rabbinic Jews likewise fought neighboring Karaite Jews about which of two calendars ought to regulate life. This was the climate in which the Dead Sea Scrolls were written.

Calendar wars can be vicious, and they are irresistibly divisive. How can people compromise on whether today or two days from now is the Day of Atonement? Easter may be this week or two weeks away, but one cannot split the difference and celebrate it next week. So calendars are polarizing documents. When the belief that time is sacred is factored in—well, people have always fought wars to defend their beliefs about God. That is the historical and philosophic context in which to read the Qumran calendar writings. Technicalities aside, these works set forth inherently divisive ideas that must, at times, have set neighbor against neighbor.

The man on the ancient street may not have cared about time or known what year it was, but the Qumran calendar texts shine a light on a different corner of the ancient world. Their priestly authors were perhaps even more obsessed with time than we are.

57. THE PHASES OF THE MOON

4Q317

The Phases of the Moon is unique among the Dead Sea calendrical writings in that it deals solely with the moon and its phases. The author makes no mention of priestly divisions, festival days, or Sabbaths; rather, with an almost mind-numbing regular cadence, he plots the lunar phases according to the solar calendar, day after day after day. The system he uses to describe the moon may strike readers as peculiar. It's really not so much peculiar as theological—certainly “biblical” in the eyes of its adherents. The writer conceives of the lunar month in terms of the moon's being “obscured” or “revealed.” When the moon is more

and more “obscured,” the writer means that the moon is in the process of waning; when it is progressively “revealed,” he means that the moon is waxing. Each stage of movement he describes as fractions of fourteen: for example, when the moon is one-fourteenth “revealed,” the crescent is just barely visible. This system is, as noted, only very roughly accurate, but it enjoyed a certain popularity in the Second-Temple period. The same basic fourteen-stage progression underlies the Qumran liturgical work *Daily Prayers* (text 104) and appears in *1 Enoch* 78:7–9.

The largest surviving portion of *Phases*, frags. 1–2, plots days 4–25 of a certain month. Just which month—and indeed, which year of the six-year cycle—is uncertain and debatable. The answer to these questions depends on how one understands the Hebrew term *duq* (on which, see *A Reader’s Guide to the Qumran Calendar Texts*). According to the understanding that we are following here, the text records the movement of the moon on days 4–25 of month twelve, year one of the cycle.*

Frag. 1 Col. 2 + Frag. 2 Col. 2 [On the fourth of the month,] ¹[eleve]n parts [are obscured. And thus the moon enters the day.] ²[On the f]ifth of the month, [tw]elve [parts are obscured.] ³And thus [the moon enters the day. On the sixth of the month,] ⁴thir[teen] parts are obscured. [And thus the moon enters the day.] ⁵On the seventh of the month, [fourteen parts] are obscur[ed. And thus] ⁶the moon enters the day.

⁷On the eighth of the month, the moon [rules all the day in the midst] ⁸of the sky, [fourteen and one-half (?) parts being obscured. And when the sun sets,] its light [ceases] ⁹to be obscured, [and thus the moon begins to be revealed] ¹⁰on the first day of the week (the eighth of the month).

[On the ninth of the month,] ¹¹on[e] part [is revealed. And thus the moon enters the night.] ¹²On the tenth of the month, [two parts are revealed. And thus the moon enters] ¹³the night.

On the ele[venth of the month, three parts are revealed.] ¹⁴And thus the moon enters the night.

¹⁵On the twelfth of the month, [four parts are revealed. And thus] ¹⁶the moon enters the night.

On the t[hirteenth of the month,] ¹⁷five parts are revealed. And thus the moon enter[s the night.] ¹⁸On the {thirteenth} fourteenth of the month, [six parts] are reveal[ed. And thus the moon enters the night.] ¹⁹[On the f]fteenth [of the month, seven parts are revealed. And thus the moon enters] ²⁰the night.

On the s[ixteenth of the month,] eight [parts are revealed.] ²¹And thus [the moon enters the night.]

²²[On the s]ev[en]teenth [of the month, nine parts are revealed. And thus the moon enters the night.] ²³[On the eighteenth of the month, ten parts are

*If *duq* denotes the full moon, the calendar would indicate days 4–25 of year three, month six. A series of errors, only partially corrected, creates problems for either interpretation.

revealed. And thus the moon enters the night.] ²⁴On the ni[n]ete[enth of the month, eleven parts are revealed. And thus the moon enters the night.] ²⁵On the {nineteenth} twentieth [of the month, twelve parts are revealed. And thus the moon enters the night.] ²⁶On the twenty-first of the month, [thirteen parts are revealed. And thus the moon enters the night.] ²⁷On the twenty-second [of the month, the moon rules all the night in the midst of the sky,] ²⁸fourt[een and one-half (?) parts being revealed.] And when [the sun] sets, [its light ceases to be revealed,] ²⁹and thus the moon begins to be [obscured on the first day of the week (the twenty-second of the month).]

³⁰On the tw[enty-]th[ird [of the month, one part is obscured. And thus] ³¹the moon [en]ters the day.

³²On the twenty-fourth [of the month, two parts are obscured. And thus the moon enters the day.] ³³On the twenty-fifth [of the month, three parts are obscured. And thus the moon enters the day.]

—M.G.A.

58. A DIVINATION TEXT (BRONTOLOGION)

4Q318

The scroll 4Q318, of which two large fragments remain, is an example of ancient Jewish astrological lore like text 32, *A Horoscope Written in Code*, and text 123, *An Aramaic Horoscope*. But instead of predicting human behavior through analysis of physical traits as those texts do, this writing belongs to the ancient genre of *brontologia* (from Greek *brontos*, “thunder,” and *logion*, “discourse”), which relied upon thunder to foretell the future. The ancient Mesopotamians had much earlier exploited thunder for this purpose. One such early example reads, “When Rammanu thunders in the great gate of the Moon, there will be a slaying of Elamite troops with the sword; the goods of the land will be gathered into another land.”*

The technique was refined and became more complex in the Greco-Roman period, particularly in Alexandria, Egypt. In connecting thunder to both the moon and the zodiac, the present work manifests one such refinement. According to the system of our text, the occurrence of thunder when the moon was in a particular sign of the zodiac portended definite events.

The Qumran brontologion consists of two parts. The first is a list of the days of the Jewish months according to the lunar position in the zodiac. 4Q318 is almost alone among the Qumran calendrical scrolls in giving the names, rather than the numbers, of the Jewish months. Moreover, this writing contains the

*In R. Campbell Thompson, *The Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, 2 vols. (London: Luzac, 1900), 2:lxix (no. 256a).

earliest list of zodiacal signs ever discovered in Aramaic. By and large, they are the names familiar to us from modern astrology and newspaper columns; thus we begin to see astrological doctrines take on recognizably modern dress. In earlier Mesopotamian form, the number and names of the signs had been different. The signs are the Ram (Aries), the Ox (Taurus), the Twins (Gemini), the Crab (Cancer), the Lion (Leo), the Virgin (Virgo), the Scales (Libra), the Scorpion (Scorpio), the Archer (Sagittarius), the Kid (Capricorn), the Drawer (Aquarius), the Fish (Pisces).

The text introduces one particularly crucial innovation into the genre: the Jewish seven-day week, in which the zodiac is structured by a pattern of two, two, and three days. In this way the moon could "rest" on the Sabbath (the extra day in the pattern).

The first part of the text gives the days of the month in which the moon was to be found in a given sign of the zodiac. Originally, the text gave this information for all the days of a 364-day year.

Frag. 1 ⁵[and on the seventh, the Archer; on the eighth and ninth, the Kid; on the tenth and eleventh, the Drawer; on the twelfth and] thirteenth and [fourteenth,] ⁶[the Fishes; on the fifteenth and sixteenth, the Ram; on the seventeenth and eighteenth, the Ox; on the nine]teenth and on the twentieth and on [the twenty-first] ⁷[the Twins; on the twenty-second and twenty-third, the Crab; on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth, the Lion; on the twenty-sixth and on the] twenty-seventh and on the twenty-eighth ⁸[the Virgin, on the twenty-ninth and on the thirtieth and thirty-first, the Scales.]

⁹[Tishri. On the first and on the second, the Scorpion; on the third and on the fourth, the Archer, on the fifth and on the sixth and on the seventh], the Kid; on the eighth [. . .]

Frag. 2 Col. 1 [. . .] ¹[and on the thirteenth and on the fourteenth], the Crab; on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth, the Lion; on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth, ²the Virgin; on the [nine]teenth and on the twentieth and on the twenty-first, the Scales; on the twenty-[second and the twenty-] third, the Scorpion; on the twenty-fourth ³and on the twenty-fifth, the Ar[cher]; on the twenty-sixth and on the twenty-seventh and on the twenty-eighth, the [Kid]; on the [twenty-]ninth ⁴and on the thirtieth, the Drawer.

Shevat. On the first and on the second, the [Fishes]; on the [third and on the] fourth, ⁵[the Ram; on the] fifth and on the [sixth and on the] seventh, the Ox; on the [eighth and on the ninth, the Twins]; on the tenth ⁶[and on the eleventh], the Crab; on the twelfth [and on the] thirteenth and on the fourteenth, the Lion; [on the fifteenth and on the sixteenth, the Virgin;] ⁷on the seventeenth and on the eighteenth, the Scales; on the nineteenth and on the [twentieth and on the twenty-first,] the Scorpion; on the twenty-second

"[and] the twenty-third the [Ar]cher; on the twenty-fourth and on the twenty-fifth, the Kid; on the [twenty-sixth and on the] twenty-seventh and on the twenty-eighth, ⁹the Drawer; on the twenty-ninth and on the thirtieth, the Fishes.

Col 2 ¹Adar. On the first and on the second, the Ram; on the third and on the fourth, the Ox; on the [fifth and on the sixth and on the seventh, the Twins;] ²on the eighth and on the ninth, [the] Crab; [on the tenth and on the eleventh, the] Lion; on the twelfth and on the [thirteenth and on the fourteenth,] ³the Vir[gin]; on the fifteenth and on the [sixteenth, the Scales; on the seven]teenth, on the [eighteenth, the Scorpion;] on the [nine]teenth and on the twentieth, and the twenty-first, the Ar[cher; on the twenty-second] and on the twenty-[third], the Kid; on the twenty-[fourth and on the twenty-fifth,] ⁴the Drawer; on the twenty-sixth and on the twenty-[seventh and on the twenty-eighth, the] Fi[shes]; on the twenty-[ninth and on the thirtieth and on the thirty-first,] ⁴the Ram.

The second part of the scroll is a list of the omens that the thunder portends. Unfortunately little of this section remains. The reference to "Arabs" is probably to the kingdom of the Nabateans, directly east of Palestine across the Jordan River.

[If] it thunders [in the Ox], a siege against [the city . . .] ⁷and adversity for the nation and violence [in the co]urt of the king, and among the nations in [. . .] ⁸there shall be; and as for the Arabs, [. . .] famine, and they will plunder each oth[er . . .]

⁹If it thunders in the Twins, panic and sickness due to foreigners and [. . .]

—E.M.C.

59. CALENDAR OF THE HEAVENLY SIGNS

4Q319

Today the contents of this text would be presented as a table, which you would probably find in an almanac. In ancient Judea, however, tables of that sort did not yet exist. So our author presents his ideas in prose form, and they do not make for easy reading. (Those who are mathematically challenged, be advised: proceed at your own risk!)

Essentially, the writer wants to track the relationships between three elements: (1) jubilee periods; (2) the phenomenon he calls in Hebrew *'ot*; and (3) sabbatical years. In order to calculate these relationships, he employs a sort of algorithm that he never explains. He expected his specialized audience to be familiar with it already. This algorithm is the correspondence between the solar and lunar

calendars (see text 60). So, to follow this text, we must bear in mind a total of five items: the three elements that the author wants to track and the two components that function in the algorithm.

The first element is the jubilee period. In a modern table, the jubilees would be in the first column. Although the Bible defines the jubilee as the fiftieth year (Lev. 25:11), the Qumran calendar uses the term to bracket a *forty-nine* year period. Counting inclusively, the fiftieth year is then the last year of one jubilee and the first year of the next. The calendar before us tabulates by forty-nine-year periods. The work covers six such jubilees.

The “second column’s” element, *'ot*, refers to the fairly uncommon appearance of the full moon on the first day of the solar year. More generally, *'ot* means “sign,” so our author took this conjunction as a sort of sign from God. He believed that the conjunction had first occurred on the fourth day of creation week. That day was significant because on it the sun and the moon were created, and time reckoning depended on their movement. (Thus, the first three days of creation were, in a sense, “outside time”—long before modern physics, black holes, and such.) The biblical passage that provided the mandate for an interest in the conjunction was Genesis 1:14: “God said, ‘Let there be lights in the expanse of the heavens to distinguish the day from the night, and let them be for *signs* and for seasons and years.’” The author designates each new conjunction with a name. In every case the name is that of the priestly division that would be in service at the time. Because of the peculiarities of the rotation of priests, the names of the conjunctions are always the same, alternating between the priestly families of Gamul and Shecaniah.

According to our author’s understanding the *'ot* recurred every three years. To figure out this fact he needed to know solar and lunar correspondences. So we must understand his algorithm, the motor that made his conceptual machine run. The equation for the solar calendar covering three years is as follows: 364-day solar year \times 3 years = 1092 days. This solar period then had to be correlated with lunar movement. In the “Qumran calendar” the lunar month alternates between twenty-nine and thirty days, beginning with twenty-nine. Accordingly, twelve lunar months equals 354 days; each year the lunar calendar falls ten days behind the solar calendar. At the end of three lunar years, with the two calendars now thirty days out of kilter, the difference is made good. An additional thirty-day month is added. (What would have been expected, according to the pattern of alternation described above, is a twenty-nine day month. But thirty days are added, in order to “force” the desired conjunction on New Year’s day of year four.) In sum, the equation for the lunar calendar is: 354 day lunar year \times 3 years = 1062 days + 30 day month = 1092 days.

*Or possibly the conjunction of the astronomical *new moon* and the first day of the solar year. This and other issues regarding the calendrical texts are discussed in: *A Reader’s Guide to the Qumran Calendar Texts*.

The author thus calculates the number of conjunctions using this method. He goes on to tabulate the conjunctions that fall on sabbatical years, the third element he is tracking. That would be the third column of a modern table. As their name implies, on analogy with the weekly Sabbath, sabbatical years occurred once every seven years. Among other things, biblical laws required that in the sabbatical year the land must lie fallow. A good deal of planning was therefore necessary to avoid starvation in these years.

Since 4Q319 covers a period of six jubilees, it reveals the longest cycle of the Qumran calendars, 294 years (6×49). In year 295 the cycle returns to the beginning. A mystery of the cycle is that the author reckons the year of creation as the beginning of the second jubilee, not the first. That is, the jubilees are counted as two through seven, not one through six. We still do not understand the reason. Perhaps it is simply that a completed 294-year cycle thus coincides with the end of the *seventh* jubilee. The number seven was regarded as a holy number.

The lunar-solar conjunctions of the second jubilee.

Frag. 1 Col. 5 ¹⁰[. . .] its light on Wednesday [. . .] ¹¹[. . . The conjunction at the] creation of the lights, on the fourth day of (the priestly course of) G[amul; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the fourth year; the conjunction of Gamul in the Sabbath year; the conjunct]ion of ¹²[Shecaniah in the thi]rd year; the conjunction of [G]amul in the sixth year; the conjunction of [Sheca-niah in the second year; the conjunction of G]amul ¹³[in the fifth year; the conjunct]ion of Shecaniah in the year after the Sabbath year (first year); the conjunction of Gamu[l in the fourth year; the conjunction of Sheca]n[ia]h ¹⁴[in the Sabbath year; the conjunct]ion of Gamul in the third year; the conjunction of Shecaniah [in the sixth year; the conjunction of Gam]ul ¹⁵[in the second year; the conjunct]ion of She[caniah] in the fifth year; the conjunction of Gamu[l in the year after the Sabba]th year (first year); the conjunction of ¹⁶[Shecaniah in the fo]urth year; the conjunction of Gamul in the Sabbath year; the conjunction of the e[nd of the second Jubilee. The conjunctions of the second J]ubilee ¹⁷are seventeen, of which [three] are in Sabbatical years [. . .] the creation ¹⁸[. . .]

The lunar-solar conjunctions of the third jubilee.

[The conjunct]ion of Sheca[ni]ah in the third year; the conjunction of Gamu[l in the sixth year; the con]junction of Shecaniah ¹⁹[in the second year; the conjunction of G]amul in the fifth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the year after the Sa[bbath year (first year); the conjunction of Ga]mul **Col. 6** ¹[in the fourth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the Sabbath year; the conjunction of Gamul in the third year; the conjunction of Shecaniah] ²[in the sixth year; the conjunction of Gamul in the] sec[o]n[d year]; the con]junction of Shecaniah in the fifth year; the conjunction of Gamul] ³[in

the year after the Sabba]th year (first year); the conjunction of Shecaniah in the fo[urth year; the conjunction of Gamul in the Sabbath year; the conjunction] ⁴[of Shecaniah in the thi]rd year; the conjunction of Gamul in the si[xth year; the conjunction of] Shecania[h in the second year; the conjunction of the end of] ⁵the thi[r]d Jubilee. The conjunctions of [the third] Jubilee are [six]teen, of which ⁶two are in Sabbatical years.

The lunar-solar conjunctions of the fourth jubilee.

The conjunction of Shecaniah [in the second year; the conjunct]ion of Gamul in the fifth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah ⁷in the year after the Sabbath year (first year); the conjunct[ion of Gamul in the fourth year; the conjunct]ion of Shecaniah in the Sabbath year; the conjunction of ⁸Gamul in the third year; the conjunction of [Shecaniah in the sixth year; the conjunction of Ga]mul in the second year; the conjunction of ⁹Shecaniah in the fifth year; the conjunction of [Gamul in the year after] the Sabbath year (first year); the conjunction of Shecaniah ¹⁰in the fourth year; the conjunction of Gamul [in the Sabbath year; the conjunction] of Shecaniah in the third year; the conjunction of Gamul ¹¹in the sixth year; the conjunction of Sheca[niah in the second year; the conjunction of] Gamul in the fifth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah ¹²in the year after the Sabbath year (first year); the con[junction of the end of the fourth Jubilee. The conjunctions of] the fourth [Jubil]ee are seventeen, ¹³of which two are in Sabbatical years.

The lunar-solar conjunctions of the fifth jubilee.

The conjunction of G[amul] in the fourth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah ¹⁴[in the Sa]bbath year; the conjunction of Gamul in the [third year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the sixth year; the conjunction of Gamul] ¹⁵in the seco[n]d year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the fi[fth year; the conjunction of Gamul in the year after the Sabbath year (first year); the conjunction of Shecaniah] ¹⁶in the fourth year; the conjunction of [Ga]mul in the [Sabbath year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the third year; the conjunction of Gamul] ¹⁷in the six[th year; the con]junction of She[caniah in the second year; the conjunction of Gamul in the fifth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah] ¹⁸[in the year after the] Sabbath year (first year); the conjunction of G[amul in the fourth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the Sabbath year; the conjunction of the end of] ¹⁹[the fi]fth [Jubilee is] in Jeshebeab. [The conjunctions of the fifth Jubilee are sixteen, of which **Col. 7** ¹[three are in Sabbatical years.]

The lunar-solar conjunctions of the sixth jubilee.

[The conjunction of Gamul in the third year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the sixth year; the conjunction] ²[of Gamul in the] second year; the

conjunction of Shecaniah in the [fifth year; the conjunction of Gamul in the year after the Sab]bath year (first year); ³[the conjunct]ion of Shecaniah in the fourth year; the conjunction of Gam[ul in the Sabbath year; the conjunction of Shecaniah] in the third year; ⁴the conjunction of Gamul in the sixth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah [in the second year; the conjunction of] Gamul ⁵in the f[i]fth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the year after [the Sabbath year (first year); the conjunction of ⁶Gamul in the fo[u]rth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the Sab[bath year; the conjunction of Gamul in the] third year; ⁷the conjunction of [Shecaniah in the si]xth year; the conjunction of the end of [the sixth Jubilee. The conjunctions of] ⁸[the sixth] Jubilee are [six]teen, of which two are in [Sabbatical years.] ⁹the [. . .] ¹⁰and for the Jubi[lee . . .]

The lunar-solar conjunctions of the seventh jubilee.

[The conjunction of Gamul in the second year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the fifth year; the conjunction of Gamul in the year after] ¹¹the Sabba[th] year (first year); [the conjunction of Shecaniah in the four]th year; the conjunction of Gamu[l in the] Sabba[th year;] ¹²[the conjunction of Shecaniah in the third year; the conjunction of] Gamul in the sixth year; the conjunct[ion of Shecaniah] ¹³[in the] second year; the con[junction of Gamul] in the fifth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the year [after] ¹⁴the Sabbath year (first year); [the conjunction of Ga]mul in the fourth year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the Sa[bbath year; the conjunction of] ¹⁵Gamul [in the thi]rd year; the conjunction of Shecaniah in the sixth year; the conjunction of [Gamul] ¹⁶in the se[cond year; the conjunction of Shecaniah] in the fifth year; the conjunction of the end of [the] seventh Jubi[lee].

¹⁷[The conjunctions of the] seventh [Jubilee] are sixteen, of which ¹⁸[two are] in Sa[bbati]cal years. [. . .] sign of the J[u]bilees, the [ye]ar of the Jubilees, according to the da[ys . . .] ¹⁹in the course of Mijamin, the third Je[daiah . . .]

—M.G.A.

60. SYNCHRONISTIC CALENDARS

4Q320–321a

The three Dead Sea Scrolls manuscripts grouped together here have one purpose in common: to synchronize the 354-day lunar calendar with the 364-day solar calendar. In addition, two of these writings, 4Q320 and 4Q321, record the beginnings of the solar months and the festivals. The third, 4Q321a, may have

done so as well, but the relevant portion of the text has perished. All of these texts designate dates by the name of the priestly rotation in service at the time in question. Twenty-four courses of priests served altogether, rotating into service for a week at a time. The names of the courses follow the biblical list of 1 Chronicles 24:7–18.

4Q320 Mishmerot A

Frag. 1, cols. 1–3 tabulates the dates of the full moon through three years of the calendar. Although the dates of this phenomenon would begin to recycle at this point (year four being the same as year one), the priestly divisions do not begin to repeat until year seven. Therefore it must be assumed that three additional columns of this fragment have been lost.

Frag. 2 and 4 record the priestly divisions serving in the sanctuary at the beginning of each of the solar months, followed by a table of the festivals. These calendars record a complete six-year cycle. Note that 4Q321 below records these two tables together.

Calendar of full moons for the first year. The “courses” were the priestly families who rotated into service in the Temple at Jerusalem.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] to show itself from the east ²[and] to shine forth [in] the center of the sky at the base of ³[the expan]se of the sky, from evening to morning on the fourth day from Sabbath (Wednesday), ⁴[during the course of the sons of G]amul, in the first month of the ⁵[firs]t year.

⁶[On the fifth day (Thursday) of the course of Jedaia]h is the twenty-ninth day of the lunar month, on the thirtieth day of the first solar month. ⁷[On the Sabbath of the course of Ha]kkoz is the thirtieth day of the lunar month, on the thirtieth day of the second solar month. ⁸[On the first day (Sunday) of the course of Elia]shib is the twenty-ninth day of the lunar month, on the twenty-ninth day of the third solar month. ⁹[On the third day (Tuesday) of the course of Bilga]h is the thirtieth day of the lunar month, on the twenty-eighth day of the fourth solar month. ¹⁰[On the fourth day (Wednesday) of the course of Petha]hiah is the twenty-ninth day of the lunar month, on the twenty-seventh day of the fifth solar month. ¹¹[On the sixth day (Friday) of the course of Delaiah] is the thirtieth day of the lunar month, on the twenty-seventh day of the sixth solar month. ¹²[On the Sabbath of the course of Seori]m is the twenty-ninth day of the lunar month, on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh solar month. ¹³[On the second day (Monday) of the course of Abijah is the] thir[tieth] day of the lunar month, on the] twenty-fifth day of the eighth solar month. ¹⁴[On the third day (Tuesday) of the course of Jakim is the] twenty-[ninth] day of the lunar month,] on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth solar month. **Col. 2** ¹On the fifth day (Thursday) of the course of Immer is the thirtieth day of the lunar month, on the twenty-third day of the

tenth solar month. ²On the sixth day (Friday) of the course of Jehezkel is the twenty-ninth day of the lunar month, on the twenty-second day of the eleventh solar month. ³On the first day (Sunday) of the course of Jehoiarib is the thirtieth day of the lunar month, on the twenty-second day of the twelfth solar month.

The remainder of col. 2 and col. 3 of frag. 1 records the calendar of full moons for the second and third years.

A list of the solar months of the first year.

Frag. 2 Col. 2 ²with the sacrifices [of the first days of the months (?) . . .] ³days [. . .] ⁴holy [. . .] ⁵The second month has thirty days [and begins in the course of Jedaiah.] ⁶The third month has thirty-[one days and begins in the course of Hakkoz.] ⁷The fourth month has thirty days [and begins in the course of Eliashib.]

Solar months of the fifth year.

Frag. 4 Col. 1 ¹¹[The ninth month has thirty-one days] and begins in the course of Jehoiarib. ¹²[The tenth month has thirty days] and begins in the course of Malchijah. ¹³[The eleventh month has thirty days] and begins in the course of [J]eshua. ¹⁴[The twelfth month has thirty-one days] and begins in the course of Jeshebeab.

Festivals of the first year.

Col. 3 ¹The festivals of the first year:

²On the the third day from Sabbath (Tuesday) of the course of the sons of Maaziah is the Passover. ³On the first day (Sunday) of the course [of] Jeda[iah] is the Waving of the [Omer]. ⁴On the fifth day (Thursday) of the course of Seorim is the [Second] Passover. ⁵On the first day (Sunday) of the course of Jeshua is the Feast of Weeks. ⁶On the fourth day (Wednesday) of the course of Maaziah is the Day of Remembrance. ⁷[On the] sixth day (Friday) of the course of Jehoiarib is the Day of Atonement, ⁸[in the] seventh [month].

⁹[On the] fourth day (Wednesday) of the course of Jedaiah is the Feast of Booths.

The festivals of the second through sixth years are detailed in the remainder of col. 3 through col. 6.

4Q321–321a Mishmerot B^a and B^b

These two manuscripts record the same calendar. The original work appears to have tabulated a complete six-year cycle of full and first-crescent moons, followed by a calendar that listed the first day of each solar month and each festival.

Lunar calendar for the first year (months two–five).

4Q321a Frag. 1 Col. 1 ⁵[The full moon is on the Sabbath of the course of Koz, on the thirtieth day of the second month, and the first crescent is on the first day of the course of Malchijah, on the seven]teenth of the month. ⁶[The full moon is on the first day of the course of Eliashib, on the twenty-ninth day of the third month, and the first crescent] is on the second day of the course of Jeshua, on the [sixteenth] ⁷[of the month].

[The full moon is on the third day of the course of Bilgah, on the] twenty-[eig]hth day of the fourth month, ⁸[and the first crescent is on the fourth day of the course of Huppah, on the fifteenth of the month.]

⁹[The full moon is on the fourth day of the course of Pethahiah, on the twenty-seventh day of the fifth month, and the first crescent is on the fifth day of the course of Hezir,] ¹⁰[on the fourteenth of the month.]

Lunar calendar for the first year (months seven–twelve).

4Q321 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . . and the first crescent is on the first day of the course of Jedaiah on the twel]fth of the (seventh) month. The full moon is on the second day of the course of Abija[h, on the] twenty-[fifth day of the eighth month, and the first crescent] ²[is on the third day of the course of Mijamin, on the twelfth] of the month. The full moon is on the third day of the course of Jakim, on the [twenty-]fou[rth day of the ninth month, and the first crescent is on the fourth day] ³[of the course of Shecaniah, on the elev]enth of the month. The full moon is on the fifth day of the course of Immer, on the tw[en]ty-third day of the ten[th month, and the first crescent is on the sixth day of the course of Je]shebeab, ⁴[on the tenth of the mo]nth. The full moon is on the [si]xth day of the course of Jehezkel, on the twenty-second day of the eleventh month, and [the first crescent is on the Sabbath of the course of] Pethahiah, ⁵[on the ninth of the month.] The full moon is on the first day of the course of Jehoiarib, on the twenty-second day of the twelfth month, and [the first crescent is on the secon]d day of the course of Delaiah, ⁶[on the ninth of the month.]

The continuation of frag. 1, col. 1 through col. 3 tabulates the second through the fourth years of the lunar calendar. Frag. 3 of 4Q321 records the end of year five and the beginning of year six. Frag. 2 of 4Q321 then completes year six.

Solar Months and Festivals of the First Year.

4Q321 Frag. 2 Col. 1 ⁸[The Fi]rst [Year:] the [firs]t mon[th] begins in the course of [Gamul. On the thi]rd day of the course of Maa[ziah] is [the Passover.] ⁹[The Waving of the Omer is in the course of Jedaiah. The second month begins in the course of Jedaiah. The Second Passover is in the course of] Seorim. [The third month begins in the course of Koz.] **Col. 2** ¹The

Feast of Week[s] is in the course of Jeshua. [The fo]u[r]th month begins in the course of E]l]iashib. The fifth month begins in the course of [Bilgah. The sixth month begins in the course of Jehe]zkel. The sev[enth] month begins in the course of Maaziah.] ²The Day of Remembrance is in the course of Maaziah. The Day of Atonement is in the course of Jehoiarib. [The Feast of] Booths is in the course of Jedaiah. The eighth month begins [in the course of Seorim.] ³The ninth month begins in the course of Jeshua. The tenth month begins in the course of Huppah. The eleventh month begins in the course of Hezir. The twelfth month begins in the course of Gamul.

The continuation of col. 2 through col. 4 records years two through six of the solar months and festivals.

—M.G.A.

61. AN ANNALISTIC CALENDAR

4Q322–324b

An *Annalistic Calendar* is one of the most important Dead Sea Scrolls for the question of the origin of the scrolls, because (as noted in the Introduction) it is one of the very few that mention identifiable historical characters. Like our calendars that note D-Day or December 7 as the day when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor, the *Calendar*, while describing the rotation of priestly courses, picks out at least twenty people and events for special notice. All of the persons named fit into the period 76–63 B.C.E., a time of tremendous upheaval in Jewish society.

First, Alexandra (called by the *Calendar* Shelamzion, her Hebrew name) came to the throne and gave the Pharisees *carte blanche* in the nation's affairs, thereby signaling the beginning of a persecution of the ruling coalition that had functioned under her husband and predecessor, the anti-Pharisaic Alexander Jannaeus. Then, when Alexandra died in 67 B.C.E., her son Hyrcanus II, who figures at several points in the *Calendar*, took the throne. He soon abdicated his rights to his brother, Aristobulus II, another figure in our text. Under the goading of several self-serving advisers—including the Idumean Antipater, father of Herod—Hyrcanus had second thoughts and tried to take power back from Aristobulus. From 67 to 63 B.C.E., the nation was wracked by this civil war. Finally, in the latter stages of that conflict, the Roman Pompey decided to inject himself into the situation and seek Rome's advantage. The Romans sided with Hyrcanus II, and events climaxed with the siege of Aristobulus's priestly supporters in the Temple at Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E. After several months, the Romans broke through; they surged into the Temple environs and indiscriminately put whom-ever they found to the sword. Josephus reports that a total of twelve thousand lost

their lives. Many of Aristobulus's supporters who did not die ended up going to Rome as prisoners and slaves. In all of these Roman actions, a leading general of Pompey's, M. Aemilius Scaurus, played a decisive role. He, too, appears in the *Calendar*, where he seems to be credited with the Temple massacre.

Historians try always to be sensitive to a document's bias; one can never simply accept what a text says at face value. Certainly what it says is important, for new facts are always welcome, but the question must be asked: why does it say what it says? In the present case, the *Calendar* has a discernible bias. The author describes Hyrcanus as rebelling, presumably against Aristobulus (4Q322 frag. 2). The choice of the term "rebel" is telltale; for any supporter, Hyrcanus was merely trying to retake what was his by birthright—one who sided with him would never have used that word. The Hebrew word "rebel" implies a challenge to rightful authority. Hence, for our author, Hyrcanus's claims were illegitimate. Our author's bias is clearly with Aristobulus.

Since Hyrcanus was supported by the Pharisees, by supporting Aristobulus our author was also opposing the Pharisees. As discussed in the Introduction to this volume, that bias is entirely in keeping with the tenor of the scrolls as a whole.

Frag. 1 lists a number of historical events that are maddeningly impossible to identify.

4Q322 Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] on the tent[h of the sixth month . . .] ²[on the fourteenth of the month is the entran]ce of the course of Jedaiah, on the sixteen[th of the month . . . on the twenty-first] ³[of the month is the entrance of the course of Harim, on the twenty-]seventh of the [sixth] month [. . .] ⁴[. . .] he returned [. . .] ⁵[. . . Gen]tiles (or Kit]tim) and also [. . .] ⁶[. . .] those who are [bi]tter of spirit [. . .] ⁷[. . .] prisoners [. . .]

Line 1 records an undated event involving honor among Nabateans. This may be a reference to Hyrcanus II and his flight to seek asylum among the Nabateans early in the civil war. Line 4 records an undated event involving Shelamzion (Salome Alexandra, 76–63 B.C.E.). Line 6 records a rebellion involving Hyrcanus, perhaps referring to the outbreak of the civil war.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . . to] give him honor among the Nabate[ans . . .] ²[. . . the fo]urth [day] of this tribe's service [. . .] ³[. . .] that is the twentieth of the month [. . .] ⁴[. . .] foundation, Shelamzion entered [. . .] ⁵[. . .] to receive [. . .] ⁶[. . .] Hyrcanus rebelled [against Aristobolus (?) . . .] ⁷[. . .] to receive [. . .]

An undated murder.

Frag. 3 ²[. . . the ruler of the Gen]tiles (or Kit]tim) murdered [. . .] ³[. . .] on the fifth [day] of Jedaiah [. . .]

Lines 1–2 record an event between the ninth and sixteenth of the eighth month. Line 3 records an event between the twenty-fifth and twenty-seventh of the eighth month. Line 4 records an event on the second day of the ninth month.

4Q323 Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] on the nint[h] of the eighth month is the entrance of the course of Shecaniah . . .] ²[. . . of] the course of Shecaniah, [. . . in the sixteenth of the month is the entrance of the course of Eliashib,] ³[on the twenty-thi]rd of the month is the entrance of the course of Jakim, on the second day of Jakim [. . .] and the fo[urth] day [of Jakim . . .] ⁴[. . .] second [da]y of the n[inth] month [. . .]

Line 4 possibly records an event involving the Temple service.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . . the fou]rth [day] of Hez[i]r is the [fi]rst day of the t[enth] month . . .] ²[on the fourth of the month is the entrance of the course of Pi]zzez. On the ele[v]enth of the month is [the entrance of the priestly course of Pethahiah.] ³[On the eighteenth of the month is the entran]ce of the course of Jehezkel. On the twent[y-fifth] of the month is the entrance] ⁴[of the course of Jachin . . . Jachi]n, the ser[v]ice [. . .] ⁵[. . . on the second of the eleventh month] is the entrance of [the course of Gamul . . .]

An undated event involving an act against Aristobulus II, 67–63 B.C..E.

Frag. 3 ¹⁻⁴[. . .] ⁵[. . .] men [of . . .] ⁶[. . .] and against Ar[istobulus . . .] ⁷[. . .] they said [. . .] ⁸[. . .] that he [. . .]

Line 7 records an event involving a covenant on the tenth of the seventh month (the Day of Atonement).

4Q324 Frag. 1 ¹[On the twenty-third of the fifth month is] the entrance of [the course of Eliashib. On the thirtieth of the fifth month is the entrance of the course of Jakim.] ²[The Sunday (the day after the Sabbath) of Jakim is the fir]st of the si[xth] month. On the seventh of the sixth month is the entrance of the course of Huppah.] ³[On the four]teenth of the fifth month is [the entrance of the course of Jeshebeab. . . .] On the tw[enty-first] ⁴[of the fifth month is the entrance of the course of Bilga]h. On the twenty-[eighth of the fifth mo]nth is the entrance of the course of Imm[er]. ⁵[On the fourth day of the course of Immer is the fi]rst day of the seventh month. On the fo[u]rth of the seventh month is the entrance of the course of H[ezir]. ⁶[The sixth day of] the course of Hezir, which is the tenth day of the seventh month, is the Day [of Atonement (?) . . .] ⁷[. . .] as a covenant. On the eleventh of the seventh month is the entrance of [the course of Pizzes . . .]

The ninth through eleventh months of the fifth year.

4Q324a Frag. 1 Col. 2 ¹[the . . .] day of [. . . on the twenty-first day] ²[of the mon]th is the entrance of the course of S[eor]im. On the twenty-eighth of the month is the entrance of the course of Malchi[jah.] ³The fourth day [of] Malchijah is the first of the tenth month.

⁴On the fourth day of the tenth month is the entrance of the course of Mija[m]in. On the eleventh of the month is the entran[ce of the course of Koz.]

This fragment describes certain slayings by M. Aemilius Scaurus, one of the leading Roman generals involved in the Roman capture of Jerusalem in 63 B.C.E.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . . On the] twenty- ²[first day of the month is the entrance of the course of Pethahiah. On the twenty-eig]hth day ³[of the month is the entrance of the course of Jehezkel. On the first (or second, or third) day of Je]hezkel, which is ⁴[the twenty-ninth (or thirtieth, or thirty-first) day of the sixth month,] Amelios killed ⁵[. . . The fourth day of Jehezkel is the first of the] seventh [mont]h. ⁶[On the fourth of the month is the entrance of the course of Jachin. On the eleventh of the month is the en]tr[ance of] the course of Gamul. ⁷[. . . The fourth day of Gamul, which] is ⁸[the fifteenth day of the seventh month, is the Feast of Booths. On this day] Amelios killed . . .

Months nine and ten of year six.

Frag. 3 ²[. . . On the twenty-eighth of the month is the entrance of the course of Je]shua. The fourth day [of Jeshua is the first day] ³[of the tenth month. . . . The sixth day of Jeshua, which i]s the ten[th] day of the month . . .]

An undated event involving a Jewish man.

Frag. 5 ¹[. . .] a Jewish man [. . .]

An undated event involving one Yohanan. Possibly the reference is to John Hyrcanus I, 135–104 B.C.E., but more likely the author has in mind John Hyrcanus II, with whom Aristobulus fought for the kingdom in the civil war of 67–63 B.C.E.

4Q324b Frag. 1 Col. 1 ⁴[. . . the high (?)] priest, ⁵[. . .] Yohanan, to bring to [. . .]

An undated event involving Shelamzion (Salome Alexandra, 76–63 B.C.E.).

Col. 2 ³a man [. . .] ⁴the [. . .] ⁵Shelamzion [. . .]

—M.O.W.

62. PRIESTLY SERVICE: SABBATH, MONTH, AND FESTIVAL—YEAR ONE

4Q325 (Mishmerot D)

The work before us records the Sabbaths, first days of the months, and the festivals by priestly division and according to the solar calendar. All that remains is part of the record for the first year of the six-year cycle. The Festival of Wood Offering in frag. 2 is striking, for this was a controversial festival. Not even all the adherents of the solar calendar so ubiquitous among the scrolls held that there should be such a festival. Most of the calendars found in the Qumran caves do not include it. Josephus seems to indicate that in his time no such regular week of bringing wood existed. Instead, people would supply wood to the Temple at regular intervals throughout the year.

Sabbaths, solar months, and festivals of the first year (months one–three).

Frag. 1 ¹[the Passover is on the fourteenth of the month on the thi]rd [day]. On the eighteenth of the month is the Sabbath of [the course of Jehoiarib. Passover ends] ²[on the third day] in the evening. On the twenty-fifth of the month is the Sabbath of the course of Jedaiah, its responsibility includes ³the Barley [festival] on the twenty-sixth of the month, on the day after the Sabbath (Sunday). The beginning of the se[cond] month is ⁴[on the si]xth [day] of the course of Jedaiah. On the second of the month is the Sabbath of the course of Harim. On the ninth of the month is the Sabbath of ⁵[the course of Seorim]. On the sixteenth of the month is the Sabbath of the course of Malchijah. On the twenty-third of the [month] ⁶[is the Sabbath of the course of Mi]jjamin. On the thirtieth of the month is the Sabbath of the course of Hakkoz.

The beginning of the ⁷third month is on Monday (the day after the Sabbath) [of Hakkoz].

Sabbaths, solar months, and festivals of the first year (months five and six).

Frag. 2 ¹[The beginning of the fifth month is on the fifth day of Bilgah. On the second of the month is the Sabbath of the course of I]mmer. On the th[i]rd of the month, ²[on Sunday (the day after the Sabbath), is the Wine Festival. On the] ninth of the month is the Sabbath of the course of Hezir. ³On the sixteenth of the month is the Sabbath of the course of Happizzez. On the twenty]y-third of the month is the Sabbath of ⁴[the course of Pethahiah. On

the thirtieth of the month is the Sabbath of the course of Jehezkel. The beginn[ing of the sixth month ⁵[is on the first day (after the Sabbath) of Jehezkel. On the seventh of the month is the Sabbath of the course of Jachin. On the fou]rteenth ⁶[of the month is the Sabbath of the course of Gamul. On the twenty-first is the Sabbath of the course of Delaiah. On the twenty-]second ⁷[of the month, on Sunday (the day after the Sabbath), is the Oil Festival; on Monday (on the second day) is the Wo]od [Offering].

—M.G.A.

63. PRIESTLY SERVICE: SABBATH, MONTH, AND FESTIVAL—YEAR FOUR

4Q326 (Mishmerot E')

4Q326 records the Sabbaths, first days of the solar months, and the festivals, apparently for the fourth year of the six-year cycle familiar from other calendrical works. The remains preserve the names of none of the priestly divisions, but l. 1 of frag. 1, "In the first month of the fourt[h year," suggests some connection to the priestly cycle.

Sabbaths were the only holy days on which the Jews of this period might have been in at least partial agreement, since the Sabbath always fell on a seventh day. All the other holy days, attached as they were by biblical mandate to dates rather than to days of the week, turned into matters of controversy. The Sabbaths might have been different. In fact, however, even the Sabbaths were not days of rest from controversy. As this text illustrates, the Qumran calendars attached the Sabbath, like all the other festivals, to a specific date. Thus even the Sabbaths, which might have offered a moment's peace, instead became battlegrounds for the calendar wars.

Frag. 1 ¹In the first month of the fourt[h year, the beginning of the month is . . . On the fourth of the month is a Sabbath.] ²On the eleventh of the month is a Sabba[th . . . and on the evening of the fourteenth day of the month] ³is the Feast of Unleavened Bread. On the fou[rth day of the week is a holy assembly. On the twenty-fifth of the month is] ⁴a Sabbath. On the twenty-sixth of the month is the B[arley] Festival, [on Sunday (day after the Sabbath)]

⁵In the second month, the beginn[ing of the month is . . .]

—M.G.A.

64. THE SABBATHS AND FESTIVALS OF THE YEAR

4Q327, 4Q394 Section A (Mishmerot E^b)

The present work plots the Sabbaths and festivals for one complete solar year, but without concurring by priestly divisions. This is one of the few calendars that designates the extrabiblical Festival of Oil, which fell on the twenty-second day of the sixth month. The structure of the work makes it likely that two more extrabiblical festivals were originally listed as well: the Wine Festival and the Festival of Wood Offering. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, only *The Temple Scroll* (text 131) agrees in recognizing all three new festivals. Clearly, then, while the Qumran calendrical writings share much in common, they do not march in lockstep. The notable differences show that we are reading the works of a particular school in these calendars, not those of a single small sect.

Some scholars believe that 4Q327 was not actually a separate and distinct work. They argue that instead it originally attached to the beginning of one copy of *A Sectarian Manifesto* (text 84). In favor of this suggestion is the handwriting: the same scribe wrote both 4Q327 and the copy of the *Manifesto*. Yet certain technical aspects of the reconstruction of the *Manifesto* create problems for this suggestion. As long as the matter remains uncertain, it seems best to present 4Q327 as a separate work.

Sabbaths and festivals for the second month.

Frgs. 1–2 Col. 1 ²[On the sixteenth] ³[of the month is a Sabbath.] ⁴On the twenty-⁵third ⁶of the month is a Sabbath. ⁷[On the] thir[⁸tie]th ⁹[of the month is a Sabbath.]

Sabbaths and festivals for the third month.

Col. 2 ¹[On the twenty-²fi]rs[t] ³[of the] month is a Sabbath. ⁴[On the] twenty-⁵eighth ⁶of the month is a Sabbath. ⁷The month continues with ⁸Sunday (day after the Sabbath), ⁹Monday (second day) ¹⁰[and an additional day on Tuesday.]

Sabbaths and festivals for the fourth–fifth month.

Col. 3 ¹[On the fourth] of the month is [a Sabbath] ²On the el[eventh] ³of the month is a Sabbath. ⁴On the eigh-⁵teenth of the month is a Sabbath. ⁶On the twenty-⁷fifth ⁸of the month is a Sabbath. ⁹On the second ¹⁰of the fi[ft]h month ¹¹[is a Sa]b[bath] ¹²[On the third] ¹³[of the month is the Festival of] ¹⁴[Wine . . .]

Sabbaths and festivals for the fifth month.

Col. 4 ¹[On the ninth] ²[of the month is a Sabbath.] ³On the sixteenth ⁴of the month is a Sabbath. ⁵On the twenty-⁶third ⁷of the month is a Sabbath. ⁸[On the th]irtieth ⁹[of the month is a Sabbath]

Sabbaths and festivals for the sixth month.

Col. 5 ¹[On the twenty-]²[fir]t ³of the month is a Sabbath. ⁴On the twenty-⁵second ⁶of the month is the Festival of ⁷Oil, ⁸on Su[nd]ay, (the day aft[er the Sab]bath). ⁹On Monday (on the se[cond day]) ¹⁰is the offering of ¹¹[Wood].

Sabbaths and festivals for the twelfth month and summation of the year.

4Q394 Frags. 3–7 Col. 1 ¹[On the twenty-eighth of the month is] a Sabbath. The month continues with Sun[day (day after the Sabbath), Monday (second day), and an] ²[addi]tional [day on Wednesday.] The year is complete: three hundred si[xty-four] ³days.

—M.G.A.

65. PRIESTLY SERVICE AS THE SEASONS CHANGE

4Q328 (Mishmerot F*)

The first line of this fragmentary work lists the priestly families, or courses, that begin each year of the six-year cycle. Lines 2–6 list the course that begins each quarter of the year. Apparently our author held to the view, known from *Jubilees* and the *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (text 5, col. 10), that the year comprised four three-month seasons, each new season beginning with a sort of New Year's Day.

¹[At the beginning of the first year, the course of Gamul is serving; in the second year is Jedaiah, in the third is Mijamin, in the fourth is Shecaniah, in the fifth is Jeshebe]ab, and in the sixth is Happizzez. These are the heads of the years: ²[In] the first [year,] Gamul, Eliash[ib,] Maaziah, ³[and Huppah. In the] second year, Jedaiah, Bilgah, Se[o]rim, and He[zir.] ⁴[In the third year, Mijam]in, Pethahiah, Abi[jah, and Jachin.] ⁵[In the fourth year, Shecaniah, De]liah, Jakim, and Jehoia[rib. In the fifth year,] ⁶[Jeshebeab, Harim, Immer,] and Malchijah. In the si[xth year, Happizzez, Hakkoz, Jehezkel, and Jeshua.]

—M.G.A.

66. PRIESTLY ROTATION ON THE SABBATH

4Q329 (Mishmerot F^b)

Like the preceding work, the first several lines of this writing tabulate the name of the priestly family, or course, that is serving when each new quarter of the year begins. The author goes on to list the name of the priestly division that begins to serve in the Temple for each Sabbath of the year.

In this and other calendrical works among the scrolls, we see clearly illustrated the priestly concern for taxonomy, or classification. Life was to be described; life was to be orderly, its phases so regular that they could be compiled in lists. By such classification, the priests did not actually *describe* reality, of course, so much as *create* it. At the heart of what may strike modern readers as a dull and repetitive list, then, lies the desire to create a reality. And that desire is nothing but a will to power. So when we read the many calendrical works among the scrolls, we are reading the record of a struggle for authority among Second-Temple Jews.

Frag. 1 [Gamul, Eliashib, Maaziah, and Huppah in the first year.] ¹[Jedaiah, Bilgah,] Seorim, [and Hezir in the second year. Mijamin, Pethahiah, Abijah, and Jachin in the] ²[third year. Shecaniah, Delaiah, Jaki]m, and Jehoiarib [in the fourth year. Jeshebeab,] ³[Ha]rim, Immer, [and Malchijah in the fifth year.] Happizzez, Hakkoz, Jehezkel, and Jeshua in the sixth year.] ⁴The first year: in the [first] mo[nth: the courses of Delaiah, Ma]aziah, Jehoiarib, and J[edaiah serve. In the second month:] ⁵[Harim, Seorim, Malchijah, Mijamin, and Hakkoz serve. In the] third month: A[bijah, Jeshua, Shecaniah, and Eliashib serve.]

Frag. 2 ¹[In the seventh month: Jehoiarib,] Jedaiah, Harim, and Seo[r]im serve. In the eighth month: Malchijah, Mijamin, Hakkoz, Abijah, and Jeshua serve.] ²[In the ninth month: Shecaniah,] Eliashib, Jakim, and Huppah serve. [In the tenth month: Jeshebeab,] Bilgah, Immer, and Hezir serve. ³[In the eleventh month: Happizzez, Pethahiah, Jehez]kel, Jac[hin, and Gamul serve.]
—M.G.A.

67. PRIESTLY SERVICE ON THE PASSOVER

4Q329a (Mishmerot G)

This calendar records which priestly course is serving during Passover for the first five years of the six-year cycle. Passover was, and is, perhaps the most important of the Jewish festivals, for it celebrates the deliverance of the Jews from

servitude in Egypt and their coming to live in the Holy Land as free people. The Passover occurs each year in March or April by the modern Western calendar.

¹[In the first year the festivals begin on the third day after the] Sabbath, ²[in the course of Maaziah, with the Passover. In the secon]d year the f[estival]s begin [on the th]ird day ³[of the course of Seorim with the Passover. In the thir]d year the festivals begin on the third day ⁴[of the course of Abijah with the Passover.] In the fourth year the festivals ⁵[begin on the third day of the course of Jakim with the Pa]ssover. In the fifth year the festivals ⁶begin on the third day of the course of Im[mer with the Passover.]

—M.G.A.

68. PRIESTLY SERVICE ON NEW YEAR'S DAY

4Q330 (Mishmerot H)

The first portion of the present work records the name of the priestly course serving in the Temple on New Year's Day. New Year's Day, according to the Qumran calendars, fell on the first day of Nisan, which equates to about March 20 or 21 in modern terms. This was the day of the vernal equinox. Even the proper day for New Year's Day was a matter of strife among Second-Temple Jewry, for some held that the year should begin on the first day of Tishri, that is, the seventh month.

The beginning of l. 2, "in the sixth week," does not fit the New Year pattern, so additional information must have been included, but we can only guess what it might have been.

[In the third year,] ¹the course of Mijamin serves on the first of the f[irst] month [. . .] ²in the sixth week. In the [fourth] year, [the course of Shecarniah serves on the first of the first month . . .] ³In the {second year} f[ifth] year, the course of Jeshebeab serves on the [first of the first month . . .]

—M.G.A.

69. A LITURGICAL CALENDAR

4Q334

Basic to any calendar is the idea of order. Because there is order in the universe—the sun, moon, and stars move on orderly and more or less predictable paths—a calendar is possible. Such an orderly creation calls for an orderly response, and that is what this text represents. Even what might seem the least or-

derly and by nature most spontaneous type of human expression—praise—here has order imposed upon it.

This intriguing and orderly liturgical writing records the number of “songs” (Hebrew *shivot*) and “words of praise” (*divre tishbuhot*) for each of two daily services. In the following reconstruction the letter “x” signifies an unknown number indicating the number of songs or praises, according to context. The *Liturgical Calendar* is clearly a methodical work, but only one aspect of the method is still apparent: the number of “words of praise” that are sung during the day is double the date of the month (note particularly frag. 2, ll. 4–5).

Record for the eighth, ninth, and tenth days of an unknown month.

Frag. 2 ¹[On the eighth of the month, in the evening, e]ight [s]ongs, and forty-[x w]ords of prai[se]. ²[During the day, x songs, and] sixteen[n wor]ds of [praise].

[On the nint]h of the month, in the evening, ³[eight songs] and fort[y-tw]o words of praise. [During the d]ay, [x] songs, ⁴[and eighteen words of praise.]

On the tenth of the [month,] in the evening, eight songs ⁵[and forty-x words of praise. During the day, x songs,] and twent[y] wor[ds of p]raise.

—M.G.A.

70. FALSE PROPHETS IN ISRAEL

4Q339

Inscribed on this small scrap of skin are the names of eight false prophets. Except for the last, all are known biblical figures. Why would anyone want to compile a list of biblical figures in this way? Presumably they would not; therefore, the reason for composing the work probably hinges on the identity of the last—the eighth—false prophet. Maddeningly, the name is damaged and cannot be read with certainty. Not to be deterred, however, Alexander Rofe and Elisha Qimron have independently suggested that it should be read as “John son of Simon,” and this striking possibility does fit what remains of the letters.

If the two scholars are correct, the purpose of this work immediately becomes apparent, for John—more precisely, John Hyrcanus I—was a king and high priest of Israel in the late second century B.C.E. He was a controversial leader who early in his reign allied himself with the Pharisees, but later broke with them and went over to the Sadducees. Josephus presents a remarkable evaluation of the man: “He was accounted by God worthy of three of the greatest privileges: the rule of the nation, the office of high priest, and the gift of prophecy” (*Ant.* 13.299–300). John’s reputation for prophecy echoes in a later work known as *Targum*

Pseudo-Jonathan (a targum is a translation of the Bible from Hebrew into Aramaic). In translating Deuteronomy 33:11, this *Targum* says, "O Lord, bless the sacrifices of the house of Levi, who give the tithe, and receive with pleasure the offering from Elijah the priest, which he offered on Mt. Carmel. Shatter the loins of Ahab, his enemy, and the neck of the false prophets who opposed him. And may the enemies of the high priest John have no leg to stand on." The *Targum's* interpretive translation makes the equation of Elijah and John, and as Elijah was a true prophet famously opposed by false ones, John implicitly receives an endorsement as a true prophet.

By listing John Hyrcanus among the false prophets of Israel, of course, our text makes its own, opposite evaluation of Hyrcanus's prophetic gifts. The purpose of making the list may simply have been to put John in it. What that might mean for the author's own politics is not certain, for John was first under the influence of the Pharisees, then the Sadducees. If our author wrote when the king was following the Pharisees, he might well have made a different evaluation later in John's reign.

The heading for the list.

Col. 1 ¹[F]alse prophets who have arisen in I[srael:]

Balaam was a Midianite induced by the king of Moab to curse the Israelites as they passed through during the Exodus heading for the promised land. He did not succeed in cursing them, however, according to the Bible, for God prevented that. Israel's subsequent apostasy was considered his fault.

²Balaam [son of] Beor;

The prophet from Bethel, nameless in the Bible, appears in 1 Kings 13:11–34. He persuaded a true prophet to deviate from what God had told him, leading to the true prophet's death in a lion attack. Zedekiah son of Chenaanah appears in 1 Kings 22:11.

³[The] old man from Bethel; ⁴[Zede]kiah son of Che[na]anah;

These three false prophets opposed the prophet Jeremiah. Compare Jeremiah 29:21 and 29:24. According to the biblical text, Ahab and Zedekiah were delivered to the Babylonians to be executed for "prophesying a lie"; Shemaiah was likewise to be punished, but not in the same way. His line was to die out before seeing "the good" that God was to do for his people in the future.

⁵[Aha]b son of K[ol]aiah; ⁶[Zede]kiah son of Ma[a]seiah; ⁷[Shemaiah the Ne]helamite;

In Jeremiah 28, Hananiah son of Azzur appears as a prophet opposing Jeremiah. Declared by God a false prophet, Hananiah was dead within the year.

⁸[Hananiah son of Az]zur;

This reference may be to the Maccabean high priest and member of the Hasmonean family, John Hyrcanus I (reigned 135–104 B.C.E.). Although several ancient sources remark on John's reputation for prophecy, only this work considers that prophecy false.

⁹[John son of Sim]on.

—M.O.W.

71. AN ANNOTATED LAW OF MOSES

4Q364–365

The ancient Jews had many ways of explaining their sacred texts. One way was the simple commentary, in which a passage of text is explained or interpreted; the Dead Sea group likewise had its commentaries (see the introduction to text 4, *A Commentary on Habakkuk*). Sometimes it was easier just to rewrite a story with added details, as in text 2, *Tales of the Patriarchs*, or to clear up knotty turns of phrase in translation, as in *An Aramaic Translation of the Book of Job* (text 128).

Yet another strategy occurs in the writings before us. Both of these scrolls, to judge from the scant fragments that remain, must originally have contained virtually the entire Pentateuch (Genesis through Deuteronomy, the Law of Moses). When intact, they would have been the longest of all the Dead Sea Scrolls. But they also contain many short—and a few long—additions inserted into the Law (as in text 16). In other cases verses are dropped, drastically shortened, or rearranged. Whether these devices represent something like annotations to the Pentateuch, or rather a “wild,” hitherto unknown version of the Pentateuch, we do not know. If it is the latter case, then some of the verses below may represent not a reworking of the Law of Moses, but the original reading—making the “received” version of the Law of Moses as translated in our Bibles, the later, reworked text!

4Q364 Frag. 1 ¹⁰“ . . . as you go towards Ashur. [He settled down opposite all his brother. Now these are the generations of] ¹¹Isaac son of Abraham. Abraham [was the father of Isaac” (Gen. 25:18–19). . . .] ¹²whom Sarah his wife [bore] to him.

When Jacob leaves the Holy Land for Aram, his mother worries about his safety on the journey in an addition only paralleled elsewhere in Jubilees 27:13–18.

Frag. 3 Col. 2 ¹³him you shall see [. . .] ¹⁴you shall see him in good health [. . . before] ¹⁵your death, and unto your eyes [he will appear . . .] ¹⁶both of you and he called [. . . he told] ¹⁷her all [these] things [. . . her spirit yearned]

“after Jacob her son [and she wept. . . .]” “Then Esau saw that [Isaac had blessed Jacob and sent him away] “to Padan Aram to find him [there a wife” (Gen. 28:6).]

Frag. 4b, e Col. 1 “[“Reuben went out during the wheat harvest] after Jaco[b his father to the field and found mandrakes in the field” (Gen. 30:14).]

The addition to Exodus may have summarized the revelation God gave to Moses on the mountain.

Frag. 15 ¹ “[. . .] Moses [went] into [the cloud ²and ascended the mountain. Moses was on the mountain] forty days and for[ty ³nights” (Exod. 24:18).] he told him everything a[bout] ⁴ [. . .] to him he had done at the time for summoning [. . . .] ⁵ “[“And the LORD said to Moses], Speak to the children of Is[rael” (Exod. 25:1–2).]

The next several fragments add short, explanatory phrases to the known words of the biblical text.

Frag. 21a–k “[“Do not show favoritism] in judgment. You should hear the small along with the great. [Do not be afraid of anyone,] for judg[ment ²belongs to God” (Deut. 1:17).] Do not take [a bribe]

4Q365 Frag. 3 “[“It will be a] powder over a[ll the land of Egypt, and on man and beast it will turn into oozing sores,] that is, ²severe [blisters] on man and beast [in all the land of Egypt” (Exod. 9:9–10).]

Frag. 5 “[. . .] and they looked “and there were Egyptians coming after them [and they were very afraid” (Exod. 14:10)] ²two thousand horses and six hundred cha[riots]

Frag 6a Col. 1 “[“Better to serve the Egyptians] than to die in the desert. But Moses said to the [peo]ple, Fear not, ²[stand firm and you will see the deliverance of the LO]RD that [He will achieve] for you today. Just as you have seen ³[Egypt today, you will never again see] it [again for]ever. The [LO]RD will fight for you, while you ⁴[wait quietly. Then the LORD said] to Moses, Why are you shouting at Me? Tell the children of Israel ⁵[to move, while you raise up your staff and stretch out] your hand over the sea and split it, so that the children of Israel can go ⁶[into the sea on dry land.] I will now [stiffen] Pharaoh’s resolve and the resolve of the Egyptians ⁷[so that they come after you, so I can gain glory at Pha]raoh’s expense [and at the expense of al]l his army and his chariots and his horsemen [and they will know ⁸that I am the LORD. The angel of] God that would go in front of the camp of Israel moved and went ⁹[behind it] and the pillar of [cloud moved”] from the camp of the Egyptians to be in the camp of ¹⁰[Israel] “and it stood behind them [. . . .” (Exod. 14:12–20)]

This addition mentions the Festival of Oil and the Festival of Wood. For more on these festivals, see text 131, the Temple Scroll.

Frag. 23 ¹["In sh]elters you shall dwell seven days; every citizen of Israel should dwell in shelters, so that [your descendants may know] ²that I made your ancestors live in shelters when I brought them out of the land of Egypt. I am the LORD your God.

³Then Moses spoke of the festivals of the LORD to the children of Israel. "The LORD spoke to Moses, saying, Command the children of Israel, saying" (Lev. 23:42–24:2), When you come to the land that ⁵I am about to give you as an inheritance, and where you shall dwell securely, bring wood for the whole burnt offering and for all the work of ⁶the house that you shall build for Me in the land, arranging the wood on the altar holding the burnt offering; and the calves [and also the wood . . .] ⁷for Passover sacrifices and for communion offerings and for thank offerings and for freewill offerings and for whole burnt offerings; and on [your] new [moons . . .] ⁸[and feast days and] for all [the secular days] and for sacrifices and all the work of the house they will bring [. . . after] ⁹the festival of new oil, let them bring the wood two [by two in their tribes . . .] ¹⁰[. . .] those who bring offerings on the first day: Levi [and Judah; on the second day, Benjamin ¹¹and Joseph; on the third day, Reu]ben and Simeon; [on the] fourth day, [Issachar and Zebulun; on the ¹²fifth day, Gad and Asher; and on the sixth day, Dan and Naphtali.]

The text moves directly from the end of Numbers 4 to the beginning of Numbers 7. Probably chaps. 5 and 6 were placed elsewhere in the book; rearrangement apparently was an allowed editorial device for Bible texts in this time period.

Frag. 28 ¹["everyone] who comes to perform the work of service and the [work of carrying in the Tent of Meeting. Their] ²number was eight thousand, five hundred and sixty. From [the mouth of the LORD He numbered them by] ³Moses each to his work and to his carrying; the enrollment was [what the LORD commanded Moses].

⁵["And it came about] on the day Moses finished setting up the [tent, he anointed it and sanctified it and . . . " (Num. 4:47–49, 7:1).]

Another case of topical rearrangement, combining Numbers 27 and 36. Numbers 27 deals with inheritance by daughters, while Numbers 36 concerns the marriage of female heirs. The ancient editor moved chap. 27 to precede chap. 36 so that the related topics would be treated in sequence.

Frag. 36 ¹["If his father has] no [brothers, you shall give his inheritance to his nearest kin from his clan,] ²and he shall inherit [it. This shall be a perpetual law for the children of Israel, just as the LORD commanded] ³Moses"

(Num. 27:11). "Then drew near [the leaders of the ancestors' clans for the children of Gilead son of Machir son of Manasseh, of the families] 'of the children of Joseph before [Moses and before the leaders, the leaders of the ancestral houses of the children] ⁵of Israel, and they said, [The LORD commanded my lord to give the land in inheritance] ⁶by lot to [the children of Israel . . .]" (Num. 36:1-2).]

—E.M.C.

72. THE INHERITANCE OF THE FIRSTBORN, THE MESSIAH OF DAVID

4Q369

Psalm 89:27 says, "I also shall make him the firstborn, the highest of the kings of the earth." The psalmist is speaking of David, the most famous king of ancient Israel, but in Second-Temple times this and similar biblical statements began to be understood as speaking not of David himself, but of a figure yet to come, a new David, a son of David. People began to think that they were reading about a messiah. This understanding of the idea of the "Son of God" eventually helped to turn the world upside down.

The author of the New Testament book of Hebrews takes this approach when he quotes Psalm 89:27. Hebrews 1:6, part of a chain of biblical quotations and interpretations, alludes to the Psalm in saying, "And again, when he brings his firstborn into the world . . ." In the new context of Hebrews, the psalmic term "firstborn" is given messianic import. The author of Hebrews goes on to argue that Jesus is this firstborn and thus, the messiah.

But the author of Hebrews did not write in a vacuum, and Jesus was not necessarily the only—or the first—messianic figure to whom people had applied the metaphor of sonship. By the time of Jesus, and certainly by the time of the writer of Hebrews, the idea had been a part of the intellectual world of the Jews for several generations. The present text proves as much (although we have other evidence from the scrolls as well). The author of *Inheritance* writes, "You appointed him as your firstborn son." He goes on to say that this figure will be "prince and ruler in all the earth," and that God gave "him righteous statutes, as a father gives a son." The text says, then, that there will someday arise a Jewish leader who will conquer the world and that he is to be God's son. Further, he will be God's *firstborn* son, a reference to the special privileges that the firstborn got under biblical laws of inheritance. According to the Bible, the firstborn son was to receive twice the inheritance of the other sons (and daughters generally got nothing but their dowry). In *Inheritance*, the designation "firstborn" is, of course, as metaphorical as the term "son." By it the author means to say that this messiah will be specially endowed with God's blessing and all else that God can give.

Inheritance is one of three works to emerge from the caves near Qumran that refer to a messiah as begotten of God or as God's son.* As Craig Evans has written, "These texts do not indicate that a miraculous birth was expected of a Messiah. But they do help us understand why the evangelists Matthew and Luke would be interested in presenting Jesus' birth in such a light."[†]

This may be the final judgment as revealed to Enoch (Jubilees 4:19).

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] to all ²[. . .] to the mysteries [. . . the angel of] Your peace ³[. . .] understand [. . . until] they acknowledge their guilt ⁴[and seek My face . . .] of all their fest[ivals] at their times ⁵[. . .] Your wonder, for from of old You decreed them ⁶[. . .] His judgment until the determined time of judgment ⁷[. . .] in all the testimonies until ⁸[. . .]

⁹[Now Kenan was the fourth generation and Mahalalel was] his [so]n. And Mahalalel was the fifth generation ¹⁰[and Jared was his son. And Jared was the sixth generation and Enoch was] his son. And Enoch was the seventh generation.

The eternal inheritance of the messiah, the firstborn son of God. This notion of sonship is especially interesting in light of the genealogical list of col. 1, to which this material in col. 2 presumably bears some relation. All the "sons" of col. 1 are literally sons; thus the juxtaposition with col. 2 tends to make the sonship of the messiah all the more concrete.

Col. 2 ¹Your name. You assigned his inheritance in order that You might establish Your name there [. . .] ²it is the glory of Your inhabited world and upon it [. . .] ³Your eyes are upon it, and Your glory appears there for [. . .] ⁴to his seed through their generations, an eternal possession. And al[. . .] ⁵and You tested Your good judgments for him to [. . .] ⁶in everlasting light, and You appointed him as Your firstbo[rn] son. [There is none] ⁷like him, as a prince and ruler in all Your inhabited world [. . .] ⁸the c[rown of the hea]vens and glory of the clouds You have placed [on him . . .] ⁹[. . .] and the angel of Your peace in his congregation. And h[e . . .] ¹⁰[. . . You gave] him righteous statutes, as a father gives a so[n . . .] ¹¹[. . .] his love. Your soul holds fast to [. . .] ¹²[. . .] for in them Your glory [. . .]

This fragment concerns either the retribution in store for the wicked or the rewards awaiting the just.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] custody of the angel of intercession [. . .] ²[. . .] Your [st]rength, and to fight against all the la[nds . . .] ³[. . .] among them Your

*For the others, see the text 6, *Charter for Israel in the Last Days* 2:11–12, and text 27, *The Last Days: A Commentary on Selected Verses* 3:10–11.

[†]Craig Evans, "A Note on the 'First-born Son' of 4Q369," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995): 200.

rewards (retributions?) [. . .] '[. . .] and Your judgments [You] make marvelous among them [. . .] '[. . . concern]ing [a]ll Your works [. . .]

—M.G.A.

73. A SERMON ON THE FLOOD

4Q370

This intriguing work is a sermon or homily drawing on the biblical account of the Flood (Gen. 6–9). The first column describes the Flood, and so is, in a sense, the body of the sermon. The second column makes the sermon's application or admonition. Unfortunately this column is fragmentary—it would have been interesting to see precisely where the author went.

The text gives us no clue concerning either the audience for whom the sermon was intended or the "preacher" who may have delivered it. We can say, however, that our author knew two other extrabiblical writings that have come forth from the caves near Qumran. Col. 1, ll. 1–2 allude to one of the *Apocryphal Psalms of David*, the "Hymn to God the Creator," l. 13 (see text 127). Col. 2, ll. 1–5 are closely related to a portion of *In Praise of Wisdom*, 1:13–2:3 (text 31). In some sense, these works may have been authoritative for our writer, and in the case of the *Apocryphal Psalms of David* in particular he may have thought of himself as quoting Scripture.

One of the sermon's main points is that the sheer abundance present at the creation had a corrupting influence. This idea is not in the Bible and represents an interesting approach to the curse God inflicted upon Adam in consequence of his sin. Because of it, of course, Adam had to work, earning his bread by the sweat of his brow. By implication our author finds a silver lining in this curse: true, men now must work, but at least it keeps them from sinning still more. The notion that abundance breeds sin also appears in rabbinic literature. For instance, *Genesis Rabbah*, commenting on Genesis 8:22, notes, "Rabbi Isaac said, 'What was responsible for their rebelling against Me? Was it not because they sowed without having to reap?'" This same sentiment is a commonplace in our own society, of course, a holdover from the past merely rotated one hundred eighty degrees: "An idle mind is the devil's playground."

The Lord speaks of the bounty of creation and humankind's rebellion.

Col. 1 'So He decked out the mountains with fo[od, heap]ing up sustenance upon them, satisfying everyone with succulent fruit. "All who do My will [may eat and be satisfied,]" says the LORD, "Then shall they bless [My holy] name." "But thereafter they did what I regard as evil," says the LORD, "And they rebelled against God in [following] their own [designs.]"

A description of the Flood.

³So the LORD judged them [according to all] their practices, according to the designs arising from their [evil] hearts. He thundered against them in [His] might, [so that] the ⁴very foundations of the ear[th] were shaken. [Wa]ter burst forth from the dept[hs], all the windows of heaven were thrown open; the depth[s] poured out] their awful waters, ⁵the windows of heaven em[ptied themselves] of their rain. [So] were they destroyed by the flood, every one of them [perishing in the w]ater—[for] they had disobeyed [the commandments of the LO]RD. “Therefore all on [dr]y ground were blott[ed out,] man [and beast,] bird and winged creature—all died; not even the gia[nt]s escaped [. . .]

God's mercy in judgment, at the time of the Flood and the time of the sermon.

⁷But God established [a sign of the covenant], He set His bow [in the clouds]; a memorial of His covenant ⁸[that He had made with humanity and all that lives: no more] would flood waters destroy, [never again] ravaging waters [be loos]ed [. . .] **Col. 2** ¹Because of their guilt, they shall seek [. . .] ²The LORD will justify [. . .] ³He will cleanse them of their transgression [. . .] ⁴Their evil, in knowing [. . .] ⁵They spring up, but their days are as a shadow [. . .] ⁶Forever shall He be merciful [. . .] ⁷[Consider] the might of the LORD, remember [His] wonderful deed[s . . .] ⁸Through awe of Him, may [your] spiri[t] rejoice [. . .] ⁹From your years (?), hold no grudge against [your companion . . .]

—M.O.W.

74. STORIES ABOUT THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL

4Q371–373, 2Q22

The scrolls designated by the numbers above are something of an enigma. They may represent four copies of the same literary work, but there are only a few overlaps and many portions of a particular scroll do not overlap with any of the others. We cannot rule out the possibility, therefore, that these four scrolls do not contain a single literary work, but rather various unconnected episodes or excerpts from other works. In that light, the difficulty of characterizing the great variety of what we read in them is perhaps understandable. The scrolls are officially designated “Apocryphal Joseph” texts, but much of what they say has nothing to do with either Joseph the son of Jacob or his eponymous tribes. Joseph is indeed the major figure, but we also have here at least one story about David and Goliath and one or more psalms, one mentioning Zimri son of Salu, a character of the Exodus. Thus the title adopted here is more descriptive of the actual contents.

During the late Second-Temple period intense interest arose in the story of David and Goliath. This interest was only natural, because the Jews suffered under the heel of first one, then another powerful foreign nation. The famous biblical story (1 Sam. 17) naturally lent itself to the situation: it was a paradigm of the weak defeating the powerful. Accordingly, 1 Maccabees 4:30 depicts Judas Maccabeus (the hero of the revolt against Syrian rule about 167 B.C.E.) as praying, "You are blessed, Savior of Israel, who smashed the attack of the mighty warrior by the hand of Your servant David." Other texts of that general period also invoke the image of the shepherd boy felling the giant, including the Dead Sea work known as the *War Scroll* (see text 8, col. 11, ll. 1-2 of the Cave 1 scroll).

A second notable aspect of the present work(s) is the clear polemic against the Samaritans. The Samaritans were a group who lived to the north of Judah, in the former territory of the ten lost tribes of Israel. Like the Jews, they worshiped the God of Israel. When pressed, the rabbis admitted that the Samaritans were, in their essence, Jews. Yet they did not worship God in acceptable ways and, most important, they did not worship God in the *accepted Temple* at Jerusalem. The Samaritans had built their own temple at Mount Gerizim, probably in the fourth century B.C.E., and established their own priesthood and sacrifices. They held only to the Torah, the first five books of the Bible, which they modified at points to support their own claims. They did not accept the books of the Prophets, presumably because the Prophets were so centered on worship in Jerusalem, which, of course, the Samaritans contested. To them, Jerusalem was not central; Gerizim was. Part of the legitimation that the Samaritans offered for themselves and their temple was the claim that they were descended from the Joseph tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. Josephus spoke of this claim: "[The Samaritans] alter their attitude according to the situation. When they see that the Jews are doing well, they call them kinsmen, claiming to be descended from Joseph and so related to the Jews through their origin from him. Yet when they see the Jews stumble, they say they have nothing at all in common with them" (*Ant.* 9.291). The polemic between the Jews and Samaritans thus focused in part on the question of who could claim to be the true descendants of Joseph. We see this argument reflected in portion 3 below and so glimpse an aspect of Jewish politics and propaganda in the Second-Temple period.

A story about David and Goliath, apparently comparing Goliath's size with that of the giant king, Og of Bashan, who is mentioned in the book of Joshua.

Portion 1 ²All his servants with Og [. . . six] ³and a half cubits was his height, two [cubits his width . . . He had] a spear like a cedar, 'a shield like a

²Portion 1 comprises 4Q373 frags. 1 + 2, 2Q22 col. 1, and 4Q372 frag. 19. The term "portion" is used because we cannot be certain that the manuscripts overlap as a whole; thus we cannot order the "portions" as they might have been in the "complete original" or speak of columns in such a work.

tower. He who has quick feet [. . .] ⁵he who divests them. [I] did not stand at a mile's remove [. . .] ⁶and I did not repeat it, for the LORD our God vanquished him; [I struck him] with the edge of [the sword . . .] ⁷I had prepared murderous slings, together with bows, and [did] not [. . .] ⁸For t[his] was a war to capture walled cities and to strike terror [. . .]

This fragment also seems to be related to the story of David and Goliath.

Portion 2 ²[. . .] the LORD in heaven [. . .] ³[. . .] in the depths, and in all of Abaddo[n . . .] ⁴[. . . He Who t]rains his hand for warfare, He Who avenges [. . .] ⁵[. . . He Who g]ives him acumen, so as to discern how to build (?) [. . .] ⁶[. . . to d]o that which delights Him forever, according to the greatness of [His . . .] ⁷[. . .] time. Surely He has given you strength to preva[il . . .] ⁸[. . .] and He gave them into His people's power, as a judgme[nt . . .] ⁹[. . . the moun]tain of Bashan did [they] van[quish], together with all [its] cities [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] you shall clothe yourself with [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] He who gives His people confidence in [. . .] ¹²[. . . the enemy of Is]rael, for he has been vanquished before him [. . .] ¹³[. . . smiting] his head with a wound[ing] stone [. . .]

This fragment introduces the Joseph tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, two of the lost ten northern tribes of Israel. It begins with their exile for idol worship.

Portion 3 ²He who does [. . . they followed] strangers ³and the false priests, and they honored those who craft [idols . . . they abandoned God] ⁴Most High, so He gave them into the power of the nations, to [. . . and He scattered] ⁵them among all the lands, and among all [the nations] did He disperse them [. . .] they did not come [. . .] ⁶Israel, and He eliminated them from the land of [. . .], from the place [. . .] The nations left them ⁷no remnant in the Valley of the Vision. They [plowed] Zion [into a field,] and they made [. . .] they turned ⁸Jerusalem to ruins, the mountain of my God into wood[ed] high places [. . .] the laws of ⁹God, and Judah with him as well. He stood at the crossroads, whether to d[o . . .] ¹⁰to be with his two brothers.

Next the portion describes the settling of the Samaritans in the lands formerly belonging to the Joseph tribes. Line 12 apparently refers to the construction of the Samaritan temple on Mt. Gerizim. This temple competed with that in Jerusalem for several centuries, until it was destroyed by the Jewish king Hyrcanus I in about 113 B.C.E. The author's hatred of the Samaritans is manifest.

Moreover, Joseph was carried off into lands he had not kn[own . . .] ¹¹among a foreign nation, dispersed into all the world. All their mountains were desolate of them, [. . .] and fools [were liv]ing [in their land],

¹²fashioning for themselves a high place upon the high mountain, so as to arouse Israel's zeal. They spoke [insulting] wor[ds against] ¹³the sons of Jacob, saying horrifying things, even blaspheming the tent of Zion. They told lies against them, ¹⁴spoke every sort of untruth, intending to enrage Levi, Judah, and Benjamin with their words.

In exile, the Joseph tribes come to repentance. "Joseph" cries out to God in a lengthy prayer.

Worse, Joseph [had been given] ¹⁵into the power of foreigners, who drained his strength and shattered all his bones, until he was about to perish. At that point he cried out, ¹⁶calling upon the mighty God to save him from their power. He said,

"O Father, my God, leave me not forsaken, in the power of the nations. ¹⁷Render justice on my behalf, that the poor and oppressed should not perish. You need no nation or people—¹⁸need not the slightest help. Your mere finger is bigger, stronger, than anything on earth. Surely You prove what is true; ¹⁹no wrongdoing resides with You. Your mercies are many, Your faithfulness great, to all those who seek You. My land [has been taken] from me, from all my brothers who ²⁰have joined me. An enemy people dwells in it, sp[ea]king horrifying things, taunting, blas[ph]eming, reviling ²¹all who love You, even Jacob. They anger Le[vi], Judah, and Benjamin with their lying words . . .] ²²The time when You shall exterminate them from the entire earth, when they shall be given [. . .] ²³Then shall I arise to work justice and righteous[ness . . . To do] ²⁴what pleases my Creator, to offer the sacrifices [of thanksgiving . . . I shall praise] ²⁵My God, tell of His loving-kindne[ss . . .] ²⁶I shall praise You, O LORD my God, I shall bless You for all [. . .] ²⁷[the former things.] I shall teach the rebellious Your statutes, all who have abandoned You, [Your] La[w . . . I shall distinguish good] ²⁸from evil, that Your testimonies not reproach me, so to declare [Your] righteous words. [. . .] ²⁹Surely God is great, holy, mighty and fearsome, terrible and wondrous [. . . His glory dwells in heaven] ³⁰and earth, even the depths of the abyss. Honor and [glory . . .] ³¹I know and understand [. . .]

This portion comprises one or perhaps two psalms. The first lines make some remarkable claims for the authority of the speaker, but we do not know who he may be. The later lines describe God's promise to fight for Israel and to destroy its enemies. Zimri son of Salu is mentioned in Numbers 25:14; he was among those destroyed for apostasy.

Portion 4 ¹[. . .] I shall praise the LO[R]D, that] my meditation [might] be pleasing to Him [. . .] ²[and] heart, to teach understanding [. . .] judgment, for my word is [swee]ter than honey, [my] ton[gue] more pleasing than wine. [Every word that I speak] ³is truth, every utterance of my mouth, righ[teous]-

ness]. None of these testimonies shall fail, none of these fine promises perish, for all of them [. . .] ⁷The LORD has opened my mouth, the words that I speak come from Him. His word is in me, so as to declare [. . . To us belong] ⁸His mercies; He shall not grant His laws to another nation; neither shall He adorn any stranger with them. Surely [. . .] ⁹[A]braham, for He made a covenant with Jacob to be with him for all etern[ity . . . He promised that any enemy of] ¹⁰[I]srael should come to an end, to exterminate by the agency of the nations all who should touch the inheritan[ce of His beloved . . .] ¹¹[. . .] He would avenge their shed blood. He put terror in the heart of Midian, e[nemy of Israel, for the LORD is our God,] ¹²He alone. Zimri son of Salu and five kings of Midian were slain [. . .]

—M.O.W.

75. A DISCOURSE ON THE EXODUS AND CONQUEST

4Q374

The surviving portions of this writing describe the Exodus from Egypt and the conquest of the promised land. Because the work is so fragmentary, we cannot discover how its ideas developed, but a few points are clear. The fear and helplessness of Israel's enemies as God's people battled for Canaan is a dominant theme. In contrast, the author emphasizes God's compassion and support for Israel, even when the people became discouraged. Note the allusion to Exodus 7:1 as the writer calls Moses "a god over the mighty."

Line 8 is striking because it juxtaposes healing with a quotation from the so-called priestly blessing of Numbers 6:24–26. An amulet with precisely these verses inscribed upon it and dating to the late sixth century B.C.E.—centuries older than our scroll—has recently surfaced in excavations in Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem. The fact that the verses were inscribed upon an amulet suggests their early use for magical purposes, and the present Dead Sea Scroll tends to confirm that possibility with its explicit reference "for healing." The connection of the priestly blessing with healing—as a magical incantation—was clearly a long-standing and durable tradition, and in passing our writer refers to the popular conception of the blessing's divine power.

Frag. 2 Col. 2 ¹together and [. . .] ²So the nations were lifted up in anger [. . .] ³through their actions and the polluted deeds of [. . .] ⁴so that th[ey] have neither remnant nor survivor. As for their offspring, [. . .] ⁵He planted His chosen in a land desirable above all others, in [. . .] ⁶He made him as a god over the mighty, as a compa[ss] for Pharaoh; His serv[ant Moses . . .] ⁷So they melted and their hearts trembled, and th[ei]r insides

turned to liquid. Yet He had compassion upon al[l His chosen ones . . .]
 ““When He caused His face to shine upon them” (Num. 6:25) for healing,
 they were made strong once again, and at the time of [. . .] “All who had not
 known You melted and trem[bl]ed. They staggered at the sou[nd of . . .]
 —M.O.W.

76. THE TEST OF A TRUE PROPHET

4Q375

In his apology on behalf of Judaism, *Against Apion*, Josephus wrote, “From the time of Artaxerxes until our own day a full history has been recorded, but it is not regarded as equally trustworthy with earlier records because of *uncertainty about the exact succession of the prophets*” (*Ap.* 1.41; emphasis mine). From this statement we may infer that Josephus believed that prophecy continued to his own day; it was the exact succession of the prophets that had ended, not the phenomenon of prophecy itself. In other words, from about 350 B.C.E. to 90 C.E. there *had* been a succession, but people argued about whether this or that claimant to the office was credible, was in fact a prophet. Prophets continued to arise, but now there was much uncertainty about which ones were true, which ones false.

The present text illustrates some of the social dimensions of this situation. The text takes as its point of departure a famous passage on prophecy in Deuteronomy 18:18–22, where a false prophet is defined as one who declares something that does not come true. Our author, speaking as Moses, presupposes a situation in which two groups disagree about whether or not a prophet has spoken truly. The matter is cast in terms of apostasy, but in Second-Temple times that might easily connote biblical interpretation with which one did not agree. How was God’s revelation to be applied? One group’s following God was *ipso facto* another group’s apostasy.

Our author conceives an elaborate ceremonial trial of sorts, involving the “anointed priest” (that is, the high priest) and the Ark of the Testimony. He seems to believe that secret laws, unknown to the generality of Israel, are kept in or near the Ark. Therefore the priest retires there and studies to determine whether the prophet is true or false. In this way he will determine God’s verdict. We may imagine, then, that our author belonged to a group that had reason to want to add the stated nuances to the biblical commands. This modification could hardly be done in the name of any but Moses. It would seem reasonable that the group that gave birth to this text wished to support someone who had been accused of being a false prophet.

Consideration of a true prophet, whom all agree speaks for God.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹(You shall perform) [all that] your God shall command you by the prophet, and you shall observe ²[all] these [sta]tutes. You shall return to the LORD your God with all ³[your heart and with all] your soul; then your God will Himself turn from His furious anger ⁴[to save you] from all your dire straits.

The prophet whom some call false, others true.

But any prophet who arises to urge you ⁵[to apostasy, to turn] you from following your God, must be put to death. Yet if the tribe to [which] he belongs "comes forward and argues, "He must not be executed, for he is a righteous man, he is ⁷a [trus]tworthy prophet," then you are to come with that tribe and your elders and judges ⁸[t]o the place that your God shall choose in one of the territories of your tribes. You are to come before ⁹[the pr]iest who has been anointed, upon whose head has been poured the anointing oil.

The procedure to be followed by the anointed priest in order to determine whether the prophet must die. In ll. 3–6 the ceremony is similar to what the Bible prescribes for the Day of Atonement (Lev. 16).

Col. 2 ³and he shall take [one young bull from the herd, and one ram . . . he shall take some of its blood] ⁴upon [his] fing[er and sprinkle it on the four corners of the altar of burnt offerings . . .] ⁵the flesh of the ra[m . . . one] ma[le] goat "for a sin offering. Let him ta[ke the goat and ato]ne with it on behalf of the entire assembly. Afterwards, [he is to approach] ⁷the curtain [of the veil and dra]w near to the Ark of the Testimony. There he shall study to determine the [verdict of] ⁸the LORD, comparing all the [laws] that have been ke[pt sec]ret from you. He shall then emerge into the presence of the en[tire] ⁹assembly. This, then, [. . .]

—M.O.W.

77. A MOSES APOCRYPHON

4Q377

Moses wrote many more books than the five in the Bible traditionally credited to him. Or at least, so it was claimed. Among the Dead Sea Scrolls are nearly a dozen different works that do not appear in our Bibles but assert, by one device or another, that Moses was their author. These include *Jubilees*; *The Words of Moses* (text 9); rewritten Bible texts (texts 16 and 71); *The Test of a True Prophet*

(text 76); the *Temple Scroll* (text 131); and the present work. In addition, the *Discourse on the Exodus and Conquest* may be such a Mosaic writing (text 75). The sheer number of these writings testifies to the overwhelming importance of Moses as the legitimator of religious ideas in Second-Temple times. If the Bible did not say what you thought it should, what you were convinced God would have said through Moses but somehow neglected to say, then you took reed in hand and, as it were, wrote for Moses.

The present writing is one such apocryphal Mosaic work, but unfortunately, fragmentary as it is, we can no longer see precisely what its author wanted to ground in Mosaic authority. Noteworthy is our author's description of Moses as an "anointed one" (1. 5, Hebrew *messiah*). Nowhere does the Bible use this term of the famous lawgiver, though it is certainly appropriate in terms of the Hebrew word's connotations. In the same vein the writer calls Moses a "herald of glad tidings." Again, nowhere does the Bible use that term of Moses. These two designations refer to Moses' investiture in the role of prophet and herald; compare Isaiah 61:1-5. We may speculate that one point of this writing was simply to apply these terms to the greatest figure in Israel's history.

The people's reaction on hearing God's commandments from Sinai.

Frag. 2 Col. 2 ³And Eliba (?) responded, "Hea[r], O congregation of the LORD, and lend an ear, all who are here gathered: bear witness [. . .] ⁴to a[ll] His wor[ds] and judgm[ents]. Cursed be the man who fails to preserve and car[ry out] ⁵all the command[ments of the L]ORD as spoken by Moses His anointed, and who fails to follow the LORD, the God of our fathers, He who has command[ed] ⁶us from the mountains of Sinai.

For He has spoken wi[th] the congregation of Israel face to face, as a man might speak ⁷with his friend. Since li[g]ht draws a man's attention, He has appeared to us as a consuming flame in heaven above, "while on the earth He has stood upon the mountain to teach. Surely there is no God but Him, and no Rock like Him." All ⁹the congregation answered, but they were seized with trembling in the presence of God's glory and the wondrous thundering. ¹⁰So they stood at a distance.

Moses the man of God.

Meanwhile Moses, the man of God, was with God in the cloud. The cloud ¹¹would cover him, for [. . .] as he was sanctified. God would speak through his mouth as though he were an angel; indeed, what herald of glad tidings was ever like him? [. . .] ¹²He was a man of piety and [. . .] such as were never created before or since [. . .]

—M.O.W.

78. PSALMS OF JOSHUA

4Q378–379

Joshua the son of Nun was second to none—as a minister to Moses, that is. According to the Bible, he served Moses faithfully and then, when Moses died before entering the promised land, Joshua led the people across the Jordan and into their inheritance. The Bible describes the subsequent conquest and division of the land in the book of Joshua. The *Psalms of Joshua* serves as a kind of second to the biblical book. It belongs to the category of “rewritten Bible,” expanding upon those aspects of the biblical book that most interested its author. Before characterizing the work any further, however, we should note that we cannot be certain the two manuscripts grouped here are two copies of a single literary work. They do not overlap. They are thought to be two copies of the same work because of their content, style, use of divine names, and method of adapting Scripture.

Assuming this unity, the work seems to have followed the order of events in the biblical book of Joshua more or less faithfully in retelling the story of the conquest (and the fragments below are arranged accordingly). In contrast to the biblical book, however, the *Psalms of Joshua* contains many speeches, prayers, and hymns. Moreover, the author manifests a greater interest in chronology than one finds in the biblical book. 4Q379 frag. 12 presupposes a system of timekeeping by forty-nine-year periods, or jubilees, known from the book of *Jubilees* and various Dead Sea Scrolls writings. The author is also especially interested in the priesthood. For that reason he focuses attention on Levi, the son of Jacob who was to give rise to the priesthood, and singles out Eleazar and Ithamar, the priestly sons of Aaron.

4Q379 frag. 22 is particularly noteworthy because another Dead Sea Scroll, *A Collection of Messianic Proof Texts* (text 24), quotes it as though it were Scripture. The *Collection* quotes the portion right after various other selections taken from the Bible. This juxtaposition implies that all the portions were viewed as more or less equally authoritative and thus raises the question of canon. By the term “canon” we refer to the collection of books that are considered inspired and authoritative and that eventually came to be the Bible. In the period of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the canon seems not yet to have been closed. In fact, evidence indicates that various groups among the Jews held different ideas about just what books were authoritative. While it seems that all agreed on the authority of the books of Moses (Genesis through Deuteronomy) and the Prophets, that is

where agreement ceased. The *Psalms of Joshua* was probably taken at face value: that is, it represents itself as a work written by Joshua, and people believed the claim. Thus, for some Jews at any rate, the *Psalms* were no less “biblical” than the book of Joshua familiar to us.

A rather mysterious portion, drawing phrases from the Balaam episode of Numbers 24. Perhaps a final prayer of Moses, uttered just before his death, is in view here.

4Q378 Frag. 26 ¹[. . . a man] who kno[ws] the knowledge of the Most High, who [sees] the vis[ion] of the Almighty . . .] ²[. . . kee]p faith with us, O man of God, because [. . .] ³[. . .] and the Council of the Most High h[ea]rd the voice of M[oses . . .] ⁴[. . .] God Most High [. . .] ⁵[. . . and] mighty portents. By anger were restrained [. . .] ⁶[. . .] a pio[u]s [m]an, and remember forever and ever [. . .]

The people mourn the death of Moses. Line 5 refers to the Canaanites' fear of the people of Israel as the conquest began.

Frag. 14 ¹[. . .] So the children [of Israel] wept [for Moses in the plains of Moab,] ²[at the Jordan near] Jericho, from Beth-jeshimoth [as far as Abelsittim—thirty days altogether. They completed] ³[the days of weeping] and mourning for Moses, and the children of Is[rael . . .] ⁴[. . . the covenant t]hat the LORD had made with him. [And the LORD said, “This day] ⁵[I am beginning to put the dr]ead of you and fear of you [upon the peoples . . . ”]

This portion seems to warn the nation against future apostasy in a fashion reminiscent of Deuteronomy 28–29. The people are warned that if they are unfaithful to God, terrible curses shall fall upon them. Among these curses, according to l. 5, shall be an increase of predatory animals who will eat the people.

Frag. 3 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] to render them impure and to [. . .] ²[. . .] your [f]athers to their sons. ³[. . .] many trials shall seek you out and all ⁴[. . . Moses the ma]n of God ⁵[. . .] from you, and you shall become something for it to eat ⁶[. . . from one corner of the] land to the other, and [the LORD] shall make you to wander ⁷[. . .] to the point of extinction, to the point of rebellion ⁸[against the LORD . . . the L]ORD your God. They shall come upon you ⁹[. . . a]ll the nations who ¹⁰[. . .] as you have done ¹¹[. . . who] have ruled over you.

An address to the nation in which Joshua recalls the words Moses spoke to him prior to crossing the Jordan. Compare Joshua 1:10–18.

Col. 2 ³and he brought forth [. . .] ⁴And now, [this] very day [. . .] ⁵For we have listened to Moses [. . .] ⁶a great and upright man [. . . to appoint commanders over groups of one thousand, groups of] ⁷one hundred, groups of fif[ty, and groups of ten . . . as well as judges] ⁸and officials [. . .] ⁹he shall listen and not [. . . Fear not,] ¹⁰and do not be afraid. Rather, be strong and

cour[ageous, for you shall give this people their inheritance . . . The LORD shall neither] ¹¹leave you nor forsake [you. Let your hands be strong . . . Arise] ¹²to lead [this people] on their journey [. . .]

A speech in which Joshua apparently addresses Israel and refers to an earlier prayer on the people's behalf, perhaps one offered by Moses. A possible context would be the day before the people cross the Jordan. Joshua mentions the fate of the several people who had arisen to oppose Moses, implicitly warning that a similar fate awaits those who oppose him, God's new leader.

Frag. 6 Col. 1 ¹[. . . Acce]pt a prayer concerning our sins ⁵[. . .] Do not be like those brothers who [de]scended ⁶[into the pit . . . Make] such a man's evil deeds [known] forever, for all ages (?) ⁷[. . .] your [gu]ilt. My brothers shall oppose you . . .

A similar prayer, perhaps offered by Caleb or Eleazar the priest.

Frag. 22 ¹[. . . Because] Moses [prayed,] "O My God, You did not destroy them for their sins ²[. . .] with You by the agency of Joshua, the assistant of Moses, Your servant ³[. . .] by means of an oracle to Joshua, for the sake of Your people ⁴[. . . the coven]ant that You m[ade] with Abraham ⁵[. . . A God showing] compassion to thousands.

A description of the promised land. Compare Deuteronomy 8:7–9.

Frag. 11 ¹[. . .] For the LORD [yo]ur [God] is speaking ²[. . .] to confirm the words that He spoke ³[. . .] that He swore to Abraham to give ⁴[us and to bring us into a] good and expansive [land], a land with flowing streams, ⁵[with springs and underground waters welling up in va]lleys and hills, a land of wheat and barley, ⁶[of vines and fig trees and pomegranates, of olive trees and] honey. Surely it is a land flowing with milk and honey ⁷[where you will lack nothing, a land] whose st[one]s are iron and from whose hills [you may mine] copper. ⁸[. . .] to explore. [Israel] shall inherit [. . .]

The crossing of the Jordan River. The reference to the jubilee year reflects a chronological system known from many Dead Sea Scrolls.

4Q379 Frag. 12 ¹[. . . the waters] flowing [. . .] ²[. . . the waters] flowing stood still, standing in a single ³[heap . . . The children of Israel cr]ossed over on dry ground in the first ⁴[mon]th, in the fo[r]ty-fir[st] year of their exodus from the lan[d] of ⁵Egypt. That was the jubilee year, falling at the beginning of their entry into the land of ⁶Canaan. Now the Jordan overfl[o]ws its banks and floods with ⁷[w]ater from the fo[ur]th month until the month of the wheat harvest.

Two portions apparently praising God after the crossing. The prominence of Levi in the first fragment is notable, for he is listed first though he was not the firstborn.

Frag. 1 ¹[. . . Jacob,] and You made him rejoice with tw[elve sons . . .]
²forever: Levi, the beloved of [. . .] ³[. . . and] Reuben and Ju[dah and . . .]
⁴[. . . and] Gad and Dan and [. . .] ⁵[. . .] the twelve tribes of [Israel . . .]

Frag. 17 ²[. . .] and blessing [. . .] ³with his words, and he was faithful to the Law [. . .] ⁴[. . . You gave the covenant You made] with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob to Moses ⁵[. . . Aaron, E]leazar, and Ithamar. I shall rejoice [. . .]

This fragment preserves a portion quoted above by text 24, A Collection of Messianic Proof Texts. Whatever its interpretation may be in text 24, here the portion supplements Joshua 6 and refers mainly to the destruction of Jericho that is recounted by that chapter of the Bible. A "fowler's net" (l. 10) was used to capture birds for eating.

Frag. 22 ⁵Blessed is the LORD, the God of I[srael . . .] ⁶[. . .] ⁷When Josh[ua] fi[ni]shed pra[y]ing and offe[r]ing psalms of praise, [he said,] ⁸"Cur[sed be anyone who tries to reb[ui]ld this [c]ity! With the help of [his] firstborn he shall lay its foundation, ⁹and with the aid of [his young]est [he shall] set up its gates!" (Josh. 6:26). Behold, [one cu]rse[d man, [one belonging to Belial,] ¹⁰[is about to arise] to be a fowler's net to his people and a source of ruin for all his neighbors. Then shall ari[se] ¹¹[son]s [after him,] the two of them to be instruments of wrongdoing. They shall rebuild ¹²this [city] and set up for it a wall and towers, creating [a stronghold of evil] ¹³[in the land,] a great wickedness in Israel, a thing of horror in Ephraim [and Judah.] ¹⁴[They shall work blasphemy] in the land, a great uncleanness among the children of Jacob. They shall po[ur out blood like water upon the bulwark of the daughter of Zion and within the city limits of Jerusalem.]

—M.O.W.

79. A COLLECTION OF ROYAL PSALMS

4Q380, 4Q381

The 150 poems contained in the biblical book of Psalms do not exhaust the inventory of Israel's hymns. Undoubtedly there were thousands more, and Jews continued to write them long after the biblical period. A number of these previously unknown psalms have turned up in the Qumran caches (see texts 15 and 127). Some of them represent imitations of the biblical genre with a sectarian twist; others would not be out of place within the biblical Psalter itself.

The hymns of praise in this group of scrolls belong to the latter group. They are particularly pure examples of the songs of Israel, although their wording is often derived from biblical expressions. Occasionally verbatim excerpts from the Old Testament occur.

The biblical psalms are generally of two kinds, the "lament" and the "praise." Both kinds may be either personal or communal. The lament focuses on a crisis or calamity suffered by the psalmist or the nation as a whole and usually includes a prayer for deliverance from the affliction. The praise emphasizes the greatness of God and what he has done for the psalmist or for the nation.

The psalms translated here are credited, by literary fiction, to some of the kings of Judah. Since the king embodies in his person the nation's fate, these hymns have both personal and communal characteristics.

Scholars refer to some of the biblical praise psalms as "songs of Zion," because they emphasize God's choice of Jerusalem in which to place his king and temple (e.g., Pss. 48; 87). The following is another "song of Zion."

4Q380 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] ²[. . . Jeru]salem is ³[the city that the] LO[RD chose] from everlasting to ⁴[everlasting . . .] holy, ⁵[for the na]me of the LORD is invoked on it. ⁶[His glory] is visible on Jerusalem ⁷[and] Zion. Who can tell the name of ⁸the LORD, and proclaim all [His] praise? ⁹The LORD [called him to] mind in His good will, and took care of him, ¹⁰showing him what is good [. . .] **Col. 2** ¹[for] he gave You a man [. . .] ²for he is the one who kept [His] utterances [. . .] ³which belong to all the children of Israel [. . . will] ⁴your hand save you? Indeed the power of God [. . .] ⁵those who do good, and hate evil, until [. . .] ⁶do you dare to do evil, lest [. . .] perish [. . .] ⁷[. . .]

Some of the biblical psalms are attributed to figures from Israel's history, principally David, but also King Solomon (Pss. 72; 127) and Moses (Ps. 90). The Qumran collection had a psalm credited to the prophet Obadiah, but little of it remains.

⁸A psalm of Obadiah. God [. . .] ⁹truth in it, and grace [. . .]

The "man of God" credited with this psalm is probably King David, since it contains extracts from Psalm 18, also credited to him. (David is called "the man of God" in Neh. 12:24.)

4Q381 Frag. 24 ⁴A psalm of the man of God. O LORD God [. . .] ⁵free Judah from every enemy, and from Ephraim [. . .] ⁶generation. And they will praise him for his grace, and they will say, Rise, O God [. . .] ⁷"Your name is my deliverance, my rock, my fortress, my deliverer" (Ps. 18:2), [O LORD . . .] "on the day [of my] disaster ⁸I cry out to the LORD" (Ps. 18:6), for my God will answer me. My help [. . .] my enemies, and he will say, ⁹Indeed [. . .] to the people, "and I [. . . my cry] to Him shall enter His ears" ¹⁰and [my] voice [He will hear in His temple" (Ps. 18:6). "Then] the earth [shall tremble and shake, and the pillars holding up the mountains will quiver . . . " (Ps. 18:7)]

Although the heading is missing, this psalm too may once have been attributed to David. It quotes from Psalm 86, credited to David, and Psalm 89, which, although

credited to "Ethan the Ezrahite," focuses on God's choice of the family of David for royal honors, and the psalmist refers to himself (l. 7) as "your anointed." To be called by God's name (l. 9) means to be especially identified with God, as was David.

Frag. 15 ¹[. . .] You shall renew my heart [. . .] ²[" . . . turn to me and be gracious to me, and give Your strength to Your servant] and deliver Your maidservant's son" (Ps. 86:16). "Show me ³[a good omen, so that my enemies will be afraid and draw back, for You,] my God, have helped me" (Ps. 86:17). So let me lay my case to You, my God ⁴[. . . "You rule over the] tall sea-waves, and You quiet its breakers" (Ps. 89:14), "You ⁵[crushed the primeval dragon like a corpse, with Your strong arm You have scattered Your enemies" (Ps. 89:10). "The world] and everything in it You created" (Ps. 89:11). "You have an arm of ⁶[power, Your hand is strong, Your right hand is lifted high" (Ps. 89:13). "Who in heaven can compare to You,] my God, and which of the divine beings in the whole ⁷[holy council" (Ps. 89:6). . . . for You] are its glorious splendor. And I, Your anointed one, have come to understand ⁸[. . . I will tell others] about You, for You have given me knowledge, and indeed You have endowed me with great insight ⁹[. . .] for I am called by Your name, my God, and for Your deliverance ¹⁰[. . .] they will put on [knowledge] like a robe, and a garment of [. . .]

A subcategory of psalm is the "wisdom" poem, which addresses the listener/reader instead of God. More reflective, it shares some of the expressions and perspective of wisdom literature (see text 10, The Book of Secrets). A biblical example is Psalm 49. This example from Qumran moves from wisdom themes to a meditation on God's greatness displayed in the created world.

Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] I have declared, and of his marvels I will speak. And Wisdom will teach me what is right [. . .] ²my mouth, and to the simple, so that they will understand, and to the ignorant, that they may gain knowledge. O LORD, how great [. . .] ³miracles are, in the day He made heaven and earth, and by the word of His mouth [. . .] ⁴He perfected the watercourses, its lakes and pools, and every body of water [. . .] ⁵night, and the stars, and constellations [. . .] ⁶trees, and every fr[uit of the vine]yard, and all the produce of the field, and by the utterance of His words [. . .] all [. . . the man] ⁷with his wife, and by his spirit He appointed them as rulers over all these things on the earth, and over all [. . .] ⁸month by month, festival by festival, day by day, to eat its fruit [. . .] ⁹[. . .] and birds, and everything that is there to eat [. . .] all and also [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] in them and all his armies and [His] angels [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] to serve Adam and to minister to him and [. . .] **Frag. 14** ²[. . .] thick clouds, snow [. . .] and hail and all [. . .] ³[. . .] will never transgress his command. The four winds [. . .] **Frag. 76 + 77** ¹[. . .] to me beasts and birds, be gathered [. . .] ²[. . .] to human beings according to the inclination of [their] thou[ghts . . .] ³⁻⁶[. . .]

The following section may belong to a different psalm than the wisdom psalm it follows, though it shares some of the same themes, including the greatness of God in his ordering of the world, but it also considers God's historical acts on behalf of Israel.

7[. . . the com]pany of the Most Holy Place, those who belong to the King of Kings [. . .] 8[. . . hear] my words, and You will be enlightened, hear the wisdom that comes from my mouth, and You will understand [. . .] 9[. . .] and a reliable judge, and a faithful witness, if there is in You the strength to answer me [. . .] 10[. . .] who among You can give an answer, and stand in controversy wi[th Him . . .] 11[. . .] though You have many judges, and witnesses without number, except [. . .] 12[. . .] the LORD will sit in your courts to judge truly, and none will arise [. . .] 13[. . . He will send His seven] spirits to give you reliable decisions. Is there understanding? Then learn [. . .] 14[. . .] Lord of Lords, mighty and marvelous, and there is none like Him. He has chosen [you . . .] 15[. . . from] many [peoples] and out of great nations to be His people, to rule over all [. . .] 16[. . . hea]ven and earth and to be supreme over all the nations of the earth and to [. . .] **Frag. 69** 1[. . .] when He saw that the people of the land committed heinous acts 2[. . .] the whole land [became] doubly filthy through impurity, though from the beginning He did marvelous deeds 3[. . .] He decided in his heart to eradicate them from the land, and to put a [different] people on it 4[. . .] to you, and He gave you prophets in His spirit to enlighten you and teach you 54[. . .] came down from heaven, and spoke with you to enlighten you and to keep you from the deeds of the [former] inhabitants 5[. . . He gave] laws, instructions, and commandments, He established a covenant through [Moses . . .] 6[. . .] dwell in the land, then it will be pure; and He [said . . .] 7[. . .] to enlighten you, if you will be His or [not . . .] 8[. . .] to violate the covenant He made for you, and to be estranged and [. . .] 9[. . .] for wickedness, and to pervert the words of his mouth [. . .]

A fragment of a personal lament.

Frag. 33 2And You have made me a sign and a [. . .] Rise up, O LORD and God, [be exalted in Your strength] 3and we will praise Your power, for it is without limit [. . .] You place me, and Your rebuke will turn to [joy . . .] 4eternal, and to exalt You, for my sins have become too many for me [. . .] and You are my God, send Your [spirit . . .] 5to Your maidservant's son, and Your mercy to Your servant [. . .] I will sing and rejoice in You while my enemies watch, for [. . .] 6Your servants in Your righteousness, and in accordance with Your grace [. . .] to deliver [. . .] to You. Selah.

King Manasseh is portrayed in 2 Kings as an infamous idolater whose sins were alone sufficient to bring destruction and exile on Judah (2 Kings 21:1–18). An alternate version of his story describes how the wicked king, when captured by the Assyrians,

saw the error of his ways and prayed to God for deliverance, which was granted (2 Chron. 33:10–13). Pious Jews of a much later time wrote the *Prayer of Manasseh*, which, in Greek translation, became a popular work and is included in the apocryphal/deuterocanonical collection. The Qumran group also possessed a “prayer of Manasseh” unrelated to the Greek text, but reflecting the same desire to supply a suitable prayer of repentance for the wicked king. Here its form reflects the usual style of the personal lament.

“The prayer of Manasseh, king of Judah, when the king of Assyria imprisoned him. [. . .] my God [. . .] is near, my deliverance is before Your eyes. [. . .]” For the deliverance Your presence brings I wait, and I shrink before You because of [my sins], for You have been very [merciful], while I have increased my guilt, and so [. . .]¹⁰from enduring joy, but my spirit will not experience goodness for [. . .] You lift me up, high over the Gentile [. . .]¹¹though I did not remember You [. . .] **Frag. 45** ¹[. . .] I am in awe of You, and I have been cleansed ²of the abominations I destroyed. I made my soul to submit to You [. . .] they increased its sin, and plot against me ³to lock me up; but I have trusted in You [. . .] ⁴do not give me over to be tried, with You, O my God [. . .] ⁵they are conspiring against me, they tell lies [. . .] ⁶to me deeds of [. . .]

No heading survives for this royal psalm that gives thanks for God’s help in winning a military victory.

Frag. 46 ²[. . .] Your great mercy [. . .] and a victory has been given to me [. . .] ³[. . .] fools [despise] Your laws and Your glory and Your splendor [. . .] ⁴and like clouds they are spread out on [the surface of the earth . . .] to clouds they scatter abroad [. . .] ⁵a mere human will not be bold or lift up [himself . . . You] have tested all and the chosen You purify like an offering to You, but the enemies [. . .] ⁶You despise like filth. A storm wind [. . .] their deeds, but those who worship You are always before You, their horns are horns of ⁷iron so they can gore many, and they will gore [. . .] and their hooves You will make out of bronze. Sinners like dung ⁸on the soil they trample [. . .] will be scattered before [. . .] **Frag. 31** ¹[. . .] in the trap that they set [. . .] I will sing to [the LORD, for He helped me . . .] ²[. . .] I will tell of Your miracles, for a God of [. . .] before You [. . .] You deliver me and bring me up from the abode of Death and [. . .] ³[. . . a]ll His ways shall come [. . .] in His holy place. Selah.

Another royal psalm, this one a personal lament, with an expression of confidence in God.

¹[Prayer of . . . , k]ing of Judah. Hear, [my] God [. . .] I shall recount before those who worship You [. . .] ²[. . .] Your thoughts, who can understand them. Truly my enemies have increased while You watch, and You are

aware of them, and those who hate me are before Your [eyes . . .] “[. . .] You will destroy the enemies of the wise and insightful, and You will sweep them away. O God, my salvation, my days are hid with You, and what can mere humanity do to me? Here I am [. . .] ?[. . .] by the sword on the day of wrath. But those who speak truth have woven a garland for my head, for the splendor of [. . .] is their glory [. . .]

—E.M.C.

80. AN APOCRYPHON OF ELIJAH

4Q382

“**M**y father, my father! The chariots of Israel and its horsemen!” With this astonished cry, as the Bible says (2 Kings 2:12), the disciple Elisha witnessed the departure of his master Elijah, “the Tishbite of the inhabitants of Gilead.” Elijah, like Enoch, was believed to have ascended to heaven while still alive. He was a prophet of the ninth century B.C.E. whom the Bible describes as working many miracles, but Elijah is perhaps best remembered for his duel with the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel and for his opposition to King Ahab and his wicked queen, Jezebel. Malachi 4:5–6 says that before the Day of the Lord, Elijah will return to reconcile fathers and sons. Because of his miracles and ascension, the prophet became a figure of great mystery and appears in many texts of ancient Judaism, playing very diverse roles.

Such texts include Sirach (Ecclesiasticus; ca. 180 B.C.E.), which calls Elijah a prophet like fire who shall come to restore Jacob (48:1–12). Fourth Ezra (ca. 100 C.E.) includes Elijah when predicting the apocalyptic return of the three men who rose to heaven without tasting death (the other two being Enoch and, according to Jewish legend but not the Bible, Moses). Two portions of the rabbinic Mishnah (compiled ca. 200 C.E., but including much earlier materials) ascribe surpassing importance to Elijah’s return. They declare that when he returns he will act as a judge to settle all remaining disputes and resurrect the dead (*Eduyoth* 8:7; *Sotah* 9:15).

In the Gospels, several texts speak of John the Baptist as Elijah. In Matthew 11:14 Jesus explicitly says of John, “If you are willing to accept it, he is Elijah who is to come.” Yet in the Gospel of John, when the Baptist is asked, “Are you Elijah?” he replies, “I am not” (John 1:21). Jesus himself was also associated with Elijah. He compared his ministry with the career of the prophet in Luke 4:25–26, and according to Mark 6:15, some of the populace thought Jesus was Elijah. The ominous rumor reached Herod. It was “ominous” because potentates like Herod, fearful of popular uprisings catalyzed by prophets, generally moved to erase the threat before it became a reality. That had been the Baptist’s fate. In any

event, who should be identified with Elijah may have been open to discussion, but it *was* being discussed. In that light we note that the present text could be interpreted to refer to his return (frag. 31).

Obadiah, the official in charge of Ahab's palace, hides prophets when the wicked queen Jezebel begins to seek their lives. Later, Obadiah meets Elijah, who asks him arrange a meeting with Ahab. Compare 1 Kings 18.

Frag. 1 ²[. . .] And he hid them fift[y] to a cave, and provided them with bread and water . . .] ³[. . .] He feared Jezebel and Ahab the ki[ng] of Israel . . .] ⁴[. . . O]badiah in the la[nd] of Israel [. . .]

Frag. 3 ²[So Obadiah went to meet] Ahab, and tol[d him; and Ahab went to meet Elijah.] ³[When Ahab saw] Elijah, [Ahab said to him, "Is it you, you troubler of Israel?"]

Elijah and his disciple, Elisha, at the time that Elijah was about to ascend to heaven in a whirlwind. Compare 2 Kings 2.

Frag. 9 ³[And the sons of the prophets said to Elisha, "Do you kn]ow that today the LORD^c will take [your master away from you?" He replied,] ⁴["I know." Eli]jah said to Elisha, "Stay here, [my] son; [for the LORD has sent me as far as Bethel." But] ⁷[Elisha said, "As the LORD lives, and as you] yourself [live], I will not leave you." [So they went down to Bethel . . .]

A prophecy. The reference to a future "mighty man" is intriguing and may reflect the belief in Elijah's return at the time of the Last Days.

Frag. 31 ²[. . . g]reat, to give them into the power of all the nations [. . .] ³[. . .] at the end shall arise a mighty man [. . .] ⁴[. . .] for all the spirits [. . .] ⁵[. . . the p]rophets [. . .]

A prayer. According to the official editor, this fragment was erroneously assigned to the present work, but the matter is uncertain. The fragment fits well with the overview of history that we find in frag. 31 above.

Frag. 104 Col. 2 ¹(not to turn away) from Your words, to hold fast to Your covenant so that their hearts may be sanctified [. . . You sent forth] ²Your hands to make them Yours, and Yourself theirs, and justified [. . .] ³Surely You belong to Your heirs; You have become their master, their father [. . . Yet You] ⁴have left them in the power of the[ir] kings whom You have raised to power over Your people [. . .] ⁷[. . .] Your precepts (?) that You have given them through Moses [. . .] ⁸[. . .] Your judgment, taking the sin of Your people upon [his] he[ad] (?) . . .] ⁹[. . .] Your patience and abundant forgiveness [. . .]

—M.O.W.

^cThe scribe wrote this divine name with four dots, each dot representing one consonant of the Hebrew.

81. PROPHETIC APOCRYPHON

4Q384–390

This important new text is perhaps best categorized as prophecy by literary fiction. Stylistically, the ancient author incorporates the characteristics of the major prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Conceptually, one is often reminded of the latter chapters of Daniel. For example, the second copy of the *Prophetic Apocryphon* (4Q387) recounts ten complete jubilees of unfaithfulness (490 years). At the end of this period the kingdom of Israel was to be destroyed and one called Gadfan (Hebrew for “the Blasphemer”) was to rule over it. Daniel, of course, takes a very similar tack, prophesying that after a period of 490 years, at the climax of an unprecedented period of apostasy, there would arise a foreign ruler “speaking blasphemy” (Dan. 7:8, 11, 20). He would be the mightiest ruler yet, but would eventually give way before the kingdom of God, which was to be ruled by righteous Jews who had not, in the midst of general apostasy, turned their backs on God. The *Apocryphon’s* figure Gadfan is probably to be identified with Daniel’s blasphemous ruler. According to most scholars, Daniel is describing the Syrian king Antiochus IV Epiphanes. About 168 B.C.E. Antiochus IV initiated a terrible persecution of the Jews and tried to turn them to Greek ways of worship, which gave rise to the Maccabean revolt. After a number of years, the Jews succeeded in throwing off Antiochus’s forced changes, and at his death in 164 B.C.E., the threat evaporated. Antiochus portrayed himself as a divinity, which may explain both Daniel’s description and the Syrian’s label as Gadfan. The Jews did not take kindly to human beings claiming divinity—that was ultimate blasphemy. However, this proposal is not without its problems and the programmatic nature of the *Apocryphon* (ten jubilees) makes it just as likely that Gadfan is to be compared with Ezekiel’s Gog and Revelation’s Beast—a purposefully opened description of the desperate evils of the Last Days.

But in speaking of *the* (as in one single) *Prophetic Apocryphon* we may be mistaken. We describe in the Introduction something of the difficulty of reconstructing the Dead Sea Scrolls and the manner in which fragments were assigned to particular manuscripts. Sometimes these assignments were only tenuous, and on occasion reexamination has shown that fragments thought to belong to one manuscript actually belong to another. According to Devorah Dimant, the current editor of the materials belonging to the *Apocryphon*, several of the manuscripts assigned to this work are examples of such “misidentification.” Whereas the original editor, John Strugnell, had discerned a single prophetic writing preserved in numerous copies, a work he termed an “Apocryphon of Ezekiel,”

Dimant has separated out three distinct works from the same fragments: what she calls "Apocryphal Jeremiah," "Pseudo-Ezekiel," and "Pseudo-Moses." But is she right in her revisionism? Her suggestions have raised problems for which she has as yet supplied no answers.

For one thing, a fragment from a supposed Apocryphal Jeremiah text (4Q384 frag. 9) appears to preserve the Hebrew title of the book of *Jubilees* ("Book of the Divisions of the Times"); but counting time by jubilee periods (forty-nine years each) is, according to Dimant, supposed to characterize not Apocryphal Jeremiah, but Pseudo-Moses. Second, one of the copies of Dimant's Pseudo-Moses (4Q389 1 ii 3) prophesies that the children of Israel would cry out to God by the Chebar; but that is a Babylonian river prominent in the book of Ezekiel (Ezek. 1:1) and so ought logically to be a part of Pseudo-Ezekiel. The problems Dimant is having are an excellent illustration of the difficulties that scholars encounter when reconstructing and interpreting the Dead Sea Scrolls. The complexity can be overwhelming. At any rate, for the time being her case is unproved, and we have preferred Strugnell's earlier perspective on these materials; hence, *the Prophetic Apocryphon*. (But where Dimant's classifications are known, they will be identified in the notes preceding the fragments below.)

Jeremiah's exile to Tahpanhes in Egypt (Apocryphal Jeremiah^b).

4Q384 Frag. 7 ²[. . .] to Tahpanhe[s . . .] ³[. . . to del]iver, for [. . .]

Fragment with the title of the book of Jubilees (Apocryphal Jeremiah^b).

Frag. 9 ²[. . . in the book of the Di]visions of Ti[m]es . . .] ³[. . .] iniquities (or periods) for the gen[erations . . .] ⁴[. . .] for a covenant of pe[ace . . .]

Prophecy of God's judgment of Egypt and its cities (Pseudo-Ezekiel^b).

4Q385 Frag. 1 ¹[These are the wor]ds of Ezekiel. And the word of the LORD came to [me . . .] ²[. . .] And you shall say, "Behold the day of the destruction of the Gentiles is coming [. . .] ³[. . .] and there shall be anguish in Put, and a sword in E[gypt . . .] ⁴[. . .] shall shake, Cush shall [fal], and the mighty ones of Arabia and also from [. . .] ⁵[. . .] a sword shall scatter them among the citie[s] of Egypt and [they] shall perish [. . .] ⁶[. . .] sword of Egypt[. . .]

Prophecy of the dry bones (Ezek. 37), which is also found in 4Q386 and 4Q388. This fragment is classified with Pseudo-Ezekiel^b.

Frag. 2 ¹[For I am the LORD,] who redeems my people to establish the covenant for them.

²[And I said, "O LORD,] I have seen many from Israel who have loved Your name and have walked ³in the ways [of God]. When will [th]ese things come

to pass? How shall their faithfulness be rewarded?" And the LORD said 'to me, "I Myself take note of the Sons of Israel, and they shall know that I am the LORD."

⁵[And He said,] "Son of man, prophesy to these bones, and you shall say, 'Come together, bone to its bone and joint "[to its joint." And it wa[s] s[o]. And He said a second time, "Prophesy!" And sinews came upon them and skin covered them ⁷[and flesh grew back upon them.] And He s[ai]d, "Prophesy to the four winds of the heavens." And a wind [of heaven] blew "[upon them and they revived] and stood up; a great many people. And they blessed the LORD of hosts wh[o] ⁹[. . . And] I said, "O LORD, when will [th]ese things come to pass?" and the LORD said to [me . . .] ¹⁰[. . .] they shall strike the tree, and it shall stand up [. . .]

God's assurance that Israel would once again possess the land (Pseudo-Ezekiel¹).

Frag. 3 ¹[. . .] under my judgment [. . .] ²[. . .] I was extremely agitated and the days rushed by until [all the sons of] man said, ³"Are not the days hastening quickly so that the sons of Israel might take possession of [their land?]" ⁴And the LORD said to me, "I shall not t[ur]n you away, Ezekiel. Be[ho]ld, I will [me]asure [the time and shorten] ⁵the days and the year[s . . .] ⁶a few (?), just as you said to [. . .] ⁷[For the mou]th of the LORD spoke these [. . .]

Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. 1) of divine glory (Pseudo-Ezekiel¹).

Frag. 4 ¹The peoples of the [earth] shall [. . .] ²with a cheerful heart and with [. . .] ³let him hide a little while [. . .] ⁴and those breaking i[n]to . . .] ⁵the vision which Ezek[iel] saw [. . .] ⁶the chariot shone, and the four living beings [. . . and as they moved they did not turn] ⁷back, upon two wheels the being went, and two w[ings . . .] ⁸[. . .] was breath. And their faces were connected one to the o[ther . . . four] ⁹fa[ces, one of a lion, on]e of an eagle, one of a calf, and one of a man. And [the face] ¹⁰of man wa[s] joined at the backs of the beasts and attached o[ne to another . . .] and the w[heels . . .] ¹¹wheel joined to wheel when they moved, and from the two sides of the w[heels . . .] ¹²and living creatures were among the coals, as flaming coals, [as lamps . . .] ¹³the wheels, the living beings and the wheels. Now there was [over their heads an expanse,] ¹⁴[like an] aweso[me gleam of crystal. And] a voice [c]ame [from above the expanse . . .]

Prophecy concerning David and Solomon (Pseudo-Moses¹).

Frag. 13 Col. 2 ¹my face was sought, and my heart was not proud above (?) [. . .] ²and his days will be completed, and Solomon will sit [upon his throne . . .] ³and I shall give the life of his enemies into [his hands . . .] ⁴and I shall take injustice from his hand [. . .]

Jeremiah charges the sons of Israel to keep the covenant of their fathers while in exile in Babylon (Apocryphal Jeremiah).

Frag. 16 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] Jeremiah the prophet from before the LORD. ³[. . .] they were taken captive from the land of Jerusalem and went ⁴[to Babylon . . . and when] Nebuzaradan the captain of the bodyguard struck ⁵[Jerusa]llem and took all the utensils of the House of God, along with the priests, ⁶[the chiefs, and] the sons of Israel and brought them to Babylon, Jeremiah the prophet went ⁷[. . .] the river. And he commanded them, that which they should do in the land of [their] exile. ⁸[. . . And they obeyed] the voice of Jeremiah, the words which God had commanded him ⁹[. . .] they kept the covenant of the God of their fathers in the lan[d] ¹⁰[of their exile . . .] which they did, along with their kings, their priests, ¹¹[. . .] God, to [. . .]

Jeremiah and the Jews of Tahpanhes (Apocryphal Jeremiah).

Col. 2 ¹in Tahpanhes w[hich . . .] ²And they said to him, "Inquire [of the LORD on our behalf . . . But] ³Jeremi[ah refused] to inquire of God for them. [He lifted up] ⁴a song of rejoicing and a prayer and then Jeremiah sang a dirge f[or them . . .] ⁵[. . .] to Jerusalem.

⁶And Jeremiah [dwelt] in the land of Tahpanhes, which is in the land of Eg[ypt. . . . to] ⁷the sons of Israel and to the sons of Judah and Benjamin [. . .] ⁸every day. And they have observed my statutes and ke[pt] my ordinances [. . .] ⁹After [. . .] the Gentiles which [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] shall not [. . .] not [. . .]

God promises to preserve a remnant from the oppressions of Belial (Pseudo-Ezekiel^b).

4Q386 Frag. 1 Col. 2 ¹[. . .] And they shall know that I am the LORD.

And He said to me, "Understand, ²son of man, concerning the land of Israel." And he said, "I have seen, O LORD, and behold it is desolate. ³When will You gather them together?" And the LORD said, "The son of Belial reckons to oppress My people ⁴but I shall not allow him. His dominion shall not come to pass. Is there not from among the unclean a seed which remains? ⁵Is there not new wine from a vine, and does not a bee make honey? [. . .] and ⁶the wicked I will slay in Memphis. But I shall bring My sons out of Memphis, and upon their re[mn]ant I will turn. ⁷Just as they say, 'There was peace and quiet (?). Now they shall say, 'The land shall dwell (?) ⁸just as it did in the days of [Solomon, as in days] of old.'" Therefore, let us sing songs (?) [. . .] ⁹[with the fo]ur winds of the hea[vens . . .] ¹⁰[a fi]re burning a[s . . .]

God promises to judge Babylon for Nebuchadnezzar's act against the poor of Jerusalem (Pseudo-Ezekiel^b).

Col. 3 ¹and he is not gracious to the poor, and he brought them to Babylon. And Babylon is but a cup in the hand of the LORD. As dun[g] ²He shall cast her away [. . .] ³in Babylon and she shall be [. . .] ⁴from the generation of your devastation [. . .] ⁵desolation [. . .]

The prophecy of the three apostate priests. See 4Q387 frag. 3, col. 3, l. 6 for additional discussion of the priesthood (Pseudo-Moses^b).

4Q387 Frag. 2 ¹⁻³[. . .] pollution [. . .] ⁴[. . .] three priests which shall not walk in the way [of God] ⁵[. . . the] first shall call out upon the name of the God of Israel. “[And in] their days the pride of those who violate the cove[nant] and the servants of the foreigner (or that which is foreign) [shall be brought down.] ⁷And Israel shall be torn asunder in that generation, fighting against one another ⁸because of the law and because of the covenant. “Then I shall send a famine but not of bread, a drought but n[ot] of water” (Amos 8:11). [. . .] and if [. . . shall] not [. . .]

This is the prophecy of the Gadfan (Blasphemer) who is to come ten full jubilees after the destruction of the Temple (586 B.C.E.). Although a literal reckoning would suggest a date of 96 B.C.E. and place the prophecy's fulfillment during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.), the title Gadfan is more appropriate for the Syrian king Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who initiated a persecution of the Jews in 168 B.C.E. and portrayed himself as divine (a blasphemer). However, the schematic basis of the prophecy suggests that the character may be intentionally ambiguous, pointing mainly to the hopeless nature—apart from God's intervention—of the Last Days (Pseudo-Moses^b).

Frag. 3 Col. 2 ¹[. . .] and you will attempt to serve Me with all your heart ²and with all [your soul but I shall not accept the]m in their distress. Neither will I search for them ³because of their unfaithfulness [. . . b]ecause they profaned [Me] until the completion of ten ⁴full jubilees. You have walked about in m[adness] and blindness and confusion of ⁵the heart.

At the end of that generation I [shall remove] the kingdom from the hand of those who possess ⁶it and [e]stablish strangers from another people over it. And ⁷the last of these shall rule in all the land. The kingdom of Israel shall be destroyed in those days. “[. . . And then he shall arise,] the Blasphemer. He shall commit abominations and I shall tear up ⁹that [wicked] kingdom for other kings, and My face will still be hidden from Israel. ¹⁰[. . .] and the kingdom shall be returned to many nations. Then the Children of Israel will cry out ¹¹[to Me in weepi]ng by the River Chebar in the lands of their exile and yet they will have no savior ¹²because they have certainly rejected My statutes and they have despised My laws. Therefore ¹³I have hidden My face from [them un]til they finish their iniquity.

And this shall be a sign for them, when they have finished ¹⁴their iniquity [. . .] I have abandoned their land because of their vain hearts and because they did not recognize ¹⁵[tha]t [it is I who did] these wonders and so they turned away and acted with evil purpose.

From the former [days] ¹⁶[. . .] the covenant which [I] m[ade wi]th Abraham and Isaac and ¹⁷[Jacob . . . In] those [days] a king shall rise up for the Gentiles, Gadfan (Blasphemer). And he shall commit evil deeds and in [. . .] **Col. 3** ¹[. . .] Israel from being a people. In his days I shall shatter the kingdom of Egypt [. . .] ²[. . .] I shall cut off Egypt and Israel alike. I shall hand over to the sword [all] ³the high places of the l[and . . .] and shall remove men far away and shall give up ⁴the land into the hand of the angels of enmity and I shall hide [my face] ⁵[from Is]rael. And this shall be a sign for them in the day that I forsake the land [. . .] ⁶[. . .] the priests of Jerusalem to serve other gods [. . .] ⁷like the abominations [. . .] ⁸three which shall reign [. . .] ⁹the most holy [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] and justifying [the wicked . . .]

God's judgment upon Gog (Gadfan? Ezek. 38:22) and the apostasy of the sons of Israel (Pseudo-Ezekiel^d).

Frag. 4 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] in the lot for th[eir] tribes [. . .] ²[. . .] the [k]ings of the north, [. . .]-two [. . .] ³[. . .] and the sons of Israel [were jo]ined to [other] gods [and I entered into judgment] ⁴[with him with pestilence and bloodshed. Flooding rain, h]a[il]s[ton]e[s], fire and brimstone [I shall rain upon him] ⁵[. . .] with (or people of) the [. . .]

The sin of sexual relations with a blood relative (Lev. 18:6) is found in Israel (Pseudo-Moses^d).

Frag. 5 ¹[. . .] them in their unfaithfulness which [they committed against Me] by profaning [My holy] na[me] ²[. . .] in their obscenity, a man approaching his blood relative [. . .] ³[. . .] him to weeping and wailing, and they said [. . .] ⁴[. . .] they did not comprehend the guilt, therefore they howled on [that] day [. . .]

God promises that a remnant shall return from the Babylonian exile just as he brought the sons of Israel out of Egypt (Pseudo-Moses^d).

4Q389 Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] he did [not] seek Me. I was [. . .] ²[. . .] I shall raise up your heads when I bring [you] out [from the land of captivity . . .] ³[. . .] to them, and that which they did to Me. And I will lea[ve survivors for them] ⁴[just as I left a remnant for them at] Kadesh-barnea, and I spoke to them [saying . . .] ⁵[. . .] their [. . .] upon them and I swore by [. . .] ⁶[. . .] and their sons I brought to the [land . . .] ⁷[. . .] their [. . .] and I will walk with them in u[p]rightness . . .] ⁸[. . .] as I walked with them in the wilderness] forty years. And it came to pass [. . .]

The circumstances of Jeremiah's final days are not known. The church fathers knew of a tradition reporting he was stoned at Talpanhes. Jewish tradition (Seder Olam Rabah 26) suggests that he and Baruch were taken to Babylon, where he died. This fragment may preserve an early witness to the rabbinic story (Apocryphal Jeremiah^c).

Frag. 3 ²[. . .] in the land [. . .] ³[. . .] and they begged for [their] s[ons . . .] ⁴[. . .] everyone who remains in the land of E[gypt shall die . . .] ⁵[. . . And Je]remiah, the son of Hilkiah [went up] from the land of Egy[pt] ⁶[. . . sixty]-six years from the exile of Israel . . . the words ⁷[. . .]srael [dwelt (?)] upon the River Sur.

At the post of [. . .]

A fragment that echoes 1 Samuel 8:6.

Frag. 4 ¹[. . .] ²[. . . And they] said, "Give us a king who [shall reign over us . . .]"

Israel will forsake God in the seventh jubilee. In the judgment that follows, God promises to preserve a remnant (Pseudo-Moses^c).

4Q390 Frag. 1 ²[. . .] return [. . .] the sons of Aar[on . . .] seventy years [. . .] ³The sons of Aaron shall govern it (?), but they shall not walk [in] My [wa]ys which I am commanding you, so ⁴you must warn them. And they also shall do evil before Me just as Israel did ⁵in the days of the kingdom of the forefathers; except for those who are the first to go up from the land of exile to rebuild "the Temple. I shall speak with them and send them a commandment and they shall comprehend completely: namely, that ⁷they and their fathers forsook Me. But at the end of that generation, in the seventh jubilee ⁸after the destruction of the land, they shall forget law, festival, Sabbath, and covenant, and shall bring an end to everything. They shall commit ⁹evil before Me. So I shall hide my face from them, give them into the hand of their enemies and deliver [them] over ¹⁰to the sword. But I shall cause a remnant of them to escape in order that they might not be completely [des]t[royed] in my wrath. And I shall turn [my face] away ¹¹from them that the angels of enmity might govern them and [. . . and they] shall again turn ¹²and do ev[il] before [Me] and walk in the s[tubbornness of their heart . . .]

An additional (?) episode of disobedience is again linked to a specific jubilee—the number of which has been lost—and precipitates another round of God's judgment (Pseudo-Moses^c).

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ²[. . . ho]lly Temple [. . . not] ³done and thus [. . . all of] these things shall come upon them [. . .] ⁴the rule of Belial over them to hand them over to the sword for a week of (seven) year[s . . . on] that Jubilee they shall be ⁵violating all My statutes and all My commandments which I shall command t[hem by the han]d of My servants the prophets. ⁶And they

shall begin to contend with one another for seventy years; from the day that they violate the covenant. Then I shall give them ⁷[into the hand of the angels of enmity and they shall govern them and they shall not know nor understand that I was angry with them for their unfaithfulness. ⁸[. . . They shall forsake Me and commit evil before Me. In that which I have not taken pleasure, they have chosen to enrich themselves by ill-gotten wealth and illegal profit ⁹[. . .] they will rob, oppress one another, and they will defile My Temple ¹⁰[. . . they will profane my appointed] times. [. . .]

And with the sons of [. . .] their priests shall treat [. . .] violently ¹¹[. . .] and ¹²[. . .] their [enem]ies.

—M.G.A.

82. GOD THE CREATOR

4Q392

God the Creator is a hymn remarkable for its theological ruminations on the first lines of the biblical creation narrative. The author speculates that God created light and darkness for himself, not merely as a preliminary stage to the further work of creation and distinction as you might think when reading Genesis 1. The writer goes on to assert that light and darkness are simultaneously present with God, a paradox beyond human comprehension. Only for humankind's sake did God distinguish between darkness and light with the various heavenly bodies. Yet in so doing, he actually doubled his creation (1. 7); moreover, the author believes, all creation is doubled in similar fashion.

This notion of a "double creation" is without known parallel in Second-Temple Judaism, though it is strikingly reminiscent of the ancient Zoroastrian idea that every person or object in this world has a counterpart in the archetypal world, in sacred reality known as *menog*. Scholars have long noted the parallels in the scrolls with certain other Zoroastrian ideas, and this may be a new entry in the catalog of comparisons.

Genesis 1 and the double creation.

Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] and dominions [. . .] ²[. . .] a man [. . .] God and not to turn aside from [. . .] ³and in His covenant your soul shall cling and [. . .] words of His mouth [. . .] and God [. . .] heaven ⁴above and to search out the ways of the sons of man, they have no hiding place. He created darkness [and li]ght for Himself, ⁵but in His dwelling place is the light of their light and all darkness rests before Him as well. He has no need to distinguish between light and ⁶darkness, but for the sons [of ma]n He distinguished them as the li[ght of] day, with the sun, and night, with the moon and stars. ⁷He has a

light which cannot be searched out, nor can [its end] be known. [F]or all the works of God are doubled in this manner. We ⁴are flesh, which does not totally grasp these things. With us for [. . .] for a sign and wonders (?) without number. ⁹[. . . wi]nds and lightning [. . . se]rvants of the holy [of holies]. Th[ey] are as couches before Him [. . .]

—M.G.A.

83. PRAYERS FOR FORGIVENESS

4Q393

The prayers in *Prayers for Forgiveness* are composed following the pattern of Psalm 51, but they have features in common with other prayers of the late biblical period as well. Thus they recall Ezra's supplication about mixed marriages (Ezra 9:6–15) and the communal confession of sins in Nehemiah 9:5–38.

Frag. 1–2 Col. 2 ²[. . .] in order that You might be just in [Your] word ³and [. . . when] You [judge. Be]hold, in our iniquities [. . .] ⁴[. . .] they stiffened their neck. O, our God, hide ⁵Your face from [our] s[ins and] blot out [al]l our iniquities, and create a new spirit ⁶within us. [. . .] a faithful inclination and to rebels, Your ways. ⁷Return sinners to Yourself. [. . .] a broken [spir]it from before You [. . .] ⁸according to Your people that You might [. . .] and continually upon a roc[k . . .] ⁹nations and kingdoms and [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] ¹¹for Your peoples, for Your name's sake [. . .]

Frag. 3 is a mosaic of biblical passages: Deuteronomy 7:9 (ll. 1–2), Jeremiah 11:8 (l. 3), and Deuteronomy 6:11 (ll. 8–9).

Frag. 3 ¹[. . .] for [. . . Know therefore that the LORD your God is] ²[Go]d, the faithful God who maintai[ns] covenant loyalty with [those] who love [Him and keep His commandments. . . .] ³[. . .] to Moses. Do not forsake Your people [and] Your inheritance. Let a man not walk in the stubbornness of his [ev]il heart ⁴in accordance with Your will, O God [. . .] and You forsake Your people and Your inheritance. Let a man not walk ⁵in the stubbornness of his evil heart. Where is [Your] strength and upon whom shall You make Your face to shine? They did not purify themselves nor sanctify themselves, ⁶but exalted themselves above everything. You are the LORD, You chose our fathers long ago ⁷and You appointed us as their remnant, to give us the promises of Abraham and Israel and to drive out ⁸their [. . .] men of valor, and great of power—to give us houses filled ⁹[with all sorts of goods, cisterns, pool]s of water, vineyards, and olive groves from the inheritance of the people [. . .]

—M.G.A.

84. A SECTARIAN MANIFESTO

4QMMT: 4Q394–399

In all of antiquity, only the *Manifesto* and Paul's Letters to the Galatians and Romans discuss the connection between works and righteousness. For that reason alone this writing is of immense interest and importance. But the *Manifesto* has additional significance. While the sectarian documents found in the caves at Qumran fairly bristle with legal discussions on a variety of issues, only this work, commonly known as 4QMMT (an acronym from the Hebrew words meaning "some of the works of the Law"), directly challenges the position of another religious group. Because of the potentially defining character of such a response, scholars have hoped to find in the *Manifesto* a basis for a definitive identification of the group behind the sectarian scrolls.

Of course, when one expects to find something, one usually does, and so it is here. Seen as pregnant with significance, the *Manifesto* has given birth to a new theory. Based on legal arguments in the first section of the *Manifesto*, this theory suggests that the *Yahad* were Sadducees—not, however, the Sadducees as we know them from Josephus or the New Testament. Rather, the theory holds, these are Sadducees with Essene theological tendencies. Thus, those who have embraced this new theory have as yet seen little reason to jettison the Standard Model.

The identities of the author and his addressee are not preserved and have been topics of intense scholarly interest and speculation. Section C, l. 7, "you know that we have separated from the majority of the people," has suggested to some that the author was none other than the Teacher of Righteousness; if so, it follows that the addressee was the high priest in Jerusalem. But this is a conjectural interpretation based on an uncertain restoration (note the alternate translation). Other interpretive options are equally attractive. For example, the *Manifesto* may be a record of an intramural debate that caused a split in the *Yahad* itself. The conciliatory tone of the letter supports this understanding.

As reconstructed by Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, the *Manifesto* presents a well-reasoned argument couched in a homily, complete with applications, illustrations, and exhortations. Following a thesis statement that identifies the central problem—the impure are being allowed to mix with the pure (the profane with the holy)—the author lists some two dozen examples to prove his point (B:3–C:4). The addressee (and secondarily, the reader) is then encouraged to follow the author: separate from those who practice such things. The author invokes Deuteronomy 30 as evidence that disobedience will bring down the

curses of the Mosaic covenant, while obedience will issue in God's blessing. Solomon was blessed for his obedience, he notes, whereas both Judah and Israel were led into exile because of disobedience.

A second round of warnings follows, illustrated by a challenge to remember how the works of the kings of Israel were rewarded: the obedient were blessed, the disobedient, cursed. David is presented as the ideal. A pious man, he was delivered from his trials and forgiven his sins. The final exhortation presses home the author's true point: to be accounted righteous, one must obey the Law as interpreted in the *Manifesto*.

This final exhortation is of great importance for a fuller understanding of statements the apostle Paul makes about works and righteousness in his Letter to the Galatians. The author of the *Manifesto*, probably thinking of Psalm 106:30–31 (where the *works* of Phinehas were “reckoned to him as righteousness”), is engaged, as it were, in a rhetorical duel with the ideas of the apostle. Paul appeals to Genesis 15:6 to show that it was the *faith* of Abraham that was “reckoned to him as righteousness” (Gal. 3:6) and goes on to state categorically that “by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified” (Gal. 2:16). Probably the “false brethren” (Gal. 2:4) that Paul opposed held a doctrine on justification much like that of the present writing.

*Section B

I. Legal Body: Do not mix the holy with the profane.

¹These are some of our pronouncements [concerning the law of Go]d. Specifically, s[ome of pronouncements] concerning ²works of the law that w[e have determined . . . and al]l of them concern [defiling mixtures] ³and the purity of [the sanctuary . . .]

1. Ban on offerings using Gentile grain (Mishnah Parah 2:1).

[Concerning the offering of Gentile gr]ain [which they are . . .] ⁴and allowing their [. . .] to touch it and defile it. No one should eat] ⁵from [Gent]ile grain [nor] bring it into the sanctuary [. . .]

2. Ban on sin offerings boiled in (Gentile?/copper?) vessels (Mishnah Zebahim 11:6–8).

[Concerning the] sacrific[ice of the sin offering] ⁶which they are boiling in vessels of [bronze and thus defiling] ⁷the flesh of their sacrifices as well as [boiling them in the [Temple] court [and defiling] it ⁸with the broth of their sacrifice.

¹One of the manuscripts of this work (4Q394) is preceded by the final three lines of a calendar (Section A, 1–3) that may be a continuation of text 64. Although some scholars have argued that this calendar was included as an additional element of the dispute, it certainly had an independent origin, so I have translated it separately.

3. *Ban on sacrifices by Gentiles (Mishnah Parah 2:1?).*

Concerning the Gentile sacrifice, [we have determined that they are] sacrificing ⁹to the [. . .] which [. . .] to him.

4. *Ban on eating peace offerings on fourth day (Lev. 7:11–18).*

[Concerning the cereal offering of the] sacrifice ¹⁰of well-b[eing,] they are being put aside from one day for the next. Indeed [it is written . . .] ¹¹that the cereal of[fering is to be e]aten with the fat and the flesh on the day that [they] are sacrific[ed. For] ¹²the priest[s] are responsible to take care of this matter so as not [to] ¹³bring guilt upon the people.

5. *Ruling on the purity of those who prepare the red heifer (Num. 19:2–10; Mishnah Parah 3:7; 4:4).*

Concerning the purity of the heifer of the sin offering, ¹⁴the one who slaughters it, the one who burns it, the one who gathers its ashes, and the one who sprinkles the [water of] ¹⁵purification—for all of these, the sun must se[t] for them to be pure—¹⁶so that the pure might sprinkle the water of purification on the unclean. For the sons of ¹⁷Aaron are responsible to [care for this matter . . .]

6. *Ban on bringing skins of cattle and sheep into the Temple (Mishnah Hullin 9:2).*

[Concerning] ¹⁸the hides of cat[tle and sheep which they are . . . and fashioning from] ¹⁹their [hide]s vessel[s . . . no one is allowed to] ²⁰[bring] them into the sanctu[ary . . .] ²¹[. . .]

7. *Ruling on skins and bones of unclean animals (Mishnah Yadaim 4:6).*

Concerning the hid[es and bones of unclean animals, no one is allowed to make] ²²handles for ve[ssels from the bones] or h[ide . . .]

8. *Ban on Temple entrance after contact with skins of a carcass (Lev. 11:25, 39).*

[Concerning the h]ide from the carcass ²³of a clean [animal], the one who carries this carcass [must not] touch the h[oly] food ²⁴[. . .]

9. *Ruling on who is fit to eat of the holy gifts (Lev. 22:10–16).*

[Conc]erning the [. . .] which ar[e . . .] ²⁵[. . . For it is] ²⁶the responsibility of the pri[es]ts [to c]a[re for] all [these] matters [so as not to] ²⁷bring guilt upon the people.

10. *Ruling on place of sacrifice (Lev. 17:3–9).*

[Concer]ning that which it is written: [anyone who slaughters in the camp or] ²⁸outside the camp an ox, [a lam]b, or a goat, that [. . . to the n]orth of the

camp.²⁹We have determined that the sanctuary is [the “tabernacle of the tent of meeting,” that Je]rusale[m]³⁰is the “camp,” and that outside the camp [is “outside of Jerusalem,”] in other words the “camp of³¹their citie[s].” Outside the c[amp . . . the sin offe]ring, [and] they take out the ashes³²of [the] altar and bur[n the sin offering there. For Jerusalem] is the place which³³[He chose] from all the tri[bes of Israel to make His name to dwell . . .]³⁴[. . .]³⁵[. . . which] they [are no]t sacrificing in the sanctuary.

11. Ruling on the sacrifice of pregnant animals (Lev. 22:27–28).

³⁶[Concerning pregnant animals,] we have deter[mined that one must not sacrifice] the mother and the fetus on the same day³⁷[. . .]

12. Ruling on the eating of a fetus (Lev. 22:27–28; Mishnah Hullin 4:1–5).

[Concerning] one who eats [of the fetus, w]e have determined that a person might eat the fetus³⁸[which is found in the womb of its mother after it has been sacrificed as well. You know that thi]s is correct, for the matter is written concerning the pregnant animal.

13. Ban on the inclusion of unfit into the congregation of Israel (Deut. 23:1–4; Mishnah Yebamoth 8:2–3).

³⁹[Concerning the Ammon]ite, the Moabite, the bastard, the one whose testicles are cru]shed, [or whose] penis is [cut off] who enter⁴⁰the congrega-tion [. . . and] take [wives], that they might become one flesh⁴¹[and entering the sanctuary . . .]⁴²[. . .] unclean. We have also determined⁴³[that there is not . . . one must not have intercours]e with them⁴⁴[. . . one] must not unite with them so as to make them⁴⁵[one bone . . . one must not brin]g them⁴⁶[into the sanctuary. And you know that so]me of the people⁴⁷[and . . . are uni]ting.⁴⁸[For all the sons of Israel are responsible to guard themselves] against any defiling union⁴⁹and to show reverence for the sanctuary.

14. Ban on the entrance of the blind into the Temple (Lev. 21:17–23).

[Concer]ning the blind,⁵⁰who since they cannot see, are not able to guard themselves from any defiling mix[ture].⁵¹They cannot see the defilement of the [g]uilt offering.

15. Ban on the entrance of the deaf into the Temple (Lev. 21:17–23; Mishnah Hullin 1:1).

⁵²[Co]ncerning the deaf, who have not heard the statute, the judgment, and the purity ruling, who have not⁵³heard the commandments belonging to Israel. For the one who has not seen or has not heard does not⁵⁴[k]now how to perform according to the law. They may, however, par[ticipate] in the pu[re] food of the sanctuary.

16. *Ruling on poured liquids (Lev. 11:34–38?; Mishnah Yadaim 4:7)*

⁵⁵[Co]ncerning streams of liquid, we have determined that they are not intrinsically ⁵⁶[p]ure. Indeed, streams of liquid do not form a barrier between the impure ⁵⁷and the pure. For the liquid of the stream and that in its receptacle become as ⁵⁸one liquid.

17. *Ban on dogs in the Temple (Mishnah Toharoth 4:3?).*

Concerning dogs, one may not bring dogs into the holy camp because they ⁵⁹may eat some of the bones from the sanc[tuary and] the meat which is still on them. For ⁶⁰Jerusalem is the holy camp. It is the place ⁶¹which He chose from all the tribes of Israel, for [Jer]usalem is the foremost ⁶²of the c[a]mps of Israel.

18. *Ruling on offerings assigned to the priests (Lev. 19:23–24; 27:32)*

Concerning the planting of fruit trees which are planted ⁶³in the land of Israel, their produce is to be considered as first fruits belonging to the priests. Also the tithe of the cattle ⁶⁴and sheep belong to the priest.

19. *Ruling on the cleansing of lepers; intentional and unintentional sins (Lev. 14:2–9; Num. 15:30).*

Concerning lepers, we ⁶⁵have de[termined that] they [may not] enter any place containing the sacred pure food, for ⁶⁶they shall be kept apart, [outside the camp (?).] Indeed it is written that from the time that he shaves and washes he must dwell outside ⁶⁷[the camp for seven d]ays. But now, while they are still unclean, ⁶⁸[le]pers must not enter] inside [any place wi]th sacred pure food. And you know ⁶⁹[that the one who unknowingly breaks a command] because the matter escaped his notice, he must bring ⁷⁰a sin offering. But as for [the one who intentionally sins, it is writ]ten that he is a despiser and a blasphemer. ⁷¹[Indeed, while th]e[y are yet] lepro[us], they may not eat from the holy food ⁷²until sunset on the eighth day.

20. *Ruling on what constitutes contact with the dead (Num. 19:16–19; Mishnah Yadaim 4:6).*

Concerning [the uncleanness] ⁷³[of the dead,] we have determined that every bone, whether [a piece] ⁷⁴or whole, is considered according to the commandment of the dead or the slain.

21. *Ruling on unlawful sexual unions: any Israelite, even one of an improper union—priest and laity—is holy (Num. 36:6?).*

⁷⁵Concerning the fornication which has been done in the midst of the people, their ch[ildren] are holy. ⁷⁶As it is written, Israel is holy.

22. *Ruling on crossbreeding animals (Lev. 19:19).*

Concerning [a clean] ani[mal of an Israelite,] ⁷⁷it is written that it is not lawful to breed it with another species.

23. *Ruling on the intermarriage of the priests and the people (Lev. 19:19; 21:7?; Num. 36:6).*

Concerning the clothes [of an Israelite, it is written that] they must [not] ⁷⁸be of mixed substances. Nor is it lawful for him to sow his field or [his orchard with two species of plants.] ⁷⁹Because they are holy and the sons of Aaron are [most] h[oly. ⁸⁰[But y]ou know that some of the priests [and the people are intermarrying.] ⁸¹[They are] uniting and defiling the [hol]y seed [as well as] ⁸²their [own] with forbidden marriage partners. Fo[r the sons of Aaron must . . .]

Section C

[. . .] ²[. . .] that [they] shall come [. . .] ³Who will [. . .] he will [. . .]

24. *Ban on polygamous priestly marriages (?) (Deut. 17:17; 21:15–16).*

⁴Concerning the wom[en . . . the violen]ce and the unf aithfulness [. . .]

II. First Warning.

1. *Transgression of these rulings brings destruction (Deut. 7:26).*

⁵For in these [matters (?) . . . because of] the violence and the fornication, [some] ⁶places have been destroyed. [Indeed,] it is writt[en in the book of Moses that] you shall [not] bring an abomination in[to your house. For] ⁷an abomination is hated by God.

2. *Thus we have separated ourselves from the violators.*

[But you know that] we have separated from the majority of the peo[ple (or council of the con]gregation) and from all their uncleanness] ⁸[and] from being party to or going along wi[th them] in these matters. And you k[now that no] ⁹unfaithfulness, deception, or evil are found in our hands, for we have given [some thought (?)] to [these issues.]

III. First Exhortation: Separate yourself for judgment is sure (Deut. 31:29).

[Indeed,] ¹⁰we [have written] to you so that you might understand the book of Moses, the book[s of the Pr]ophets, and Davi[d . . .] ¹¹[. . . all] the generations. In the book of Moses it is written [. . .] not ¹²[to] you and days of old [. . .] It is also written that you [“will turn] from the pa[t]h and evil will befall you” (Deut. 31:29). And it is writ[ten] ¹³“that when ¹⁴[al]l these thing[s happ]en to you in the Last Days, the blessing ¹⁵[and] the curse, [that

you call them] to m[ind] and return to Him with all your heart ¹⁶and with [al] [your] soul" (Deut. 30:1-2), [. . .] at the end of [the age,] then [you] shall l[ive . . .]

IV. First Illustration: The blessings and the curses.

1. Solomon obeyed and Israel received the blessings.

¹⁷[It is also written in the book of] Moses and in the [books of the prophet]s that [the blessings and curses] shall come [upon you . . . some of] ¹⁸[the bles]sin[gs] came on [. . . and] in the days of Solomon the son of David.

2. Jeroboam disobeyed and Israel received the curses.

Indeed the curses ¹⁹which came in the days of [Jer]oboam the son of Nebat until the exile of Jerusalem and Zedekiah the king of Juda[h] ²⁰when He sent them to [Babylon . . .] And so we see that some of the blessings and curses have already come ²¹that are written in the b[ook of Mo]ses.

V. Second Warning.

Now this is the Last Days: when those of Isra[e]l shall return ²²to the L[aw of Moses with all their heart] and will never turn away again. But the wicked will incr[ease in wicked]ness and [. . .] ²³And the [. . .]

VI. Second Illustration: The blessings and the curses.

1. Remember the kings of Israel.

[Now] remember the kings of Israe[l] and consider their works carefully. For he who ²⁴feared [the la]w was delivered from his troubles. These were the se[ek]ers of the law, ²⁵those whose sins [were forgiv]en.

2. Remember David.

Remember David, he was a pious man, and indeed ²⁶he was delivered from many troubles and forgiven.

VII. Second Exhortation: Keep away from the counsel of Belial.

Now, we have written to you ²⁷some of the works of the Law, those which we determined would be beneficial for you and your people, because we have seen [that] ²⁸you possess insight and knowledge of the Law. Understand all these things and beseech Him to set ²⁹your counsel straight and so keep you away from evil thoughts and the counsel of Belial. ³⁰Then you shall rejoice at the end time when you find the essence of our words to be true. ³¹And it will be reckoned to you as righteousness, in that you have done what is right and good before Him, to your own benefit ³²and to that of Israel.

85. THE SONGS OF THE SABBATH SACRIFICE

4Q400–407, 11Q17, Masada Fragment

Luke 1:10 reads, “Now at the time of the incense offering, the whole assembly of the people was praying outside.” The author of Luke thus offhandedly represents what was probably a widespread belief in the late Second-Temple period. The time when the Sabbath sacrifice was offered was a sort of divine window of opportunity, a time when prayers were especially effective. *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* presupposes this notion. The songs were probably recited as a liturgy to accompany the burnt offering the Bible requires for each Sabbath. The work consists of songs for thirteen Sabbaths arranged according to the “Qumran calendar.” Accordingly, it covers one-fourth of the year (thirteen being one-fourth of fifty-two, the invariable number of weeks in the year of the Qumran calendar). The songs may have been recycled, so that worshipers worked their way through them four times per year, but that possibility remains uncertain. Except for the third, parts of all the Sabbath songs are clearly identifiable in one or more of the damaged manuscripts that have survived.

The author starts by leading worshipers to consider the mysteries of an angelic priesthood. Then an almost mantric recital focusing on the holy number seven progresses to a climax on the seventh Sabbath, following which the community contemplates the elements of a living spiritual temple. Here the focus is particularly on the living holy chariots of God. In the original Hebrew, the syllables and long, drawn-out phrases tumble over one another in an almost hypnotic cadence. We encounter a constant rotation of synonyms that follow one another to numbing effect. Many long phrases consist almost entirely of nouns. Verbs are hard to find. The effect is highly abstract, and the images are blurred about the edges. Precisely what the author means to say is seldom clear. That is only appropriate, of course. The mysteries of heaven cannot be put into words; approximation is the best a seer can offer.

The songs intend to unite the worshiper with the angels worshipping in heaven. What happens on earth is but a pale reflection of that greater, ultimate reality. What, then, could be more desirable than to join that worship in mystic fashion? The variety of heavenly beings who play a role is dizzying. The apostle Paul wrote of “the tongues of men and of angels” (1 Cor. 13:1), and, indeed, our author supplies the angels with different languages, each endowed with its own particular character, each singularly specialized to praise God.

The biblical sources of our work are in the main Ezekiel 1 and 10, which describe the throne-chariot, and Ezekiel 40–48, which depict a future temple. *Songs* is fundamental for the study of later Jewish mysticism. It is especially useful in

illuminating the history of that species of mysticism known as *Merkebah* mysticism. *Merkebah* is Hebrew for “chariot.” This variety sought to induce ecstatic experience by focusing thought on the heavenly chariot.

Although *Songs* is a sectarian writing linked with the *Yahad*, it was clearly of broader appeal. Other groups of Jews liked this work. One evidence of this fact is the discovery of a copy at Masada, the site of the last stand made by Jewish freedom fighters in the first revolt against Rome (66–73/74 C.E.). The work may also have tickled the ears of Jewish Christian groups. Dale Allison has noted that the notion of an animate temple (an aspect of *Songs* that strikes us as most peculiar) also appears in the New Testament book of Revelation. In Revelation 9:13 we read, “I heard a voice from the four horns of the golden altar.” The altar speaks. Just as in *Songs*, the architecture is alive. At its core Revelation was a Jewish Christian composition whose author knew either *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* or similar traditions. If it was the latter, those traditions have not otherwise survived.

Further suggesting that *Songs* circulated among Jewish Christians is the conundrum of the “Colossian heresy.” The Letter of Paul to the church of the Colossians describes what some scholars have considered to be incipient Gnosticism. Precisely what was the deviation from Pauline teaching we cannot discern, for Paul mentions only certain incidental facts. He naturally presupposes that the recipients are familiar with their own situation. We do know that the heresy involved “matters of food and drink, observing festivals, new moons [and] Sabbaths” (Col. 2:16). Judging from the elements listed, many scholars have concluded that at Colossae, as elsewhere, the Pauline gospel faced the challenge of Jewish Christians who had a different idea of what it meant to be Christian. With that said we can turn to Colossians 2:18. The verse is notoriously difficult to translate, but Fred Francis, among others, has suggested that it speaks of mystical experiences: the worshiper sought to share in angelic worship in heaven. He renders the verse, “Let no one disqualify you, being bent upon humility and religion of angels, which he has seen upon entering visions.” Apart from *Songs* we have no early writing advocating such worship. It may be that Jewish Christians had come to Colossae bringing with them a copy of *Songs*, whose mystical elements they found congenial, and proceeded to teach it to the young church there. Certainly *Songs*, which probably dates to the first century B.C.E., is more ancient than Paul’s Letter to the Colossians.

The song for the first Sabbath, focusing on the heavenly priesthood and the praise of its angelic princes. Apparently the songs were actually chanted in worship.

4Q400 Frag. 1 Col. 1 [A text belonging to the Instructor. The song accompanying the sacrifice on the] first [Sabbath,] sung on the fourth of the first month.

Praise ²[the God of . . .] you godlike beings of utter holiness; [rejoice] in his divine ³[kingdom. For He has established] utter holiness among the eternally holy, that they might become for Him priests ⁴[of the inner sanctum in His royal temple,] ministers of the Presence in His glorious innermost chamber. In the congregation of all the [wise] godlike beings, ⁵[and in the councils of all the] divine [spirits], He has engraved His precepts to govern all spiritual works, and His [glorious] laws ⁶[for all the] wise [divine beings], that sage congregation honored by God, those who draw near to knowledge.

⁷[. . .] eternal, and from the font of holiness to the temple of utter ⁸[holiness . . .] priests who draw near, ministers of the Presence of the utterly [holy] King ⁹[. . .] His glory. Precept by precept they shall grow strong, to be seven ¹⁰[eternal councils; for He] established them for Himself to be the most holy of those who minister in the Holy of Holies. ¹¹[. . .] They shall become mighty thereby in accordance with the council [. . .] ¹²[. . .] the Holy of Holies, priests of . . . the]se are the princes of ¹³[. . . who take thei]r stand in the temples of the King [. . .] in their realm or within their inheritance ¹⁴[. . .]

They tolerate none who trans[gress] the true Way, nor is t[her]e any unclean in their holy ranks. ¹⁵[The precepts governing the holy ones has He inscribed for them, that all the eternally holy might thereby be sanctified. He has purified the pure ¹⁶[who belong to the light, that they may recom]pense all those who transgress the true Way, and make atonement for those who repent of sin, obtaining for them His good pleasure.

¹⁷[He has given tongues of] knowledge to the priests who draw near, so that from their mouths issue the teachings governing all the holy ones, together with the precepts ¹⁸[concerning His glory . . .] His [lov]ing-kindness for eternal forgiveness is rooted in compassion, but in the vengeance of His zeal ¹⁹[. . .] He established for Himself priests who draw near, the utterly holy ones ²⁰[. . . di]vi[ne] godlike beings, priests of the highest heaven who [dra]w near [. . .]

A portion of the song for the second Sabbath, containing a description of the elite priestly angels and deprecating human worship in comparison with that of the angels.

4Q400 Frag. 2 ¹wonderfully to praise Your glory among the wise divine beings, extolling Your kingdom among the utterly h[oly]. ²They are honored in all the camps of the godlike beings and feared by those who direct human affairs, won[drous] ³beyond other divine beings and humans alike. They tell of His royal splendor as they truly know it, and exalt [His glory in all] ⁴the heavens of His rule. [They sing] wonderful psalms according to [their insight] throughout the highest heaven, and declare [the surpassing] ⁵glory of the King of the godlike beings in the stations of their habitation. [. . .]

“How shall we be reckoned among them? As what our priesthood in their habitations? [How shall our holi]ness [compare with their utter] ’holiness? [What] is the praise of our mortal tongue alongside their div[in]e knowledge? [. . .]

Fragments of the song for the fourth Sabbath. The themes of this song can no longer be discerned. The first portion preserves the beginning of the song, the second stood near the end.

4Q401 Frags. 1–2 ¹A text belonging to the Instructor. The so[ng accom-panying the sacrifice on the fourth Sabbath, sung on] the twenty-[fifth] of [the first mo]nth.

²Praise the Go[d of . . .] ³[. . .] who stand before [. . .] ‘the king[dom of . . .] with all the ch[iefs of . . .] ⁵the King of the god[like beings . . .]

4Q402 Frag. 1 ²[. . .] when they come with the godlike beings of ³[. . .] together for all of their assemblies ⁴[. . .] their mi[ght] for all the powerful warriors ⁵[. . .] for all the rebellious councils [. . .]

The end of the fifth Sabbath’s song. Themes include angelic warfare, presumably in the Last Days, and God’s predestination of all events in creation. Compare cols. 3–4 of text 5.

***4Q402 Frags. 3–4** ³They shall be judged [. . .] and they shall not come to the *Yahad* [. . .] ⁴‘without [. . . those who pro]vide the plan[s] and the knowledge of the utt[erly holy . . .] ⁷light and insigh[t . . .] the war of the godlike beings in the [. . .] ⁸removing [. . .] Surely the [weap]ons of war[f]ar[e] belong to the God of divine beings [. . . the armies] ⁹of heaven and the won[ders of all the] divine [spirits] shall run at [His] command, while the voice of tumult [. . . with] ¹⁰His might, ar[mies of] divine [spirits] at war in the clouds. But [the victory] shall belong [to the God of divine beings.]

¹¹God [by His knowledge has created] wonderful new works. All these has He wondrously created; none can comprehend His glorious plan. ¹²To the King of the [wise] godlike beings belong all matters of knowledge; indeed, the God of knowledge causes all that happens forever. Through His knowl- edge ¹³and by means of His glorious plan all the eternal seasons have come to be. He has created the former things at their times, and the latter things ¹⁴at the time appointed for them. None among those who are knowledgeable—those to whom revelation has come—can grasp these things before He does them; even when He brings them into existence, none can truly compre- hend them. None of the divine beings ¹⁵understands what He has designed, for these things are part of His glorious creation, and were [part] of His [plan] before ever they came to be.

¹I follow Qimron’s suggested joining of 4Q402 frags. 3 and 4; further reconstruction comes from Masada frag. 1.

The song for the sixth Sabbath. Each of the seven chief princes recites a psalm; then in order each of the same seven beings offers a blessing.

Masada Frag. 1 ¹[A text belonging to the Instructor. The son]g accompanying the sacrifice on the sixth Sabbath, sung on the ninth of the [second] month.

²[Bless the Go]d of the godlike beings, you who inhabit the highest heaven ¹⁰[. . .] Holy of Holies, and exalt His glory ¹¹[. . .] knowledge of the eternal godlike beings. ¹²[. . .] those called to the highest of heights [. . .]

Masada Frag. 2 [A psalm of blessing will be spoken in the language of the first chief prince] ¹to the [eternal] God, [incorporating his language's seven wondrous blessings. Then he will bless] ²the Kin[g of all the eternally holy seven times with seven] ³[wondrous words of blessing. A psalm of exaltation will be spoken in the language of the second chief prince to the King] ⁴of truth and [righteousness, incorporating his language's seven wondrous exaltations. Then he will magnify the God] ⁵of all the div[ine beings who are appointed for righteousness seven times with seven words of] ⁶[wondrous] exaltation. [A psalm of glorification will be spoken in the language of the] ***4Q403 Frag. 1 Col. 1** ¹third chief prince, a glorification of His faithfulness directed to the King of the angels, incorporating his language's seven wondrous glorifications. Then he will glorify the God of the exalted angels seven times with seven words of wondrous glorification.

²A psalm of praise will be spoken in the language of the four[th] to the Warrior who is over all the godlike beings, incorporating his language's seven wondrous warrior utterances. Then he will praise the God of ³warrior power seven times with seven words of [wondrous] prai[se. A ps]alm of thanksgiving will be spoken in the language of the fifth to the glorious [K]in[g], ⁴incorporating his language's seven wondrous tha[nk]sgivings. Then he will thank the glorified God seven times [with seven] [wo]rds of wondrous thanksgiving. [A ps]alm of rejoicing ⁵will be spoken in the language of the sixth to the God of goodness, incorporating his language's seven cries of [wondrous] rejoicing. Then he will cry out with rejoicing to the King of goodness seven times with seven words of] wondrous rejoicing.

⁶A psalm of musical praise will be spoken in the language of the seventh [chief] pri[nce], a powerful musical praise to the God of holiness incorporating his language's seven wond[erful praise elements.] ⁷Then he will sing praise to the King of holiness seven times with [seven] wondrous words of musical [praise], together with seven psalms of blessing to Him, seven ⁸psalms of exaltation of His righteousness, seven psalms of glorification of His kingdom, seven psalms of pra[ise of His glory,] seven psalms of thanksgiving for His

¹4Q403 is followed as the main text. This portion overlaps with Masada frag. 2, 4Q404 frags. 1 and 2, and 4Q405 frag. 3 col. 2, all of which are used to help restore what is missing from 4Q403.

wondrous doings, "seven psalms of rejoicing for His might and seven psalms of musical praise of His holiness. The generations of [. . .] seven times with seven "wondrous words, words of [. . .]

[Then] in the name of the glory of God [the first of] the ch[ief] princes [will bl]ess [all the . . . and all] the wise [with seven] wondrous [w]ords, "blessing all th[ei]r councils in [His holy] temple [with se]ven wondr[ous] wo[r]ds, [and ble]ssing those who know eternal things. [In the name of] His truth [the second] ¹²[chief prince will bless] all [their] stati[ons with] sev[en] wondrous words. Indeed, he shall bless with seven [marvelous] words. ¹³[He will also bless all who exalt the] King with seven words of His marvelous glory, and he will bless all who are eternally pure. ¹⁴[In the name of] His exalted kingdom the th[ird of the chief princes will bless] all who are exalted in knowledge with seven words of exaltation, blessing all [the divine beings] ¹⁶wise [in His truth.] Indeed, he shall bless with seven marvelous words. He will also bless all those [appointed for] righteousness with sev[en] marvelous [w]ords.

In the name of the majes[ti]c ki[ng] [the fourth] ¹⁷of the chief princes will bless all who wal[k upri]ght with [sev]en maj[estic] words. He will also bless those who establish majesty with seven ¹⁸[wondrous w]ords, blessing all the divine beings [who draw] near to [His] verit[able] truth with seven righteous words, so that they can gain [His glor]ious compassion. In the name of His [majestic] wonders the fifth ¹⁹[chief prin]ce will bless all who comprehend the mysteries of pure [insight] with seven w[ords] of [His] exalted ²⁰truth. [He will also bless] all who are quick to do His will with seven [wondrous words,] blessing those who confess Him with seven majestic [wo]rds comprising ²¹a wondrous thanksgiving. In the name of the warrior deeds of the divine beings the sixth chief prince will bless all who are insightful warriors with seven ²²wondrous words of His warrior power. He will also bless all who are perfect in the Way with seven wondrous words, that they might continue forever in the company of all the [eter]nal ²³beings. Yet again will he bless all who wait for Him with seven wondrous words, that His compassionate loving-kindness might return to them.

In the name of His holiness the [sev]enth chief priest ²⁴will bless all the holy who establish knowledge with seven words of [His] wondrous holiness. He will also bless all who exalt ²⁵His laws with se[ven] wondrous [wo]rds that act as mighty shields. Yet again will he bless all who are prede[stined] for righteous[ness], they who praise His glorious kingdom [forever and] ever, ²⁶with seven wondrous words that lead to eternal peace.

Then in [the name of His holiness] all the [chief] princes [will bless in unis]on the God of divine beings with all ²⁷[their] sevenfold appointed words of blessing. They will also bless those predestined for righteousness and all those blessed of [. . .] the eternally [ble]ss[ed] [. . .] ²⁸to them, saying "Blessed

be [the] Lord, the Kin[g of] all, exalted above every blessing and pr[aise, He who blesses all the holy who bless [Him] and those [who declare His righteous]ness ²⁹in the name of His glory, [He who] blesses all who receive blessing, forever.”

The seventh and central Sabbath song. The angels addressed are probably the members of the seven angelic councils. Toward the end of the song, the animate architectural elements of the heavenly temple are called upon to praise.

³⁰A text belonging to the Instructor. The song accompanying the sacrifice on the seventh Sabbath, sung on the sixteenth of the (second) month.

Praise the most high God, you who are exalted among all ³¹the wise divine beings.

Let those who are holy among the godlike sanctify the glorious King, He who sanctifies by His holiness each of His holy ones.

You princes of praise ³²among all the godlike, praise the God of majestic [pr]aise. Surely the glory of His kingdom resides in praiseworthy splendor; therein are held the praises of all ³³the godlike, together with the splendor of [His] entire rea[lm].

Lift His exaltation on high, you godlike among the exalted divine beings—His glorious divinity above ³⁴all the highest heavens. Surely He [is the utterly divine] over all the exalted princes, King of king[s] over all the eternal councils. By the wise will—³⁵through the words of His mouth—shall come into being all [the exalted godlike]; at the utterance of His lips all the eternal spirits shall exist. All the actions of His creatures are but what His wise ³⁶will allows.

Rejoice, you who exult in [knowing Him, with] a song of rejoicing among the wondrous godlike. Hymn His glory with the tongue of all who hymn to His wondrous, joy-filled knowledge, ³⁷with the mouth of all who chant [to Him. Surely He] is God of all who rejoice in eternal wisdom, and mighty Judge over all perceptive spirits.

³⁸Laud, all you confessing divine beings, the King of praise; surely all the wise divine shall laud His glory, and all the righteous spirits His truth.

³⁹Through the precepts of His mouth is their knowledge found acceptable, at the return of His warrior hand to dispense judgment is their praise perfected.

Sing praises to the mighty God, ⁴⁰make the choicest spiritual offering; make me[lod]y in the joy of God, and rejoice among the holy ones through wondrous melodies, in everl[asting] joy.

⁴¹With such songs shall all the [foundations of the holy] of holies offer praise, and the pillars bearing the most exalted abode, even all the corners of the temple's structure. Hy[mn] ⁴²the G[od a]wesome in power, [all you] wise [spirits] of light; together laud the utterly brilliant firmament that girds [His] holy temple. ⁴³[Praise] Him, godli[ke] spirits, laud[ing] eternally the

firmament of the uttermost heaven, all [its beams and walls, all ⁴⁴its [stru]cture and crafted desi[gn].

The utterly holy spirits, living divinities, eternally holy spirits above ⁴⁵all the hol[y ones . . .] wondrous and wonderful, majesty and splendor and marvel. Glory abides in the perfected light of knowledge ⁴⁶[. . . in a]ll the wondrous temples, divine spirits surrounding the abode of the righteous and true King. All its walls [. . .]

⁴Q403 Frag. 1 Col. 2 ¹perfect light, a weaving of an utterly holy spiritual substance [. . .] ²raised places of knowledge. At the footstool of his feet, [. . .] ³appearance of the glorious bodies belonging to the princes of the spiritual kingdom [. . .] ⁴His glory; and with all their turning back, the gates of [. . .] ⁵the flashing of the [lig]htning [. . .] to the chief of the godlike beings of [. . .] ⁶running between them are god[li]ke beings having the appearance of [glowing] coals [. . .] ⁷walking to and fro. The utterly holy spirits [. . .] ⁸the utterly holy, divine spirits, an ete[rnal] vision [. . .] ⁹and divine spirits, fiery shapes round about the [. . .] ¹⁰wondrous spirits. And the most exalted tabernacle, the glory of His kingdom, innermost sanctuary of [. . .] ¹¹and He consecrates the seven lofty holy places.

A voice of blessing issues forth from the princes of His innermost sanctuary [. . .] ¹²and the voice of blessing is glorious in the hearing of the divine beings and those who establish [. . .] ¹³the blessing. All the crafted furnishings of the innermost sanctum shall hasten to take part in the wondrous psalms in the innermost sanctum. [. . .] ¹⁴of wonder, sanctum to sanctum with the sound of thronging holy ones. All the crafted furnishings [. . .] ¹⁵The chariots of His innermost sanctum shall offer praise as one, and their Cherubim and wheel-beings shall marvelously bless [. . .] ¹⁶the chiefs of the divine building. They shall praise Him in His holy innermost sanctum.

The eighth Sabbath song, containing an account of the blessings offered by the seven deputy princes.

¹⁸A text belonging to the Instructor. The song accompanying the sacrifice on the eighth Sabbath, sung on the t[wenty-]third [of the second month.]

Praise the God of all the highe[st heavens, all] you who are [eter]nally holy, ¹⁹deputies among the priests who draw near, the second council in the wondrous habitation among the seven [priesthoods, . . .] among those knowledgeable of²⁰ eternal things. Exalt Him, princes who rule, with His portion, His wonders. Praise [the God of the godlike,] you seven priest[hoods] who draw near to Him [. . . highest] ²¹heaven, seven wondrous realms set out by the precepts governing His temples. [. . .] the temples of the realm of the ²²sevenfold priest[hood], in the wondrous temple belonging to the seven holy

⁴Q403 is the base text. Overlaps with 4Q404 frag. 6 and 4Q405 frags. 8–9 fill in various missing portions.

councils [. . .] ²³the prince, the angels of the King in the wondrous habitations. The perceptive knowledge of the seven [. . .] ²⁴princes, the High Priest of the inner sanctum, and the leaders of the King's council in a gathering [. . .] ²⁵and exalted praises to the glorious King, magnifying the Go[d of . . .] ²⁶to the God of the godlike, the King of purity.

The exaltation coming from their tongues [. . .] ²⁷seven mysteries of knowledge in the wondrous mystery attached to the seven utterly holy realms [. . . The tongue of the first deputy prince shall sound seven times louder when joined by that of the second; the tongue] of the second shall sound ²⁸seven times louder when joined by that of the third; the tongue of the third shall sound seven times louder when joined by that of the [fourth; the tongue of] the fourth shall sound seven times louder when joined by that of the fifth; the tongue of the fifth shall sound sev[en times louder when joined by the tongue of] ²⁹the sixth; the tongue of the sixth shall sound seven times louder when joined by that of the se[ve]nth; and the tongue of the seventh shall so[und . . .]

A portion of the song for the ninth Sabbath, which would fall on the thirtieth of the second month. What remains describes the vestibules of the multiple heavenly sanctuaries, particularly the vestibule through which God enters.

4Q405 Frags. 14–15 Col. 1 ²[. . . From] the wondrous spiritual likeness, utterly holy and engrav[ed . . . , issues a to]ngue of blessing, and from the [di-vine] image ³issues [a vo]ice of blessing to the King of the exalted angels. Their wondrous praise extols the God of the godlike [. . .] their embroi-dered [. . .], and they sing joyously ⁴[. . .] the vestibules of their entryways, utterly holy spirits who draw near in [. . .] eternally. ⁵[The like]ness of living divine beings is carved on the walls of the vestibules by which the King enters, luminous spiritual figures [in the innermost sanctums of the K]ing, fig-ures of glorious li[ght], wondrous spirits. ⁶[In] the midst of the glorious spirits stand wondrous embroidered works, figures of living divine beings [. . . in the] glorious [in]nermost sanctums that belong to the structure of ⁷the utterly ho[ly temple], in the innermost sanctums of the King are div[ine] figure[s; and from] the likeness of [. . .]

A fragment of the song for the tenth Sabbath. As with the song for the ninth Sabbath, the central theme here is apparently description of the heavenly temples.

4Q405 Frag. 15 Col. 2 + Frag. 16 ¹The fringed edge [. . .] ²and rivers of fire [. . .] ³appearing as fiery flames [. . . be]autiful upon the veil of the King's innermost sanctum [. . .] ⁴in the innermost sanctum of His Presence, an embroidered work [. . .] everything that is engraved upon the [. . .], di-vine figures [. . .] ⁵glory issuing from both sides of them [. . .] the veils of the wondrous innermost sanctums. They bless the [. . .] ⁶sides of them,

declaring [. . .] wondrous, inside the innermost sanctum [. . .] ⁷[. . . They ex]tol the glorious king with a joyous cry [. . .]

Portions from the middle and end of the eleventh Sabbath song. Description of the heavenly temples and architecture continues, focusing here on the innermost sanctuaries, the chariot thrones, and attendant priestly angels.

⁴**4Q405 Frag. 19ABCD** ²Then the divine figures, the ut[erly holy] spir-its, shall praise Him [. . .] the glorious figures, the floor ³of the wondrous innermost sanctuaries, the spirits of the perpetual divine beings—all [. . .] the fig[ures of the inner]most sanctuary of the King, spir[it]ual handiwork of the wondrous firmament ⁴made utterly pure, [spi]rits of knowledge, truth, and righteousness in the Holy of [H]olies, [f]orms of the living godlike beings, luminous spiritual forms—⁵all these h[ol]y handiworks are wondrously connected to each other. Embroidered [spirits], figures of the godlike beings, are engraved ⁶all around the [gl]orious bricks; these are glorious figures, handiwork belonging to the splendid and majest[ic bri]cks. All these handiworks are living godlike beings ⁷and their figures are holy angels. From beneath the marvelous inn[ermost sanctums] is heard the quiet voice of god[like] beings praising [. . .]

¹**4Q405 Frag. 20 Col. 2 + Frags. 21–22** ¹[They do not hesitate when they arise . . . the innermost sanc]tums of all the priests who draw near [. . .] ²In obedience to the ordinance they are steadfast, serving [. . .] a seat similar to His royal throne in His glorious innermost sanctums. They do not sit [. . .] ³His glorious chariots [. . .] holy Cherubim, luminous wheel-beings in the inner[most sanctum . . .] godlike spirits of [. . .] purity [. . .] ⁴of holiness; the handiwork of its corners [. . .] royal; the glorious chario[t] seats [. . .] knowledgeable wings [. . .] wondrous works of warrior power [. . .] ⁵perpetual truth and righteousness [. . .] when His glorious chariots move to the [. . .] they do not turn to this side or that [. . . rather,] they go straight ahead [. . .]

The twelfth Sabbath song. Remaining portions contain a description of God's chariot-throne and its praise. The text then moves to an account of praise given by the angels, who are assembled military-style in camps and units. The latter part of the song focuses on the ceremonial angelic worship taking place in the heavenly temple.

⁶A text belonging to the Instructor. The song accompanying [the sacrifice] on the twelfth Sabbath, sung on the [twenty-first of the third month].

[Praise the God of . . .] ⁷[. . .] Exalt Him, [. . .] the glory in the tabernac[le of the God of] knowledge. The [Cheru]bim fall before Him and bless Him; as they arise, the quiet voice of God ⁸[is heard], followed by a tumult of

⁴4Q405 is taken as the base text, supplemented by 11Q17 j-d-g-p.

¹4Q405 is here supplemented with 11Q17 frags. 3–4 and, for the twelfth song, 11Q17 frags. 5–6.

joyous praise. As they unfold their wings, God's q[uiet] voice is heard again. The Cherubim bless the image of the chariot-throne that appears above the firmament, ⁹[then] they joyously acclaim the [splend]or of the luminous firmament that spreads beneath His glorious seat. As the wheel-beings advance, holy angels come and go. Between ¹⁰His chariot-throne's glorious [w]heels appears something like an utterly holy spiritual fire. All around are what appear to be streams of fire, resembling electrum, and [sh]ining handiwork ¹¹comprising wondrous colors embroidered together, pure and glorious. The spirits of the living [go]dlike beings move to and fro perpetually, following the glory of the [wo]ndrous chariots. ¹²A quiet voice of blessing accompanies the tumult of their movement, and they bless the Holy One each time they retrace their steps. When they rise up, they do so wondrously, and when they settle down, ¹³they [sta]nd still. The sound of joyous rejoicing falls silent, and the qui[et] blessing of God spreads through all the camps of the divine beings. The sound of prais[es] [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] coming out of each of their divisions on [both] sides, and each of the mustered troops rejoices, one by one in order of rank [. . .]

11Q17 Frags. 5-6 ¹[. . .] wondrous, knowledge and insigh[t . . .] wondr[ous] firmaments [. . .] ²[. . .] in the essence of light, a splendor of [. . .] every form of wond[rous] spirits [. . .] ³[. . .] godlike beings, fearfully powerful, all [. . .] their [utt]erly wondrous acts by the power of the God of [. . .] ⁴[per]petual, exalting the warrior acts of the Go[d of . . .] from the four foundations of the wondrous firmament ⁵they ann[oun]ce when they hear the sound of praise lifted up to God, [. . .] blessing and praising the God of ⁶the godlike. A tumu[lt . . .] the highest [heaven . . .] the glorious King [. . .] of the wondrous foundations, ⁷lifting up praise [. . .] of the God of [. . .] and all their foundations [. . .] utterly ⁸hol[y . . .] praise lifted up [. . .] their [w]ings, ex[alting . . . over] their heads, ⁹and they cal[l] out [. . .]

4Q405 Frag. 23 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] when they lift up praise [. . .] ²[. . .] When they stand still, [. . .] ³[. . .] His glorious royal thrones, and the entire congregation of the ministers of ⁴[. . .] wondrous; the [wondrous] godlike beings shall not be shaken, forever; ⁵[. . . to rem]ain steadfast in every task, for the godlike beings in charge of His whole offering ⁶[. . .] his whole offering. The godlike beings praise Him [when fir]st they take their positions, while all the sp[irit]s of the splendid firma[m]ents ⁷continuously rejoice in His glory. A voice of blessing comes from all of His divisions, telling of His glorious firmaments, and His gates praise ⁸with a joyful noise. When the wise divine beings enter through glorious portals, and when the holy angels go forth to their realms, ⁹the portals through which they enter and the gates through which they exit declare the glory of the King, blessing and praising all the godlike ¹⁰spirits each time they exit or enter through the holy ga[t]es. None of them omits a precept or fails to acknowledge anything ¹¹the King says.

They neither run from the Way nor reverence anything not a part of it; they consider themselves neither too exalted for His realm nor ¹²too humble for His commissions.

He shall have no compassion when His furious annihilat[ing] anger reigns, yet He will not punish those from whom His glorious anger was removed. ¹³Awesome fear of the King of the godlike beings grips a[ll] of the godlike [when He sends them forth] on all of His commissions according to His veri[ta]ble order, and they go [. . .]

The thirteenth Sabbath song. Portions of this selection concern the clothing worn by the ministering spirits.

11Q17 Frags. 7-8 ¹[. . .] good favor [. . .] all th[eir] works ²[. . .] for the sacrifices of the holy ones [. . .] the smell of their offerings [. . .] ³[. . .] and the sm[el]l of their drink offerings, according to the num[ber] of . . . of purity in a spirit of holine[ss] ⁴[. . .] perpetual in [splendor and] majesty for [. . .] the wondrous [. . .] and the form of the breastplates of ⁵[. . . be]auty [. . . spirits] clothed with embroidery, a sort of wo[ven handi-]work . . . splendidly purified dyed garments [. . .]

4Q405 Frag. 23 Col. 2 ⁷their holy places. At their wondrous stations are spirits, clothed with embroidery, a sort of woven handiwork, engraved with splendid figures. ⁸In the midst of what looks like glorious scarlet and colors of utterly holy spiritual light, the spirits take up their holy stand in the presence of ⁹the [K]ing—[splendidly] colored spirits surrounded by the appearance of whiteness. This latter glorious spiritual substance is like golden handiwork, shimmering in ¹⁰[the lig]ht. All their crafted garments are splendidly purified, crafted by the weaver's art. These spirits are the leaders of those who are wondrously clothed for service, ¹¹the leaders of each and every holy kingdom belonging to the holy King, who serve in all the exalted temples of His glorious realm.

¹²The leaders of the exaltation possess tongues of knowledge [so as] to bless the God of knowledge for all His glorious works. [In] His insightful knowl- edge and [glo]rious acumen [He has inscribed the ord]inances governing their military units in all the hol[y inn]er [sanctums].

11Q17 Frags. 2 + 1 + 9 ¹[. . . His] glorious heights [. . .] His [gl]ory with [. . .] ²His [rec]ompense by judgments of [. . .] His compassion with the gl[orious] honor of [. . .] His [s]easons ³[and] all the blessings of [His] peace [. . . the gl]ory of His works, and in the ligh[t of . . .] and with the splendor of ⁴the praise given Him in all the firmam[ents of . . .] light and darkness and the figures of [. . .] the glorious [ho]liness of the King ⁵for all [His] veritable works [. . .] for the angels of knowledge in all [their] king[doms . . .] His [cam]p, holy exaltations ⁶for His glorious thrones and the footstool of [His] f[et] and all] His majestic [ch]ariots and [His] ho[ly] inner

sanctums [. . .] and for the portals of [the Kin]g's entrance, ⁷together with all the exits of [. . . the cor]ners of its str[uc]ture and all the [. . .] for His glorious temples and the firmaments of [. . .]

—M.O.W.

86. PRAYER OF PRAISE

4Q408

The *Prayer of Praise* appears to begin with a recital of God's mighty works (ll. 2–6a are in the third person) and then to switch to praise in direct address (second person) in l. 6. Lines 8–11 praise God for creating day and night and the lights to rule them. In this regard the text is similar to other poetic accounts of the heavenly cycles among the scrolls; note for example the *Charter of a Jewish Sec-tarian Association* 10:1–2 (text 5) and the *Thanksgiving Psalms* 20:4–5 (text 3).

Frag. 1 ²[. . .] to You. Listen t[o all these words . . .] ³[. . .] all of Israel He created together (or for a *Yahad*)[. . .] ⁴[. . .] to all Israel, for You [. . .] ⁵[. . .] all, [to] make His glorious ornaments shine from [His] hol[y] habita-tion [. . .] ^{6a}[. . .] I am pleased with Him [. . .] ⁶[in all of] Your [jud]gments You are faithful, [in all] Your wor[d]s, O LORD, righteous in all Your ways.[. . .] ⁷[. . .] their [. . .] the one who blesses.[. . .] strength [. . .] to bring out [. . .] ⁸because You created the morning, a sign to reveal the do-minion of light as a boundary of the day (?) [. . .] ⁹for their service, to bless Your holy name. You created them because the light is good and [. . .] in all [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] because [You] crea[ted] the evening, a sign to reveal the do-minion of [darkness . . .] ¹¹[. . .] from toil, to bless [Your holy name]. You created them [beca]use [. . .]

—M.G.A.

87. A LITURGY

4Q409

This manuscript contains the remnant of a hymn praising God for the festivals of the holy year. The calendar followed is a subspecies of the solar version known from other Dead Sea Scrolls. This variant on the theme adds several festi-vals that the Bible never explicitly mentions. These additions are particularly im-portant when trying to get a clear picture of the Qumran calendrical writings as a whole, since most of them do not include the new festivals. Just a few other cal-endrical works among the scrolls seem to support them (note in particular *The*

Sabbaths and Festivals of the Year, text 64, and the *Temple Scroll*, text 131). Thus, in respect to these extra festivals, the scrolls are at odds, pointing to the complexity of the historical situation in which they arose.

The beginning of the calendrical recital is missing. Preserved portions include or imply the following festivals: the Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost, which falls on the fifteenth day of the third month; the Feast of First Fruits of Wine, the third day of the fifth month; the Feast of Oil, the twenty-second day of the sixth month; the Feast of Wood Offering, the twenty-third day of the sixth month; the Day of Memorial, the first day of the seventh month; the Day of Atonement, the tenth day of the seventh month (presumably; the relevant lines are damaged and reconstruction is uncertain); and the Feast of Booths, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Of these festivals, the First Fruits of Wine and Oil and the Feast of Wood Offering do not appear in the Bible, at least not clearly (Neh. 10:34 alludes to wood offering, but not to a full-blown festival for it). These, then, were the controversial entries—objects of heated debate, no doubt, because of their extra-biblical nature.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . . Praise and bless on the da]ys of the fi[rst fruits:] ²[of wheat, of fresh wine and fresh oil, with the] new [cereal of]ffering, ³[and bless His holy name. Prai]se and bless on the days of ⁴[the festival of woods, with the offering of] woods as a sacrifice, ⁵[and bless His name. Praise and bless] on the day of remembrance with a blast ⁶[on the ram's horn. Bless the Lor]d of all. Praise ⁷[and bless . . . and bles]s His holy name. ⁸[. . . and bles]s the Lord of all ⁹[. . . Praise and bless] on these days ¹⁰[. . .] Praise and bless and give thanks ¹¹[. . . Praise and bless and] give thanks with tree branches [. . .]

—M.G.A.

88. THE SECRET OF THE WAY THINGS ARE

4Q410, 4Q412–413, 4Q415–421, 4Q423, 1Q26

The Secret of the Way Things Are represents a further development of the “wisdom instruction” (cf. text 10, *The Book of Secrets*), in which a sage delivers his teaching to his disciples, addressed as his children. This text has the same kind of framework, but the content goes beyond the usual contrasts of wisdom and folly. As in *The Book of Secrets*, the teacher appeals to “the secret of the way things are”—that is, knowledge of the inflexible purposes of God acquired by study of the Scripture and the laws of the sect.

Again and again the teacher returns to the theme of poverty and the importance of being satisfied with what God has provided. The biblical book of Proverbs usually portrays poverty as the unwelcome result of foolish behavior (e.g., Prov. 28:19). Here, in contrast, poverty is the natural circumstance of the

ideal disciple—a motif that anticipates the high view of poverty in early Christianity: “Blessed are you poor” (Luke 6:20). The *Secret* seeks to motivate by appeal to the judgment to come and the eternal damnation of the wicked—another new theme that foreshadows the importance of the Last Days for early Christianity.

The manuscripts assigned to this work are all fragmentary in varying degrees, and it is not certain that all the pieces actually do belong to one composition. One large subsection, in particular, is addressed to “farmers” and uses agricultural language extensively. It may originally have formed a separate work. Nevertheless, a single perspective is at work here, finding expression in a number of themes. The nearest analog once again is in early Christianity: the collection of sayings called the “Sermon on the Mount” (Matt. 5–7) is the same type of genre, that is, ethical instruction under the threat of impending judgment.

Given the nature of the work, no references to the greater world of war and politics appear. Hence, we cannot date its composition or infer as much as we would like about the original setting in which it was written. Did it serve a purpose within the *Yahad*? Two clues may point to an answer. In 4Q421 frag. 1, col. 2, the disciple is urged to obey his “Instructor.” That was a technical term designating an official of the sect according to the *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (text 5). Second, we encounter here a “vision of insight” (4Q417 frag. 2, col. 1, l. 15). A similar expression appears in the *Damascus Document* (text 1) and in the *Charter for Israel in the Last Days* (text 6), in both cases representing a body of knowledge whose mastery is incumbent upon stated individuals. Accordingly, *The Secret of the Way Things Are* may be an introductory course of study for new or probationary initiates into the *Yahad*.

Introductory paragraphs, placing the quest for wisdom within the context of firm self-discipline and the worship of God.

4Q412 Frag. 1 ⁵[Impo]se discipline on your [lips], and on your tongue double-doors. [. . .] ⁶Meditate on righteous words. [. . .] to those who seek [. . .] ⁷Always with your mouth praise [God . . .] your trembling [. . .] ⁸Give joy to His name [. . .] ⁹in the general assembly [. . .] ¹⁰day and night [. . .]

4Q418 Frag. 77 ²[. . .] the secret of the way things are, and learn the nature of man and gaze at the faculties [. . .] ³[. . .] has made him. Then you will understand the nature of mortal man and the weight of [. . .] ⁴his spirit, and learn the secret of the way things are, the weight of eras and the measure of [. . .]

4Q418 Frag. 123 Col. 2 ¹[. . .] ²when years begin and when eras end [. . .] ³everything that has happened in it, why it was and what will be in [. . .] ⁴His era that He revealed to the ears of those who understand the secret of the way things are [. . .] ⁵you are one who understands, when you

observe all these things [. . .] ⁴by its hand is the weighing of your deeds with the era [. . .] ⁷Whatever He leaves with you, guard carefully [. . .]

The sage asserts that his teaching comes from God.

4Q426 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] glory and a measure of true knowledge and long life ²[. . .] those who keep all his commandments; but the seed of the wicked ³[. . .] ⁴[. . .] God has put into my heart true knowledge and understanding [. . .]

The dire consequences of ignoring this teaching.

4Q410 Frag. 1 ²[. . . if you] transgress any of [. . .] ³[. . .] ⁴[. . .] curse after curse will cling to you ⁵[. . .] upon you and you will not have any peace there for [. . .] ⁶[. . .] what is truly good and what [is truly] evil [. . .] ⁷[. . .] all the days of eternity.

And now, I, with [the help of the Lord] in the spirit [. . .] ⁸[. . .] he will not lie [. . .] ⁹The oracle concerns [. . .], the vision is about the house of [. . .], for I have seen [. . .]

The subject matter is human behavior and how to distinguish right acts from wrong ones.

4Q413 Frag. 1 ¹Discipline [and insight] and wisdom I shall teach you. Now consider the ways of humanity and the activities of ²the human race. [. . .] a man. He enlarged his share in the knowledge of God's truth, and to the degree that that man loathes ³everything evil, [his judgment] shall not be affected by what his ears hear and what his eyes see.

So now, ⁴mercy [. . .] of the forefathers, and consider the years of [each] generation, as God has shown [to . . .]

The poverty of the student is a constant theme. It is probably both a literal poverty and a spiritual poverty, in that all are poor compared to God.

4Q415 Frag. 6 ¹[. . .] the secret of men [. . .] ²You are needy, and [. . .] ³your poverty in your counsel [. . .] ⁴Test these things by the secret of the way things are [. . .] ⁵from the place of [origins] and by the weight [. . .]

The initiate into this teaching will acquire comprehensive knowledge of God's purposes and of good and evil.

4Q417 Frag. 2 (+ 4Q418) Col. 1 ¹[. . .] you are one who understands [. . .] ²[. . .] the wonderful secrets [. . . fearful things you will master . . .] ³[. . . why things are and how they are . . .] ⁴[. . . why] ⁵[things are and why they continue to be . . .] ⁶[. . . at night meditate on the secret] of why things are and investigate it at all times, and then you will know truth and evil, wis-

dom ⁷[and falsehood . . . Consider the wicked] in all their ways, with all their punishments throughout the world-eras and the eternal punishment ⁸and then you will know the difference between good [and evil] deeds, for the God of knowledge is the confidant of Truth, and in the secret of the way things are ⁹He has made plain its basis [. . .] what is its nature and the governing principle of its deeds ¹⁰for every [. . .] He has made plain to the mind of every [man] how to live by ¹¹the nature of His understanding; and He has made plain [. . .] and by the faculty of understanding [He revealed] the enigmas ¹²of His purpose with blameless conduct [in all] His deeds. Inquire into these things at all times, give careful thought to all ¹³their effects, and then you will know [eternal] glory with His wonderful secrets and His mighty deeds.

In early Judaism there was a legend that Seth, the son of Adam, wrote out many revelations on stone tablets, which could be read only by the righteous (Josephus Ant. 1. 70). A later Gnostic sect called the Sethians used the myth of the tablets of Seth to support their own ideas, as did Christians in the apocalyptic Testament of Adam. In the following passage, the tablets of Seth are identified with the "Vision of Insight," in which all the secrets of God are revealed.

You are ¹⁴one who understands. Your poverty is your reward in the remembrance of time, [for] the decree is engraved, and inscribed is every time of punishment, ¹⁵for that which is decreed is engraved in stone before God, over all [. . .] the children of Seth. A book of remembrance stands written before Him ¹⁶for those who keep His words; and that is the "Vision of Insight," the book of remembrance, and He bequeathed it to Enosh with a spiritual people, because ¹⁷his nature was patterned after the holy angels. But "Insight" he did not again give to carnal souls, for they did not know the difference between ¹⁸good and evil according to the judgment of His spirit.

And you, O son, are one who understands; observe the secret of the way things are and know ¹⁹[the inheritance] of all that is living, and walk in it and attend to it [. . .] ²⁰[. . .] between much and little and in your intimacy [with . . .] ²¹[. . .] by the secret of the way things are [. . .] ²²[. . .] all the vision of [know]ledge and in all [. . .] ²³So always be strong, do not become weary doing evil [. . .] ²⁴he will not cleanse his hands by it, his inheritance in [. . .] ²⁵for the man of insight has carefully considered your secrets and in the man of [. . .] ²⁶his foundations in you [. . .] with acts of [. . .] ²⁷Do not let yourself blindly follow your heart or your eyes [. . .]

Col. 2 ¹⁻²[. . .] ³by the secret of the way things are [. . .] ⁴comforted [. . .] ⁵walk blamelessly [. . .] ⁶bless His name [. . .] ⁷by their joy [. . .] ⁸great are the mercies of God [. . .] ⁹praise God, and for every plague bless [. . .] ¹⁰be in His will, and He understands [. . .] ¹¹He will guard all your ways [. . .] ¹²Do not let a thought from the evil impulse deceive you [. . .]

¹³seek the truth, do not let [. . .] deceive you [. . .] ¹⁴without a command from God; do not let carnal understanding make you err [. . .]

The figure of Wisdom, the supernatural principle by which God determined all things, is contrasted with Folly (cf. Prov. 8:22–31).

4Q415 Frag. 9 ⁵[. . . Do not let your mind dwell] ⁶on Folly, do not be like the mul[titude of the wicked . . . Acquire Wisdom, for] ⁷by it He created it (i.e., the human spirit), for she, Wisdom, is the measure [of creation . . . She made them] ⁸together, the dominion of male with [female . . .] ⁹her spirit, dominion is in her, for [. . .] ¹⁰and if one has less than another [. . .] ¹¹Accordingly [. . . male and] female, and in the scales of [. . .]

The wise man is advised to avoid unnecessary conflict with the powerful. The wrath of kings is a common theme of the wisdom literature, as in Proverbs 16: 14–20.

4Q417 Frag. 1 Col. 1 [Speak gently to a ruler] ¹at all times, lest he adjure you; and speak to him in accordance with his mood, lest [he . . .] ²without reproach. When propitious, go to him; but when it is forbidden [stay away. . .] ³do not trouble his spirit, because you speak gently, [. . .] ⁴quickly recount his rebuke, but do not pass over your sins [. . .] ⁵and he is righteous as you are, for he is a prince [. . . what he wants,] ⁶he will do, for he is incomparable in every deed, without [. . .]

An admonition not to give this teaching to the wicked.

⁷Do not consider an evil man a helper, nor any enemy [. . .] ⁸the wickedness of his deeds. At the time of his punishment he will know how he should conduct himself. With him [. . .]

Poverty is no barrier to acquiring wisdom. True wisdom is more important than riches.

His commandment] ⁹must not depart from your heart, God will resolve that you, you alone, will increase [. . . by your poverty . . . Do not say,] ¹⁰“For what is more lowly than a poor man?” So do not rejoice when you should mourn, lest you toil pointlessly in your life. [Consider the secret of] ¹¹the way things are, and learn about the causes of well-being, and know who will acquire glory or shame. For indeed [. . .] ¹²instead of mourning, eternal joy. Be an advocate for your affairs, without [ignoring] ¹³all your offenses. Argue your case like a righteous governor; do not [. . .] ¹⁴and do not pass over your sins. Be glorified [in your] poverty; [consider his] judgment [. . .] ¹⁵learn of it. And then God will see it and his anger will cease and he will pass over your sins, for before [. . .] ¹⁶none will last; and who will be acquitted in his judgment? And without forgiveness [. . .] ¹⁷needy.

God will take care of those who are faithful to him. “Seek first the kingdom of God and its righteousness and all these things will be given to you” (Matt. 6:33).

Now if you have need, the food you desire and more besides [He will supply . . . And if you have something] ¹⁸left over, bring it to the city He delights in. Accept your legacy from Him, but do not continue to [. . .] ¹⁹but if you have need, do not [. . .] that you need, for [His] storehouse lacks nothing. [. . .] ²⁰[from] His mouth all things shall come to pass; so whatever He feeds you, eat, and do not continue in [. . .] ²¹[. . .] If you borrow the wealth of men in your time of need, do not [. . . you will be anxious] ²²day and night; but God is your true comforter [. . .] He will restore your soul [. . .] do not deceive [. . .] ²³to him; why will you forget such guilt and [not remember] an insult [. . . do not entrust yourself anymore . . . to] the power of your fellow, ²⁴who, in your time of need will close up his hand, like a hook [. . .] ²⁵and if he strikes you with a blow, then [. . .] ²⁶behold, it will be revealed [. . . and then] ²⁷he will not strike him with a rod [. . .] ²⁸any more. And you [. . .]

The disciple is again encouraged to seek everything from the hand of God, from whom everything comes.

4Q416 Frag. 2 (+ 4Q417) Col. 1 ²¹If you are in a hurry ²²to avoid sending [. . . from him you should] ask your food, for he **Col. 2** ¹has opened up his generos[ity . . .] all the needs [of his goodness, giving food] ²to everything that has life, without [. . . if] he should close his hand, the spirit of everything ³mortal would [be withdrawn]. Do not accept [. . .] In the time of our reproach, cover your face, and in the folly of ⁴imprisonment [. . .]

Be wary when borrowing money or delaying repayment for a long time.

[As for money . . . whoever borrows should] repay [quickly!] Then you will be quit of your lender, for otherwise your purse ⁵with all its treasures you have effectively left [with him. As for someone who lends you money because he is your friend,] and all your life you owe him, quickly [give] him what is his, so that ⁶he does not take [your] purse. [In such dealings do not degrade yourself;] do not exchange your holy spirit for any amount of money, ⁷for there is no price adequate [for your spirit. . .]

Various precepts on serving God and doing his will.

Let no man turn you aside [from worshiping God.] In His favor seek His presence, and according to His way of speaking ⁸you should speak, and then you will find what you truly desire. [. . .] do not be lax in your regulations, and preserve the secrets you have learned.

⁹[. . .] if he assigns you a task [do not allow] sleep to your eyes until you perform ¹⁰[it . . .] do not add, but if you must deposit [. . .] do not let any money be left over without ¹¹[. . . lest he should say, He has defrauded me and . . .] and behold how powerful is ¹²[human] jealousy. It deceives the heart

[. . .] so in His will be strong in His service and in the wisdom of His goodness.

¹³[. . . you will be] to Him like a firstborn son and He will feel for you as a man does for his only child ¹⁴[. . . for you . . .] so do not be too credulous, lest you err inadvertently; and yet do not be overanxious of your pride

¹⁵[. . .] Do not lower yourself to whatever is not worthy of you; then you will be ¹⁶[. . .]

Do not touch anything for which your strength is not equal, lest you falter and you are terribly embarrassed.

¹⁷Do not become preoccupied with money; it is good for you to be a servant in spirit, and to serve your overseer freely.

¹⁸Do not sell your honor for any price, and do not barter away your inheritance, lest you bring ruin on your body. Do not overindulge yourself with bread [. . .] ¹⁹without clothing.

Do not drink wine when there is no food. Do not seek luxuries when you [. . .] ²⁰lack bread. Do not pride yourself on your need when you are poor, lest [. . .] ²¹you despise your life, and moreover, do not disdain your wife, your closest companion.

More admonitions on the danger of money.

Col. 3 ²Remember that you are poor [. . . in your . . .] and your poverty ³you will not linger, nor when it goes well for you [. . .]

If someone leaves something valuable with you, ⁴do not touch it, lest you be burned and completely consumed by its fire. As you have taken it, so return it, ⁵and joy will be yours if you are innocent with regard to it. Also, do not take money from any one that you do not know, ⁶lest he add to your poverty. But if he forces it on you with the threat of death, deposit it safely, and do not corrupt your soul ⁷with it. Then you shall lie down to die with the truth, and when you expire, your memory will blossom [like the . . .], and your posterity will inherit ⁸joy.

The poor disciple should be content with whatever God gives. Serving God is the truly noble way of life.

Yes, you are needy. Do not crave anything except your inheritance, and do not be consumed by it, lest you cross ⁹the boundaries of the Law. If He should return you to an honorable position, conduct yourself accordingly, and, knowing the secret of the way things are, seek its causes; then you will know ¹⁰His true inheritance, and you will live righteously, for [. . .] in all your ways. Give honor to those who pay you honor ¹¹and praise His name always, for your head is taller than the mountaintops, and He has made you sit among the nobility, and ¹²he has made you master of a glorious inheritance. Seek His will always.

Yes, you are needy. Do not say, "Since I am poor, ¹³I cannot seek true knowledge." Just apply yourself to every kind of learning and in every [. . .] refine your heart, and your thoughts will be characterized by great insight. ¹⁴Seek the secret of the way things are, and give careful thought to all the ways of truth, look long at the roots of wickedness. ¹⁵Then you will know what is bitter for someone and what is sweet for a man.

True wisdom entails honoring parents.

Honor your father by your poverty, ¹⁶and your mother in your ways, for a man's father is like God to him, his mother is like his superior. For ¹⁷they are the crucible of your conception, and since He gave them authority over you and formed the spirit, so serve them. And since He ¹⁸has revealed to you the secret of the way things are, honor them for your own honor's sake, and in [. . .] praise in their presence ¹⁹for your own life's sake and for length of days. Even if you are as poor as a sheep [. . .] ²⁰without the law.

The disciple may take a wife, if she too is a disciple. God has given him authority over her.

If you would marry a wife in your poverty, take her from the Children of [Light (?) . . .] ²¹from the secret of the way things are. When you are united, live together with your fleshly helper [. . . For as the verse says, "A man should leave] **Col. 4** 'his father and his mother [and adhere to his wife and they will become one flesh" (Gen. 2:24).] ²He has made you ruler over her, so [. . .] ³God did not give [her father] authority over her, He has separated her from her mother, and unto you [He has given authority . . . He has made your wife] ⁴and you into one flesh. Later, He will take your daughter away and give her to another, and your sons [. . .] ⁵But you, live together with the wife of your bosom, for she is the kin of [. . .] ⁶Whosoever governs her besides you has "shifted the boundary" of his life [. . .] ⁷He has made you ruler over her, for her to live the way you want her to, not making any vows or offerings [. . .] ⁸Turn her spirit to your will and every binding oath [. . .] ⁹annulling the utterance of your mouth, and forbidding the doing of your will [. . .] ¹⁰your lips making light of her, for your sake do not [. . .] ¹¹your honor in your inheritance [. . .] ¹²in your inheritance lest [. . .] ¹³the wife of your bosom and shame [. . .]

The stars, the "host of heaven," communicate—through astrological knowledge?—the ways of God.

4Q416 Frag. 1 ²[. . .] and to measure His will [. . .] ³time by time [. . .] ⁴according to their host, for the [need . . .] ⁵and its kingdom learn [well . . .] ⁶according to the need of their host [. . .] ⁷and the host of heaven He has established [. . .] ⁸by their symbols and signs for [. . .] ⁹one to the other and all their vast number [. . .] He has numbered [. . .] ¹⁰in heaven.

In the Last Days, God will punish evil and reward the good.

He will judge the work of wickedness, but all those who belong to the truth He will favor [. . .] ¹¹its time, and all who have indulged in wickedness will be afraid and cry aloud, for Heaven sees [. . .] ¹²waters and abysses were afraid, and every mortal spirit will be laid bare, and the members of the heavenly retinue [. . .] ¹³He judges it, and every evil act will perish, and the era of truth will be complete [. . .] ¹⁴in all the eras of eternity, for He is the God of truth, and of old the years of [. . .] ¹⁵to establish justice between good and evil [. . .] ¹⁶it is the impulse of flesh, and he who understands [. . .]

The angels in heaven, like the true disciples, are followers of God's wisdom.

4Q418 Frag. 55 ³[. . .] in toil will we dig her paths, we shall have rest ⁴[. . .] and vigilance shall be in our hearts [. . .] He will make all our paths secure [. . .] ⁵[. . .] true knowledge, but they did not seek [. . .] and they did not choose [. . .] Indeed the God of knowledge ⁶[. . .] for truth to establish all [. . .] Insight He has allotted to those who inherit truth ⁷[. . .] vigilance in [. . .] action, indeed peace and quiet ⁸[. . .] or have you not heard that the holy angels [. . .] in heaven ⁹[. . .] truth and they traced back all the causes of insight, and they were vigilant concerning ¹⁰[. . .] their knowledge, and each man will have honor from his fellow, and his honor will increase according to his intelligence ¹¹[. . . are the angels] like mortals, who are slothful? Are they like humans, who cease to be? Indeed ¹²[. . .] they obtain an eternal inheritance. Have you not seen [. . .]

A further discourse on the punishment of evil in the Last Days.

4Q418 Frag. 69 Col. 2 ¹[. . .] And now, O foolish of heart, what is goodness without ²[. . . what] good is tranquillity for what has not come to pass? What good is justice for what has not been established? And how can the dead groan for [. . .] ³[. . . "Why] were you created?" and "for eternal destruction" is their reply, for [. . .] ⁴[. . .] In darkness they will wail for your multitude and what has happened in the world; but those who seek truth will awaken to give judgment [. . .] ⁵they will destroy those who are foolish of heart, and the children of evil will no longer exist, and all who cling to wickedness will be bewildered [. . .] ⁶when you righteous give judgment the pillars of the sky-dome will be shattered, and all the [host of heaven] will thunder [. . .]

The disciple must not grow tired of his learning; an eternal reward awaits him.

¹⁰But you are the chosen of truth, those who earnestly seek [. . .] the watchful ¹¹for knowledge. How can you say, We are weary of insight, and we have been careful to pursue true knowledge [. . .] ¹²and untiring in all the years of eternity. Indeed he will take delight in truth for ever and knowledge

[. . .] will serve me [. . .] ¹³heaven, that eternal life is their inheritance. Will they truly say, We toiled in deeds of truth, we worked hard ¹⁴in every era. Indeed, in eternal light they will walk [. . .] glory and great honor you [. . .] ¹⁵in the sky [. . .] council of the divinities all [. . .]

But you, my son, are one who understands [. . .]

This exhortation uses expressions evoking the duties of the priesthood. The disciple is "separated" from the general run of humanity; he receives God himself as his inheritance, as do the Levites (Num. 18:20); he is consecrated to God.

4Q418 Frag. 81 ¹Open your lips as a spring to bless the holy ones, and give praise by the eternal spring [. . .] he has separated you from every ²car-nal spirit; so you, be separate from everything he hates, and abstain from every abomination of the soul, for He made everything ³and bestowed an inheritance on everyone. And He Himself is "your portion and inheritance" (Num. 18:20) among the human race, and He made you ruler over His inheritance. So ⁴honor Him by this when you consecrate yourself for Him, just as he has placed you among the most holy ones [. . .] in every [. . .] ⁵He has cast your lot and increased your honor and has made you like a firstborn son for Him [. . .] ⁶I will give to you my goodness, and you, is His goodness not for you? So in His faith walk always [. . .] ⁷your deeds and you should seek His rules at the hand of every [. . .]

More about the priesthood of the disciple.

⁸Love Him and in kindness and mercy towards all those who keep His words and sanc[tify . . .] ⁹And He has opened knowledge for you and made you ruler over His storehouse and given the authority to determine a reliable measure [to you . . .] ¹⁰are with you, and it is in your power to turn away wrath from those with whom God desires to be reconciled and to number [. . .] ¹¹with you. Before you take your inheritance from His hand honor His holy ones, and before [. . .] ¹²He has opened a [spring] for all His holy ones, and all who have been called by His name are holy [. . .] ¹³for all times His glory and His beauty are for the eternal plantation [of His chosen . . .] ¹⁴[. . . in light] all those who inherit the earth shall walk, for in heaven [. . .]

¹⁵You are one who understands, if He has made you rule over the skill of His hands, and know [. . .] ¹⁶goodness for all humans who pass by, and from there you will attend to your food [. . .] ¹⁷consider well and add to your learning by listening to all your instructors [. . .] ¹⁸show your poverty to all who seek pleasure and then you will establish [. . .] ¹⁹you will be filled, and satisfied by abundant goodness and by the skill of your hands [. . .] ²⁰for God has distributed an inheritance to every [living thing] and all those who are wise at heart will have success [. . .]

4Q418 Frag. 88 ¹you will establish all your pleasures [. . .] ²in your life He will make you complete a multitude of years [. . .] ³be careful of yourself

lest you mingle [. . .] ⁴you will judge evil and by the strength of your hands [. . .] ⁵He will close his hand against your poverty [. . .] ⁶to the sole of your foot, for God seeks among [. . .] ⁷by your hand to live and you will be gathered in [. . .] ⁸and your inheritance will be full in truth, and you will become [. . .]

4Q418 Frag. 102 ²[. . .] pleasure, and righteous truth all his deeds [. . .] ³[. . . you are one who] understands in truth from every skill of your hands [. . .] ⁴[. . .] your movement, and then He will seek your pleasure for all who seek Him [. . .] ⁵[. . .] abominable sin He will forgive and and in the joy of truth you will [. . .]

The disciple is also like a farmer, who knows how to plant crops properly and not to mix different crops, as forbidden in Leviticus 19:19.

4Q418 Frag. 103 Col. 2 ²[. . .] farmers until all [. . .] ³[. . .] put in your baskets and in your granaries all [. . . so that a man] ⁴may not forget it, from time to time, study them and do not be silent [. . .] ⁵[. . .] for all of them will study at the right time, and each one according to his desire [. . .] your [. . .] will be found, indeed [. . .] ⁶like a spring of living water that contains a [. . .] your poverty do not mingle [. . .] ⁷lest it become a case of "forbidden mixtures" (Lev. 19:19), like the mule, and you will become like a garment [of linsey-woolsey] or of wool and flax mingled; or your work might be like one who plows ⁸with an ox yoked to a donkey; or your produce might be like one who sows improper mixtures, of which the seed and the full yield and the produce of ⁹[the vineyard] should be holy [. . .] your money with your body and your life, [all] will perish together, and in your life you will not find it [. . .]

4Q423 Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] every fruit of the crops and every pleasant tree "that is desirable to make one wise" (Gen. 3:6), is it not the garden [. . .] ²[. . .] to make one wise [through it], and he made you ruler over it to till it and keep it. ³[. . .] "the land will sprout thorns and thistles for you" (Gen. 3:18), and "it will not yield its strength to you" (Gen. 4:12) [. . .] ⁴[. . .] when you fall away. [. . .] ⁵[. . .] begotten, and all the wombs of [. . .] ⁶[. . .] in all your needs, for it shall grow all [. . .] ⁷[. . .] and when you plant [. . .]

4Q423 Frag. 3 ¹[. . .] in vain [his] stren[gh . . .] ²[. . . by the secret of] the way things are, and so comport yourself, and [all your] crops [. . .] ³[. . .] and this is the land and at His command it has conceived all [. . .] ⁴[. . . with] the first yield of your womb and the firstborn of all [your livestock . . .] ⁵[. . .] saying, I have sanctified [. . .]

4Q423 Frag. 4 (1Q26) ¹[. . .] watch [yourself lest] you glorify yourself from it and [. . .] ²[. . . and you become accursed in] all [your] crops [and guilty] in all your deeds [. . .]

The section concerning farmer disciples cautions them against offending the God-ordained authorities. Line 2 refers to the bad example of Korah, who rebelled against Moses (Num. 16).

4Q423 Frag. 5 ²[. . .] watch yourself lest [. . .] ²[. . .] the judgment passed on Korah, and because He has opened your ear ³[to the secret of the way things are . . . the he]ad of the clans [. . .] and the Leader of your people ⁴[. . .] He has assigned the inheritance of all those who exercise authority and the purpose of every thing that is done is in His power, and He [has . . .] the actions of [. . .] ⁵[. . . judging] all of them in truth, and He has appointed duties to fathers and sons to [. . .] with all the native-born and spoken ⁶[. . . for] those who till the soil He has appointed the summer festivals and the gathering of your crops at the proper time. The change of ⁷[seasons] you must comprehend for all your crops and be wise in your business [. . .] the good with the bad [. . .] ⁸[. . . there is no] insight with the foolish man [. . .] thus the man ⁹[. . .] all [. . .] shall say [. . .] the abundance of his insight ¹⁰[. . . the secret of the way] things are with all [. . .] without ¹¹[. . .]

God has divided the good and the evil from before creation.

4Q418 Frag. 126 Col. 2 ¹[. . .] not a single one of all their host shall be lacking [. . .] ²[. . .] in truth from all the storehouse of men [. . .] ³[. . .] truth, and He has measured the proper weight for all [. . .] ⁴He distinguished them in truth, He made them and for their needs He seeks [. . .] ⁵the secret place of everything, and indeed nothing has happened apart from His will and [. . .] ⁶judgment to wreak vengeance on evildoers and the punishment [. . .] ⁷to lock up the wicked and to show favor to the weak [. . .] ⁸by eternal glory and perpetual peace and the spirit of life to separate [. . .] ⁹all the children of life and in God's strength and the abundance of His glory with His goodness [. . .] ¹⁰and of His faithfulness they will speak all the day, they will constantly praise His name [. . .]

The disciple belongs to those foreordained for God's favor.

¹¹And you shall walk in truth with all those who seek [Him . . .] ¹²and by your hand His storehouse and from your basket (?) He will seek his pleasure, and you [. . .] ¹³and if His hand is not sufficient for your need and the need of His storehouse [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] and God will arrange it by His pleasure, for God [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] your hand for what remains, and it will burst out of [. . .]

The grim fate in store for those who reject God.

4Q418 Frag. 127 ¹[. . .] your source and your need you will not find; and your spirit will grow faint unto death, deprived of all goodness [. . .] ²[. . .] all the day, and your spirit will yearn to enter her gates and you will

bury and cover [. . .]³[. . .] your body and you will become food between the teeth of wild animals and you will be consumed by pestilence (cf. Deut. 32:24) before [. . .]⁴[. . . those who seek what they] desire, you have oppressed them in their life, and also you [. . .]⁵[. . .] to you, for God has done whatever He wanted in kindness, and apportioned them in the truth [. . .]⁶[. . .] He weighed their character in the scales of righteousness and in the truth [. . .]

The importance of priests in the plan of God.

4Q419 Frag. 1 [. . .]¹which you should do according to all the rulings [. . .]²unto you through Moses and that should be done [. . .]³through his priests for they are loyal to the covenant [. . .]⁴he will make known that which is His and what is [good . . .]⁵He chose the seed of Aaron to [. . .]⁶His ways and to bring to sacrifice the savory [. . .]⁷and He gave them [. . .] to all His people⁸and He commanded [. . .]⁹the throne exalted in glory [. . .]¹⁰He lives forever and His glory is eternal [. . .]¹¹you shall diligently seek, but the filthy abominations [. . .]¹²you have loved and they relished all the [ways . . .]

The behavior expected of the disciple, who is clearly also an initiate of the Yahad.

4Q421 Frag. 1 Col. 2 ¹⁰[. . .] the intelligent and insightful man ¹¹shall be humble and defer [. . .] he will endure rebuke ¹²of the Instructor, each [. . .] to walk in the ways of God, ¹³to do righteousness **4Q420 Frag. 1 Col. 2** ¹[. . .] he will not answer before he hears ²[and he will not] speak [before he understands.] With patience he will reply and [humbly] ³he will express himself [. . . he will see]k truth and justice, and in seeking for righteousness ⁴he will find [its] origins [. . .] and his mind is humble and submissive. He will not draw back [. . .]⁵[. . .] faithful. He will not deviate from the ways of righteousness [. . .]⁶[. . .] his back and his hands shall work for righteousness; he is redeemed [. . .]⁷by insight all [. . . he shall put away] his impurities. The borders of [. . .]⁸[. . .] righteous deeds [. . .]

—E.M.C.

89. A BAPTISMAL LITURGY

4Q414

The present work was evidently intended to govern a ritual of baptism or ablutions. A sectarian text by virtue of its mention of the *Yahad*, this liturgy may have operated during the ritual washings that are discussed in the *Charter* (see text 5, 3:4–9; 4:21; 5:13b–14). The *Liturgy's* distinctive formula, “and He

shall say in response, 'Blessed are You . . . ' (l. 1 of frag. 2, col. 1), establishes a clear relationship between this work and other purification texts among the scrolls, such as the *Laws for Purification* (text 52) and *A Purification Ritual* (text 107).

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹[. . . And he shall] say [in response,] "Blessed ²[are You, . . .] The unclean for the festivals of ³[. . .] Your [. . .] and to make atonement for us ⁴[. . . to be] pure before you ⁵[. . .] in every matter ⁶[. . .] to purify oneself prior to ⁷[. . .]. You made us [. . .]

Frag. 2 + 3 Col. 2 ¹And you shall clean[se him for Your holy statutes . . .] ²for the first, [the third and the sixth . . .] ³in the truth of Your covenant [. . .] ⁴to cleanse oneself from uncleanness [. . .] ⁵and then he shall enter the water [. . .] ⁶And he shall say in response, "Blessed are Y[ou . . .] ⁷for from what comes out of your mouth [. . .] ⁸men of impurity [. . .]

Frag. 10 ¹s[ou]l [. . .] ²he is [. . .] ³to Yourself as a pu[re] people [. . .] ⁴And I also [. . .] ⁵the day which [. . .] ⁶in the times of purity [. . .] ⁷the *Yahad*.

[. . .] ⁸in Israel's pure food [. . .] ⁹[and] they shall dwell [. . .] ¹⁰And it will happen on [that] day [. . .] ¹¹a female and she will give thanks [. . .]

Frag. 12 ¹For You made me [. . .] ²Your will is that we cleanse ourselves befo[re . . .] ³and he established for himself a statute of atonement [. . .] ⁴and to be in rig[h]teous purity ⁵and he shall ba[t]he in water and sprinkle up[on . . .] ⁶[. . .] And then they return from the w[ater . . .] ⁷cleansing His people in the waters of bathing [. . .] ⁸second time upon his station. And he shall [say] in re[sponse, "Blessed are You, . . .] ⁹[. . .] Your purification in Your glory [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] eternally. And today [. . .]

—M.G.A.

90. A COMMENTARY ON GENESIS AND EXODUS

4Q422

A *Commentary on Genesis and Exodus* is yet another example of that method of biblical interpretation so popular in Second-Temple Judaism (at least in certain circles): the "rewritten Bible." This type of writing varies widely with respect to just how freely the Bible gets rewritten, and the point of the rewriting is sometimes obscure. Other examples in this book include texts 2, 9, 12, 16, 18, 36, 37, 38, 44, 71, 77, 80, and 131—the length of the list demonstrates just how important this type of writing was.

Genesis 1–4, the creation and rebellion of humankind.

Col. 1 (Frag. 1) ⁶[. . .] He made [the heavens and the earth and all] their [h]ost by [His] word [. . .] ⁷[. . . And he rested on the seventh day from all

the work whi]ch He had done, and [His] holy spirit [. . .]⁸[. . . and He made every living] beast and creeping thing [. . .]⁹[. . .] they exercised their dominion to eat the frui[t of the earth . . .]¹⁰[. . .] not to eat from the tree of the kn[owledge of good and evil . . .]¹¹[. . .] he arose against Him and they forgot [His statutes . . .]¹²[. . .] with an evil inclination, and for work[s of injustice . . .]¹³[. . .] peace [. . .]

Genesis 6–9, the Flood.

Col. 2 (Frag. 2–6) ¹[. . . and God saw that] great and [. . . the evil of man on the earth] ²[. . .] the [. . .] ^{2a}[. . . righteous in] his generation up[on the earth . . .] to a beast [. . .] ³[. . .] they were delivered upon [. . . up]on the earth, for [. . .] ⁴[. . . to deliver Noah] and his sons, [his] w[ife and the wives of his sons from] the waters of the flood and from [. . .] ⁵and he who d[oes . . . and] God closed it behind them [. . .] and [Go]d placed [. . .] upon it (or him) [. . .] ⁶whom G[od] chose [. . .] the windows of heav[en] ope[n]ed [. . .] upon the earth ⁷under the heaven[s . . . that] the water might come up upon the ear[th . . . forty] days and for[ty] ⁸nights the [rain] was up[on the earth . . . the wat]er prev[ailed] upon [the earth . . .] so as ⁹to know the glory of the Most [High . . .] He brought [the sign of the covenant] before Him ¹⁰and it lit [the] hea[vens . . . the ea]rth and [. . .] a sign for the genera[tions] ¹¹eternally, [. . . and there] shall [never again] be a flood [to destroy the earth . . .] ¹²the [tim]es of day and night [shall not cease . . . up]on the heavens and the ear[th . . .] ¹³[the earth and] its [fu]ll[nes]s [. . .] He gave [everythi]ng [. . .]

Exodus 1–11, the plagues on Egypt.

Frag. 10 ¹[. . .] and not [. . .] ²the [t]wo midwiv[es . . . and they cast] ³their [so]ns into the Nil[e . . . t]hem, ⁴[and] He sent Mo[ses] to them [. . .] in the vision of [. . .] ⁵in signs and wonders [. . .] ⁶and He sent them to Pharaoh [. . .] plagues [. . .] wonders to the Egyptians [. . .] and they brought His word ⁷to Pharaoh to let [their people] go, [but] He hardened [his] heart [to] sin so that the p[eople of Israel] might know it throughout the gener[at]ions. Then He changed their [water] to blood. ⁸The frogs were in all [their] land and gnats were in all of [their] borders, swarms of flies were [in] their [ho]uses, and [they came up]on all their [. . .] And He struck with pestilence [all] ⁹their cattle and flocks; He delivered them up to [dea]th. He app[ointed] dar[kness on their land and gloom [in] their [houses] so that they could not see one another. [And He smote] ¹⁰their land with hail and [their] earth with frost so as to [destroy al]l the fruit which they at[e]. Then He brought the locust so as to cover surface of the l[and], a great devouring in all their borders, ¹¹so that they ate every green plant in [their] l[and . . .] And God h[ardened] the heart of [Pharao]h that he might not [!]et [them go] and

that He might multiply wonders. ¹²[And He smote the firstborn,] the beginning of al[] their strength . . .]

—M.G.A.

91. A COLLECTION OF PROVERBS

4Q424

Unlike the exalted exhortations of *The Book of Secrets* (text 10) and *The Secret of the Way Things Are* (text 88), this wisdom text remains very much in the tradition of homespun prudence that generally characterizes the biblical book of Proverbs. From what survives, it seems to be a simple collection, not organized into an "instruction" like the other wisdom compositions among the scrolls. Nothing in this work is overtly sectarian.

The first (fragmentary) proverb is reminiscent of Jesus' description of the foolish man who built his house on sand, which later fell apart during a rainstorm (Matt. 7:27).

Frag. 1 ²[. . .] with the winepress [. . .] ³[. . .] when he chooses to build a partition, he coats his wall with plaster. Also he [. . .] ⁴it will fall apart during a downpour.

Various maxims on using wisdom in associating with certain types of people.

Do not accept a legal decision from a cheater, and with a capricious man do not ⁵enter a fiery ordeal, for he will melt like lead and will not be steady in the flames.

⁶Do not give an important task to a lazy man, for he will not work hard at your assignment; and do not send him to get anything, ⁷for he will not carry out any of your plans.

Do not [trust] a complainer [. . .] ⁸to get money for your needs.

Do not trust a man known for devious speech [. . .] ⁹your utterance he will surely pervert with his speech, for he takes no pleasure in truth. [. . .] ¹⁰by the fruit of his lips.

Do not give a stingy man responsibility for money; [rather than spend any wealth,] ¹¹he would measure out your flesh for your needs [. . .] those who remain [. . .]

¹²and in the time of harvest the profane man will be found impatient [. . .] ¹³fools, for he will surely destroy them.

A man [. . .]

Frag. 3 [. . .] ¹he does not do his work by measure.

Someone who passes judgment before investigating or who believes before [examining the evidence] ²should not be given authority over those who

pursue true knowledge, for he will not understand their case, acquitting the innocent and condemning [the guilty]. ³So he, too, is liable to become an object of scorn.

Do not send a man with blurred eyes to perceive the upright, for [. . .]

⁴Do not send a man hard of hearing to seek justice, for he will not weigh the dispute between men properly, like one who scatters to the wind [seed] ⁵that has not been cleansed. The same is true when one speaks to an ear that does not hear, or recounts a tale to one who is fast asleep in the spirit [. . .]

⁶Do not send a thick-headed man on a job requiring deep thought, because his mind's abilities are hidden and he does not govern [his spirit, and] ⁷he cannot use the skill of his hands.

The text moves from the negative examples of folly to positive traits of the wise and righteous man.

A man of insight will receive un[derstanding], a man of knowledge can recognize wisdom [. . .] ⁸An honest man will take pleasure in good judgment. A man of [. . .] a strong man will be zealous for [. . .] ⁹he disputes with those who would shift the boundaries [. . .] righteousness for the poor of [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] concern for those who lack money, the children of the righteous [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] in all money of [. . .]

—E.M.C.

92. IN PRAISE OF GOD'S GRACE—*BARKI NAFSHI*

4Q434, 4Q436, 4Q437, 4Q439

Unlike the *Royal Psalms* (text 79), these hymns are almost wholly devoted to the descriptive praise of God's goodness as shown to the righteous in Israel. This group includes no examples of the other main type of psalm, the individual or communal lament. As with the *Royal Psalms*, the songs of *In Praise of God's Grace* are outstanding imitations of the biblical psalms. Like them, they occasionally quote verbatim from the books of the Old Testament.

These praise hymns contain no clear indication of the time of composition. The official editors of this collection refer to it by the title *Barki Nafshi*, a Hebrew phrase meaning "Bless, O my soul . . ." that occurs several times in the poems.

The first hymn praises God for the deliverance he will bring to Israel in the future, not for what he has already done. Since the focus is on Jerusalem, this is another example of the "songs of Zion" (see the first psalm in text 79, Royal Psalms).

4Q434 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] that the poor woman might be comforted in her mourning [. . .] ²the Gentiles unto destruction and the nations will be exterminated and the wicked [. . .] will renew ³the activity of heaven and

earth and they will rejoice and His glory fills [all the earth . . .] their [sin] 'He will forgive and console them with abundant goodness [. . .] to eat ⁵its fruit and its goodness.

⁶Like one whose mother comforts him, so He will comfort them in Jerusalem (Isa. 66:13) [and He will rejoice as a bridegroom] over his bride. ⁷His [presence] will rest upon it forever, for His throne will last forever and ever, and His glory [. . .] and all the Gentiles "[. . .] to Him and the host [of heaven] will be in it and make their land delight ⁸[. . .] for beauty [. . .] I will bless the ¹⁰[Lord . . .] Blessed is the name of the Most High [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] Bless, [O my soul . . . You have placed] Your mercies upon me ¹²[. . .] You have established it on the Law ¹³[. . .] the book of Your statutes [. . .]

This hymn extols God for his goodness to the righteous in Israel.

Col. 2 'Bless, O my soul, the Lord, for all His wonderful deeds for ever, and blessed be His name, "for He has saved the life of the poor" (Jer. 20:13) and the ²humble He has not spurned, and He has not overlooked the needy in trouble, He has kept his eyes on the weak, and paid attention to the cry of orphans for help. He has inclined His ears to their ³cry, and because of His abundant mercies, has shown favor to the meek. He has opened their eyes to see His ways and their ears to hear ⁴His teaching. "He has circumcised their hearts' foreskin" (Deut. 10:16), and delivered them for the sake of His kindness. He has directed their feet to the true path, and has not abandoned them in their great distress. ⁵He has not given them into the power of cruel tyrants, nor judged them with the wicked, nor aroused his anger against them, nor destroyed them all ⁶in His wrath. His fierce wrath has not blazed out against all, and He has not judged them in the fire of His zeal. ⁷No, He has judged them by His abundant mercies, sent grievous judgments only for the sake of testing them that He may increase His mercies [. . . from the power of] ⁸mortals He has saved them, nor has He judged them by a mass of Gentiles. He has not [abandoned] them within the nations, and hidden them in [. . .] ⁹"He made dark places light in front of them, and He made rough places smooth" (Isa. 42:16). He revealed to them laws of peace and truth, ¹⁰[He weighed] their breath in a measure, He apportioned their words by the proper weight, and made them sing like flutes, He gave them a different mind, so they could walk in [the ways of peace.] ¹¹He also brought them near to His heart's path, for they had risked their life's breath. So He wove a protective hedge around them, and commanded that no plague should [smite them], ¹²"His angels camped around them" (Ps. 34:7) for protection, lest [Belial] attack them [through] ¹³their enemies. [The fire of] his wrath burned [. . .], His anger [. . .] in them [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] **Col. 3** ¹in their trouble and [distress], and You delivered them from every danger. [Miracles] ²You have

performed for them while humanity watches, and You delivered them for Your sake. [. . .] ³so that they can examine their sins and their ancestors' sins, and atone for them [. . .] ⁴by Your statutes, and to the path that You have [. . .]

This fragment once belonged to a psalm that emphasized God's goodness to Israel in historical-biblical terms.

Frag. 3 Col. 2 ²[. . . He changed] their lodgings from there in the wilderness to a "door of hope" (Hos. 2:15) and "He made a covenant" for their welfare "with the birds of the air and the beasts of the field" (Hos. 2:18). He made their enemies like dung and dust, and he ground Edom and Moab to powder.

While the second poem above praised God for his mercy to Israel as a whole, the following hymn describes his grace to the pious individual.

4Q436 Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹ . . . understanding to strengthen the "repentant heart" (Ps. 51:17), to give it perpetual relief, to console the weak in their time of distress, to equip the hands of the ruined ²to make tools of knowledge to give true knowledge to the wise, that the honest may increase learning, to comprehend ³Your great deeds that You have done in years of old and throughout every generation.

A perpetual knowledge that [. . .] ⁴[. . .] before me. You observed Your Law before me, and Your covenant You have ratified for me, You strengthened the heart [. . .] ⁵[. . .] to walk in Your ways, You have commanded my heart and trained my mind not to forget Your rules [. . .] ⁶[. . .] You have [. . .] Your law, and You have opened up my mind and strengthened me to pursue Your way. ⁷[. . .] Your [. . .] and You have made my mouth like a burning sword, my tongue You have unbound to speak holy words, and You put ⁸[on my lips] a chain lest they babble of the deeds of the man whose utterances are corrupt.

My feet You have strengthened ⁹[. . .] by Your power You have sustained my right hand, and You have sent me [. . .] against evil [. . .] ¹⁰[. . . impure thoughts] You have kept from me, and put a pure heart in their place. You have kept the evil impulse from me [. . .] **Col. 2** ¹[and a holy spirit] You have placed in my heart. You have removed lustful eyes from me, and gazed [. . .] ²[. . .]. You have sent away stubbornness from me, and put humility there instead. Also You have removed hostility [from me, and given me] ³[a spirit of] patience. You have made me forget haughtiness and pride [. . .]

Another individual hymn of praise that recalls God's deliverance in time of need.

4Q437 Frag. 1 ¹[Bless] the Lord, O my soul, for all his wonderful [works . . .] ²[and the humble He has not] despised nor forgotten the distress of [the weak . . .]

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] from the company of those who seek [. . .]
²[. . . a net] they have set to catch me and pursued [my soul . . .] ³[. . .
 “may] their [sword enter] their own heart, and may their bows shatter” (Ps.
 37:15) [. . .] ⁴[for all] this I will bless Your name during my life for You have
 delivered me from [. . .] ⁵[. . .] and Your kindnesses are a shield around me
 and You protected my life among the Gentiles [. . .] ⁶[. . .] You have
 thrown my foes into confusion. I did not forget Your laws when my soul was
 in distress. ⁷Of Your kindness, You did not turn from me; You looked pity-
 ingly on all my suffering. My sins ⁸[. . .] envelops my spirit. When I was in
 distress You heard my voice. “In Your quiver You [hid me] ⁹[. . .] me, You
 made me a polished arrow” (Isa. 49:2). You hid me in the shelter of Your
 palms and [. . .] ¹⁰[from the river] You saved me from drowning, from [sink-
 ing in] a stream of Gentiles [. . .] ¹¹You brought me up out of the grave
 [. . .] You gave me new life [. . .] ¹²[. . .] before me, and You comforted
 me through the offspring of righteousness. You [will judge me] by a cord,
 You have made [. . .] rejoice ¹³[. . .] life with his spirit.

I will bless the Lord with [all my soul]. ¹⁴[. . .] Lord, I remember You, You
 are my heart’s support, my hope ¹⁵[is for Your deliverance . . . Your com-
 mandments] I call to mind that my heart may exult in You. You have given
 me [victory and in] thirst ¹⁶[given me water . . .] I speak always of Your great
 deeds, “I call You to mind on [my bed] in the watches [of the night” (Ps.
 63:6).. . .]

*The last fragment seems more like a lament (the author seems to be in present distress)
 and therefore may not truly belong to the same collection.*

4Q439 Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] to gather the [righteous] with me, and to build a
 road ²[. . .] into Your covenant those who are closest to me, and all the mul-
 titude of ³[. . .] inherit my inheritance. Therefore my eye has become a
 spring of water ⁴[. . .] discipline, and those who stand behind them that
⁵[. . .] and now my whole city has turned into thorns ⁶[. . .] all my judges
 are found [. . .] ⁷[. . .] my righteous ones have become fools [. . .] ⁸[. . .]
 traitors [. . .]

—E.M.C.

93. HYMNS OF THANKSGIVING

4Q443

Exodus 15:2 proclaims, “The LORD is my strength and my song.” The Hebrew
 term for “song,” echoed elsewhere in the Bible (Isa. 12:2; 51:3; Ps. 118:14),
 occurs among the scrolls only in this manuscript and in a tiny fragment from
The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (text 85). Two other observations about the

fragmentary hymns in *Hymns of Thanksgiving* may be noteworthy. First, the personal name of God (*Yahweh*) in l. 5 of frag. 1 is spelled with scribal dots instead of letters, honoring the holiness of "the ineffable Name." This distinctive spelling—another notable occurrence is at 1QS 8:14—is rather uncommon among the scrolls, which evidence a wide variety of methods for dealing with the Name. Second, in l. 8 of frag. 1, the author calls his congregation "the sons of my council," a nonbiblical term that occurs elsewhere only in the *Charter* (see text 5, 2:25). One may suspect, therefore, that *Hymns* belongs among the sectarian scrolls rather than among the nonsectarian.

Frag. 1 ²{ . . . } song of praise { . . . } ³{ . . . } ⁴{ . . . upo]n you [my] youth { . . . } ⁵{ . . . the Lo]RD my God is h[oly . . . } ⁶{ . . . You made] me [great] that we might stand toget[her . . . } ⁷{ . . . } and violence, You are the L[ORD . . . } ⁸{ . . . } and from the sons of my council { . . . } ⁹{ . . . } Your { . . . } and the fruit upon { . . . } ¹⁰{ . . . } for to Your words { . . . } ¹¹{ . . . } to rule and he shall rui[n . . . } ¹²{ . . . } Your [sa]lvation and in righteous[ness . . . } ¹³{ . . . } and [its] mouth was opened { . . . } ¹⁴{ . . . } faithless { . . . } ¹⁵{ . . . b]ear punishment, for { . . . } ¹⁶{ . . . } and [he] shall bear fruit { . . . } ¹⁷{ . . . Ja]cob and { . . . }

Frag. 2 ²{ . . . } You were not pleased and { . . . } ³{ . . . } and forever and ever. { . . . } ⁴{ . . . everything whic]h is in my mouth You will not put to the test { . . . } ⁵{ . . . the la]w of Your mouth, and You show me { . . . } ⁶{ . . . } for judgment You cause me to stand { . . . } ⁷{ . . . } he shall contend for me, and his witnesses shall testify against (?) [me . . . } ⁸{ . . . } to You, I have understood all { . . . } ⁹{ . . . }, and there is none.

—M.G.A.

94. MEDITATION OF THE SAGE

4Q444

This is what remains of a poetic work cast (so far as can be determined) as an exposition by a sage who considers himself a spokesman for God. He describes spiritual warfare, in which he himself speaks truth thanks to his empowerment by God's holy spirit, while others are contentious because of the influence of evil spirits. In l. 7 the author seems to mention the dominion of Belial—that is, Satan—described more fully in other Dead Sea texts.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹And I am among those who fear God, who opens his mouth aided by His veritable knowledge, and { . . . } empowered by His holy spirit. { . . . } ²truth for all [thes]e, and they became contentious spirits. Through the structures of statute [and . . . } ³{ . . . } of flesh. God has placed a spirit of knowledge and understanding, truth and righteousness in the hea[r

of . . .] ⁴[. . .] Be strong in the statutes of God so as to battle evil spirits, and so as not [to . . .] ⁵[. . .] a ship. Cursed is ⁶[. . .] truth and justice ⁷[. . .] until its dominion is complete. ⁸[. . . ba]stards and the unclean spirit ⁹[. . .] and the thief [. . .] ¹⁰[. . . the ri]ghteous, together with [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] and abominat[ion.]

—M.O.W.

95. IN PRAISE OF KING JONATHAN

4Q448

In Praise of King Jonathan is a composition whose importance is out of all proportion to its size, for this small and fragmentary text is pivotal for the question of the origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Since the work evidently praises Alexander Jannaeus, a Hasmonean who reigned as king from 103 to 76 B.C.E., its very existence raises profound difficulties for the Standard Model. According to the Standard Model, the Hasmoneans were supposed to be sworn enemies of the groups behind the scrolls; how could the latter have composed or treasured a paean favoring perhaps the worst villain of that family?

Contrary to the stand taken by proponents of the Standard Model, we believe this text must be integrated into—not dismissed from—discussion of the origins of the scrolls. It must be allowed to cast doubt on the Standard Model, if that is what it does. For a further discussion, see the Introduction.

Alexander also appears in *A Commentary on Nahum* (text 21), where he is described as the “Lion of Wrath.”

Lines 7–10 of this fragment incorporate a portion (vv. 16–20) of a noncanonical psalm commonly entitled Psalm 154. Known from a tenth-century C.E. Syriac manuscript, this composition is also found in the Apocryphal Psalms of David (text 127), col. 18.

Col. A ¹Praise the LORD! A psal[m for . . .] ²the love of [. . .] ³rebellions (?) against [. . .] ⁴[. . .] ⁵[Those who] hat[e You] shall fear [. . .] ⁶the heave[ns] are great [. . .] ⁷and to the deeps [. . . Behold the eyes of the LORD are compassionate upon the good.] ⁸And upon those who glorify Him [He increases His loving-kindness. He delivers their soul from the evil time, He who redeems] ⁹the destitute from the power of oppressors [and delivers the pure from the hand of the wicked . . .] ¹⁰His dwelling is in Zion, [He] ch[oo]ses Jerusalem forever. . . .]

Col. B ¹the holy city, ²for Jonathan, the king, ³and all the congregation of Your people ⁴Israel ⁵which have been dispersed to the four ⁶winds of the heavens, ⁷let peace be on all of them ⁸and Your kingdom. ⁹May Your name be

blessed. Col. C 'In Your love . . . [. . .] ²the day until evening . [. . .] ³to draw near so as to be [. . .] 'Remember them in blessing [. . .] ⁵[. . . Your people] are called by Your name [. . .] "the kingdom shall be blessed [. . .] ⁷joining (?) for war [. . .] "for Jonathan, the kin[g . . .] ⁹[. . .]

—M.G.A.

96. MEDITATION ON ISRAEL'S HISTORY

4Q462

"To the Jew first and also to the Gentile," wrote Paul the apostle, attempting to define the ideal audience for his gospel (Rom. 1:16). His Jewish contemporaries would agree that the Jew comes first, but there would be significant differences of opinion about Gentiles. They were clearly outside of the faith of Israel, but they had to play some part in God's plan. Were they simply there to provide a hapless foil for the chosen people, to be eliminated or subdued when God redeemed Israel? Or could they somehow be incorporated into Israel through conversion, and enjoy some of the blessings of Israel?

Both points of view could claim support from the Bible. The prophetic books are full of vitriolic denunciations of the Gentile powers, whose occasional downfall was greeted with open glee (as in the the prophecy of Nahum). On the other hand, even the loathsome Assyrians could be imagined as repentant sinners (as in the book of Jonah). Gentile armies could be mythologized as the dreadful legions of Gog and Magog (Ezek. 38–39), destined only for slaughter, but Gentiles could also be imagined saying, "Let us go to the LORD's mountain, that he may teach us his ways" (Isa. 2:3).

The same ambivalence is reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls. In the *War Scroll* (text 8), the Children of Light wage the final battle royal against Gentile armies, without a suggestion that the latter might conceivably have an interest in learning of the Lord's ways. But the *Charter for Israel in the Last Days* points out that the Gentile nations will finally come to serve the Leader of the Nation (text 6, 5:28–29), and the *Damascus Document* allows for the presence of converts to Judaism in the community (text 1, Geniza 14:5), although they will rank lowest of all. The *Temple Scroll*, though legislating for an ideal Israel generally devoid of Gentiles, allows for their entrance into the outermost Temple court after conversion to Judaism (see text 131).

The present text is the only one of the scrolls that seems to speak of Gentiles with any sympathy—although that sympathy is limited to a certain rueful regret that they did not recognize God's plan for his people. It is possible that the unnamed Gentiles are Edomites, if l. 5 is properly understood. "Rekem" was a famous city located in biblical Edomite territory. If so, then the historical setting

may be the forced conversion of the Idumeans (Edomites) to Judaism in the time of the Hasmonean ruler John Hyrcanus I (134–104 B.C.E.).

The human families descended from Noah's three sons disperse; Israel inherits the Holy Land, while the Edomites (?) must be content with their territory to the south and east of Palestine.

Frag. 1 ²[. . . Shem and] Ham and Japeth [. . .] ³[. . .] to Jacob, and he [said . . .] and remembered [. . .] ⁴[. . .] to Israel [. . .] Then [they] shall say [. . .] ⁵[. . .] to Rekem we went, for [. . .] was taken [. . .] ⁶[. . .] to slaves for Jacob in love [. . .] ⁷[. . . he will] give it as a possession to many.

In the time to come, the Gentiles will recognize the greatness of God, their own sin, and the special status of Israel.

The LORD,* ruler of all [. . .] ⁸[. . .] His glory, which all at once will fill the waters and the earth [. . .] ⁹[. . .] dominion is with Him alone. The light was with them, but on us was [the darkness . . .] ¹⁰[. . .] the era of darkness [has passed] and the era of light has come, and they will rule forever. Therefore they shall say [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] to Israel, for in our midst is the beloved people, Jacob [. . .]

Israel's endurance during their domination by foreign powers is remembered, and the judgment that later came on the oppressors.

¹²[. . .] they toiled and endured and cried out to the LORD and [. . .] ¹³[. . .] now, see, they were put in the power of Egypt a second time in the age of the monarchy, and they endured [. . .] ¹⁴[. . .] the inhabitants of Philistia, and Egypt became booty and a ruin and her pillars [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] to exalt the wicked man so that she will become impure [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] her bold face will be changed, in her splendor and adornments and garments [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] and what she did to her, the impurity of [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] rejected just as she was before being built [. . .] ¹⁹[. . .] and he will remember Jerusalem [. . .]

—E.M.C.

97. LIVES OF THE PATRIARCHS

4Q464

The remnants of this fragmentary manuscript expound the lives of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. *Lives* does not discover fulfillments of biblical prophecies as does *A Commentary on Habakkuk* (text 4), but rather appears to

*The scribe wrote this divine name with four dots, each dot representing one consonant of the Hebrew.

select passages that support the author's ideas in a way similar to *Commentaries on Genesis* (text 44).

Line 9 of this fragment quotes Zephaniah 3:9, which refers to the conversion of the Gentile nations in the Last Days. The remains of l. 8 suggest that this verse was taken to mean that everyone would speak Hebrew at that time. The phrase "holy language" is also found in Midrash Tanhuma (edited by S. Buber), §28, in reference to Genesis 11:7, which Tanhuma interprets as meaning that all the world was created speaking the holy language, which God then confused at the Tower of Babel. The midrash follows with a quote of Zephaniah 3:9 to show that a day is yet to come when God will again make the people "pure of speech" so that they might serve him as one.

Frag. 3 Col. 1 ³[. . .] servant ⁴[. . .] the same ⁵[. . .] confused of (or carcass of) ⁶[. . .] to Abraham ⁷[. . .] forever, for he ⁸[. . .] the holy language ⁹[. . . "For I will give] purified lips to the people" (Zeph. 3:9).

The Egyptian bondage is foretold with a prophetic interpretation (pesher).

Col. 2 ²the judgment [. . .] ³just as He said to Abrah[am, "Indeed you know that your offspring shall be a strangers in a land that is not their own] ⁴and they shall serve them and they shall oppress [them for four hundred years" (Gen. 15:13).. . .] ⁵and he shall sleep with [his fathers . . .] ⁶[. . .] ⁷The prophetic interpretation of[f . . .] ⁸to e[a]t [. . .]

The binding of Isaac (Gen. 22:12).

Frag. 6 ²[. . .] his hand and not [. . .] ³[. . .] your hand against the lad and [do] no[thing to him . . .] ⁴[. . .] make it an offering [. . .]

Jacob's departure for Haran (Gen. 28:10).

Frag. 7 ¹[. . . and] they shall be fifteen [years] old [. . .] ²[. . . and Jacob went out from Beer]sheba to go to Haran and E[sau . . .] ³[. . . just a]s He promised to give him t[he land . . .]

—M.G.A.

98. THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL AND KING ZEDEKIAH

4Q470

Zedekiah (597–586 B.C.E.) was the last king of Judah, the monarch at the time Jerusalem fell to the forces of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylonia. He was himself taken captive when the city fell and, after his sons had been killed before his eyes, Zedekiah was blinded and taken into exile in Babylon. There he died some years later. On several occasions the Bible records that Zedekiah "did evil in

the eyes of the LORD" (2 Kings 24:19), and on the whole the Bible portrays him as a weak-willed ruler whom his nobles were able to manipulate.

In later Jewish literature, the negative portrait of Zedekiah begins to take on more positive overtones. The Talmud says at one point, "The Holy One, blessed be He, planned to turn the world back to chaos and formlessness because of the generation of Zedekiah. Taking a closer look at Zedekiah, however, His anger calmed" (*Arakin* 17a). Josephus also calls Zedekiah "by nature kind and just" (*Ant.* 6.213). The present scroll fragment appears to be another witness to the notion of a good king Zedekiah. Here he is seen entering a covenant instituted by the archangel Michael, in which he agrees himself to live uprightly and to use his power as king to see that others also obey God. The idea that angels mediate covenants also appears in the New Testament (Acts 7:53; Gal. 3:19; Heb. 2:2). Thus the assignment of this role to angels was probably a commonplace in the Judaism of this period.

For further adventures of Michael, note especially *The Words of the Archangel Michael* (text 111).

Frag. 1 ²[. . .] Michael [. . .] ³On [th]at day, Zedekiah [shall en]ter a co[ven]ant ⁴[. . .] to live by the whole Law, and to cause others to do so ⁵[. . . At] that time, M[ich]ael shall say to Zedekiah ⁶[. . .] "I will make a [cove]na[nt] with you witnessed by the entire congregation." ⁷[. . . to d]o and [. . .]

—M.O.W.

99. ASSORTED MANUSCRIPTS

4Q471

In the fragments catalogued as 4Q471 we once again face the question of whether certain fragments have been properly assigned to their original scroll. Because of similar handwriting and a presumed connection with the *War Scroll* (text 8), scrolls editors have grouped together eight small fragments and called them a text—4Q471. We believe that this was a mistake. These fragments do not belong to one manuscript, but rather to four. Moreover, none of the fragments is related to the *War Scroll*. Preliminary study suggests that of the following fragments, only 2 and 4 represent the same manuscript. The four works before us are respectively (1) a discussion of the messianic king's royal bodyguard; (2) a condemnation of improper conduct of holy war; (3) a hymn praising God, and (4) the boast of a man claiming to be reckoned among the gods.

Two explanations have been suggested for frag. 1. The first suggests a relationship to the first lines of col. 2 of the War Scroll (text 8) detailing the various groups that served in the Temple or its precincts during the sabbatical year (E. and H. Eshel,

1992). *The reconstruction below echoes the Temple Scroll 57:5–11 (text 131). This passage reveals the makeup of the king's royal guard.*

Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] from all tha[t . . .] ²[. . . And from the priests, twelve,] each man from his brothers from the sons of ³[Aaron. . .] and they shall be with him continually, and k[ee]p ⁴[him from all manner of sin. And twelve commanders from] each tribe, a man ⁵[per household. They shall be with him continually, men who are pu]re. And from [the] Levites tw[elve] ⁶[. . . and they shall b]e sit[ting with hi]m continually for ⁷[judgment and Torah . . . in] order that they might be teaching [him . . .] ⁸[. . .] division[s . . .]

This fragment warns against engaging in a war not blessed by God. This theme reveals a possible relation to Numbers 14:40–45.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] from the time You command them not to ²[engage in war. . .] you have proved false to His covenant ³[. . . and yo]u said, “Let us fight His battles, for He has redeemed us ⁴[from the hand of our enemy . . .] . . .] your [mighty me]n shall be humiliated for they do not know that [the Lord] has rejected ⁵[you . . .] you presume to make war. And as for you, you are regarded ⁶[with the men of injustice. “You have staggered as a drunkard] in his vomit” (Isa. 19:14).

Ask for righteous judgment and [true] service ⁷[. . .] you exalt yourselves.

He has chosen [you . . .] for the cry ⁸[. . .] “And you have substituted [bitter for sweet] and sweet ⁹[for bitter” (Isa. 5:20). . .]

Keep the covenant of God: reject evil and choose good.

Frag. 4 ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] so as to keep the testimonies of Your (?) covenant [. . .] ³[. . . the One who has gua]rded all of their armies with patien[ce . . .] ⁴[. . .] and to restrain their heart from all of [their] wo[rks . . .] ⁵[. . . se]rvants of darkness. For judgment [. . .] ⁶[. . .] in the guilt of his lot [. . .] ⁷[. . . to reject goo]d and to choose evil and to [. . .] ⁸[. . . but rather to reject everything which] God hates. And He established [. . .] ⁹[. . .] all the good which [the Lord has given you . . .] ¹⁰[. . .] anger of vengeance [. . .]

This scrap of a hymnic or liturgical text praises God for righteous judgment and the forgiveness of sins.

Frag. 5 ¹[. . .] God, and [. . .] ²[. . .] eternal [light]. And He appointed us (or me)[. . .] ³[. . . He jud]ges His people with justice and [. . .] ⁴[. . . and to give th]em [understanding] in all the statutes of G[od . . .] ⁵[. . . He has forgiven] us o[ur] sins [. . .] ⁶[. . . in the dominion of] Belial [. . .]

This is one of three manuscripts that evidence the boast of a man to be reckoned among the gods. The fact that the most complete of these texts, 4Q427 frag. 7, col. 1,

is clearly coincident with col. 26 of the Thanksgiving Psalms (text 3) suggests that the speaker is none other than the Teacher of Righteousness, the founder of the Yahad (also see 4Q491 frag. 11, col. 1; text 8).

Frag. 6 ¹expounding [. . . And who is] ²like me? [The . . .] shall cease [. . . And to whom] ³shall you compare me in my teaching [. . .] ⁴Who is like me among the gods [. . . the utterance] ⁵of my lips who can endure, who [can summon me . . .] ⁶the beloved of the king, an[cient] companion [. . .] ⁷no one compares. Who [. . .] ⁸fine go[ld (?) . . .]

—M.G.A.

100. THE TWO WAYS

4Q473

In Deuteronomy 11:26–28, Moses, speaking as God's intermediary, says to the people "See, I am setting before you today a blessing and a curse: the blessing, if you obey the commandments of the LORD your God that I am commanding you today; and the curse, if you do not obey the commandments of the LORD your God, but turn from the way that I am commanding you today." This metaphor picturing life as a choice between two paths appears in a more elaborated form in the present Dead Sea Scroll.

The Gospels depict Jesus as setting forth a similar metaphor: "Enter through the narrow gate; for the gate is wide and the road is easy that leads to destruction, and there are many who take it. For the gate is narrow and the road is hard that leads to life, and there are few who find it" (Matt. 7:13–14).

The Qumran writing finds a further analog in the early Christian book known as the *Didache*, or *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. The original core of this manual of instruction for the early church may well go back to the first century C.E. and thus is nearly as old as our scroll. The *Didache* treats worship, baptism, fasting, communion, and other topics, but the first section, entitled "The Two Ways," is a statement of the principles of Christian conduct. Thus the *Didache* begins with a line immediately reminiscent of our scroll, "There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and there is a great difference between the two ways."

Frag. 1 ²[. . .] He is setting [before you a blessing and a curse. These are] ³t[wo] ways, one goo[d and one evil. If you walk in the good way,] ⁴He will bless you. But if you walk in the [evil] way, [He will curse you in your going out] ⁵and in your [ten]ts. He will exterminate you, [smiting you and the product of your toil with blight] ⁶and mildew, snow, ice, and hai[l . . .] ⁷along with all [. . .]

—M.O.W.

101. A RECORD OF DISCIPLINARY ACTION

4Q477

A *Record of Disciplinary Action* reflects an attempt to obey Leviticus 19:17, "You must certainly rebuke your neighbor, and thus not bear any sin because of him." We know that reproof was an important element of life in the *Yahad* from the *Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association* (text 5). There we read: "The Instructor must not reprove the Men of the Pit, nor argue with them about proper biblical understanding. Quite the contrary: he should conceal his own insight into the Law when among perverse men. He shall save reproof—itsself founded on true knowledge and righteous judgment—for those who have chosen the Way, treating each as his spiritual qualities and the precepts of the era require" (9:16–18). According to the *Charter* 5:24–6:1, this rebuke had to be done humbly and for the purpose of restitution. Matthew 18:15–17 is a notable New Testament counterpart, demonstrating the importance of reproof among early Christians as well.

This work is the only one known among the scrolls that records actual names of members of the *Yahad*.

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] the men of the *Yahad* [. . .] ²[. . .] themselves and to chastise ³[. . .] the camps of the assembly concerning ⁴[. . .] his unfaithfulness [. . .]

This passage records the names of the guilty parties along with their crimes. One Johanan is convicted of transgressions the apostle Paul would later classify as "deeds of the flesh" (Gal. 5:19–21; see Prov. 14:17; 28:22). Another member of the Yahad (Joseph?) apparently transgressed the command prohibiting sexual intercourse with next of kin (Lev. 18:6).

Col. 2 ¹to [. . .] ²because [he . . . and also wh]o was acting with malice [. . . camps of] ³the general membership.[. . . And they chastised] Johanan ben Ma [(?) . . .] ⁴he has a quick temper and an [evi] eye and is also vainglorious [. . .] ⁵[. . .] and he [shall go] to the pi[t of hell]. They chastised Hananyah Nuthus because he [. . .] ⁶[. . .] to turn aside the spirit of the communi[ty and] also to intermingle [Isra]el [with . . .] ⁷[. . . Jo]seph they chastised, who has an evil [eye] and also does not [. . .] ⁸[. . .] and he also loves his blood relation [. . .] ⁹[. . . They chastised] Hananyah ben Sim[on . . .] ¹⁰[. . . and al]so he loves the good [life . . .]

—M.G.A.

102. A PRAYER FOR DELIVERANCE

4Q501

This communal prayer asks God for deliverance from persecution at the hands of unfaithful Israelites who surround the righteous covenant keepers “with their false tongue” (l. 4).

[. . .] do not give our inheritance to strangers, nor our produce to the sons of a foreigner. Remember that ²[we are the enslaved] of Your people, and the forsaken of Your inheritance. Remember the sons of Your covenant, the desolate ³[. . .] the faithful are wandering astray, and there is no one to return them: those who are wounded with no one to bind their wounds, ⁴[and those who are bowed down with no one to raise them up]. The wretched of Your people have surrounded us with their false tongue. Let them be overturned.

⁵[. . .] Your [. . .] and Your beauty to one born of a woman. Look and see the shame of the sons of ⁶[Your people, for] our skin [has grown tender.] Horrors have seized us because of the tongue of the revilers. ⁷[. . .] Your commandments, let not their seed be included with the sons of the covenant. ⁸[. . .] against them with the abundance of Your strength, and execute vengeance on them ⁹[for . . .] they have not set You before them, and they have overrun the wretched and oppressed.

—M.G.A.

103. A LITURGY OF THANKSGIVING

4Q502

This extremely fragmentary text comprises a liturgy of thanksgivings for various blessings of life. The frequent mention of “adults” may indicate that the liturgy was intended to accompany the entrance of youths into the *Yahad* when they came of age. The *Charter for Israel in the Last Days* (text 6) mentions such a ceremony.

This larger passage contains words of thanks for the blessings of the natural world, of Israel's religious festivals, and of the community of faith.

Frag. 6 + 7 + 8 + 9 + 10 ¹[. . .] Is[rael . . .] ²[. . .] give thanks [. . .] ³[. . .] mutual joy [. . .] ⁴[. . . He will bless the] God of Israel and raise his voice and say, ⁵[Blessed is the God of Israel who has brought us to this] time

of joy to praise His name ⁶[. . .] adults and youths ⁷[. . .] their [beasts], rams and goats [. . .] from our flocks and from the creeping things ⁸[. . .] in our shelter and the birds [that fly in our sky] and our soil and all its produce ⁹[. . . and all] the fruit of the tree and our water [. . .] and the waters of its deeps, all of us ¹⁰[. . . blessing] the name of the God of Israel [who has given us this festival for our joy and also ¹¹[. . .] season of thanks[giving . . .] among the righteous adults ¹²[. . .] in peace [. . .] giving thanks to God and praising ¹³[. . .] brothers to me, elderly ¹⁴[and youths, . . .] blessed among us ¹⁵[. . .] holy [. . .] elders of the Most Holy Place ¹⁶[. . .] today I am [. . . blessing] the God of Israel [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] knowledgeable adults [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] we rejoice in the sea[son of . . .] to be [. . .] ¹⁹[. . .]

This fragment seems to speak of someone's entry into the community or into the leadership of the community.

Frag. 19 ¹So let him dwell with him in the council of [the holy ones . . .] ²descendants of blessing, elder men and [women . . . young men] ³and virgins, boys and girls [. . .] ⁴with all of us together and I [. . .] ⁵and afterwards the men of [holy perfection] shall say [. . .] ⁶[and raise their voice] and say, Blessed is the [God of Israel who . . .] ⁷[. . .] their sins [. . .]

This fragment indicates that women also took active part in the liturgy of thanksgiving.

Frag. 24 ¹[. . .] all the festivals [. . .] ²[. . .] the woman [shall raise her voice and say] the thanksgivings: Blessed is the God of Israel who has helped [His handmaid . . .] ³[. . .] your life in the midst of the people who endure forever [. . .] ⁴[. . .] and she shall stand in the council of the elder men and women [. . .] ⁵[. . .] your days in peace [. . .] ⁶[. . .] among the el[ders . . .]

—E.M.C.

104. DAILY PRAYERS

4Q503

This work is a very fragmentary collection of paired prayers. The first prayer in each pairing is recited in the evening, the second in the morning as the sun rises. The entire sequence of prayers follows the days of an unspecified month. Surviving fragments derive from the prayers of the sixth through twenty-eighth days. Since, however, the fifteenth and twenty-first days of this month appear to be festival days, it must be either the first month or the seventh, for these

are the only months in the "Qumran calendar" that have festivals at those times. Most probably the month is the first month, Nisan, because frags. 1-3 allude to the Passover.

The author of these prayers adopted a curious system known (in various slightly different forms) from *1 Enoch* and other Dead Sea Scrolls (see text 57). Using proportions of the number fourteen, he characterized each day of the month in terms of light and darkness on the moon's surface. Thus, the first day of the month would have fourteen parts darkness and no light, the second day thirteen parts darkness and one part light, and so on. The fifteenth day of the month would have no darkness and fourteen parts light: this would be the day of the full moon. As the moon waned, the proportions would reverse. The work also mentions "gates" of light, whose number is always the same as the date of the month, and makes puzzling references to "flags." The flags are associated sometimes with light, sometimes with darkness, so that the precise meaning of the term defies clarification.

Prayers for the eleventh and twelfth of the month.

Frag. 10-11 ¹[When the sun rises] to shed light upon the ear[th, they shall give praise. They shall respond . . .] ²[. . .] with the flags of light. Now, today [. . .] ³[. . . the rule of the light of] day. Nine [. . .]

⁴[On the tw]elfth of the month in the evening, [they shall offer praise . . .] ⁷[. . .] We, the people of His holiness, exalt this evening [. . .] ⁸[. . .] and witnesses are among us in the daytime's service [. . .]

Prayers for the fourteenth and fifteenth of the month. Note the pun on "Passover" in l.5.

Frag. 1-3 ¹When [the sun] rises [out of] the firmament of heav[e]n, they shall offer praise. They shall re[sp]ond,) ²["Blessed is the God of Israel, who has . . .] This day [You] have renewed [. . .] ³in four[teen gates of light . . .] for us the dominion [of light . . .] ⁴ten fla[gs of . . .] the heat of the [sun . . .] ⁵when the sun passes over [. . . by the mig]ht of [Your] powerful hand [. . . Peace be upon you,] ⁶"O Israel."

On the fift[eenth of the month, in the ev]ening, they shall offer praise. They shall say, "Blessed is the Go[d of Israel,] ⁷who conceals [. . .] before Him in every division of His glory. [This] evening, [. . .] ⁸[. . .] eternally, and to praise Him. Our redemption is at the beginni[ng of . . .] ⁹[. . .] the cycles of the light-giving orbs. [. . .] Today, the fourte[enth] ¹⁰[day of the

¹These fragments are misplaced in Baillet's *DJD* 7 treatment. Following the suggestion of Baumgarten (who, however, referred only to frags. 2-3), I have reassigned them to the fourteenth and fifteenth days of the month.

²Although the day was the fifteenth day of the month by lunar reckoning, it was still the fourteenth day by the reckoning of the solar calendar. The solar calendar was evidently predominant.

month, we have celebrated the rule of] the light of day. Pe[ace] be [upon] you, O Israel.”

¹²[When the sun rises] to shed light upon the earth, they shall give praise. They shall respo[nd] ¹³[“. . . fifte]nth day, for joyous pilgrimages and glor[ious] festivals. ¹⁴[. . . in f]ifteen gate[s of light . . .] ¹⁵[. . .] by the portions of the evening [. . .] **Frgs. 29–32** 'and may the peace [of God be upon you, O Israel.]”

Prayers for the sixteenth and seventeenth of the month.

²On the six[teenth of the month, in the evening, they shall offer praise. They shall say, “Blessed is the God of Israel who] ³has sanctified for Himself [. . .]

⁷[When the sun rises to shed light up]on [the ea]rth, they shall give praise. [They shall respond, “Blessed is the God of Israel] “[who . . .] light.” They shall rejoice in [. . . “We] ⁹[praise Your name, O God of the heavenly ligh[t]s, for You have renewed [. . . six-] ¹⁰[teen] gates of light, and with [u]s in the joyous praise of Your glory, in the [. . .] ¹¹[fl]ags of night. May the peace of God be [up]on you, O Israel, at the ris[ing of the sun.]”

¹²[On the se]venteenth of the mon[th, in the] evening, they shall offer praise. They shall say, [“Blessed is the God of Israel, who] ¹³[. . .] to [pr]aise the [Go]d of [. . .] ¹⁴⁻¹⁶[. . .]

¹⁷[When the sun rises to shed light upon the earth, they shall give praise. They shall respond, “Blessed is the God of Israel, who] ¹⁸[. . .] You have made [us gl]ad [. . .] ¹⁹[. . .] flags of night. [. . .] ²⁰[. . .] Tod[ay] we [. . .] ²¹[. . . May the peace of God be upon you, O Is]rael, for ever[lasting].”

—M.O.W.

105. THE WORDS OF THE HEAVENLY LIGHTS

4Q504–506

This collection of prayers is one of the few Dead Sea Scrolls whose ancient title is known, for it was inscribed on the outside of the scroll. But while we may know the ancient title, understanding it is another matter. Nothing in this writing clearly relates to celestial bodies or their imagined praise of God. The most plausible explanation is M. Baillet's suggestion that the title is a metaphor, referring to the priests—those through whom the “light of God” was made manifest—as luminaries.

A few preserved headings show that this collection of prayers was arranged by the days of the week, one or two being recited each day. In addition, several marginal notations can be made out; these notations are written in one of the secret

scripts known from the scrolls, Cryptic Script A. The notations apparently give directions for using the prayers in public worship. One such notation, an “m,” may have been an abbreviation whose placement cued the participation of the *Maskil* (the Hebrew word used in some of the scrolls to mean “Instructor”). Alternatively, the “m” may have been an abbreviation for the Hebrew word *mizmor*, a technical term that also appears in the headings of many biblical psalms. We do not know precisely what this term meant, but it probably had something to do with musical accompaniment.

A prayer of forgiveness.

4Q504 Col. 2 ⁷Please, Lord, act as is Your character, by the measure of Your great power. Fo[r] You [for]gave ⁸our fathers when they rebelled against Your command, though You were so angry at them that You might have destroyed them. Still, You had pity ⁹on them because of Your love, and because of Your covenant (indeed, Moses had atoned ¹⁰for their sin), and also so that Your great power and abundant compassion might be known ¹¹to generations to come, forever.

May Your anger and fury at all [their] sin[s] turn back from Your people Israel. Remember ¹²the wonders that You performed while the nations looked on—surely we have been called by Your name. ¹³[These things were done] that we might [repe]nt with all our heart and all our soul, to plant Your law in our hearts ¹⁴[that we turn not from it, straying] either to the right or the left. Surely You will heal us from such madness, blindness, and confusion. ¹⁵[. . . Behold,] we were sold [as the price] of our [in]iquity, yet despite our rebellion You have called us. ¹⁶[. . .] Deliver us from sinning against You, ¹⁷[. . .] give us to understand the seasons ¹⁸[of Your compassion . . .]

A prayer celebrating God's choice of Israel.

Col. 3 ²[. . .] Behold, ³all the nations are [as not]hing compared to You; [they] are counted [as] naught, as a mere specter in Your presence. ⁴In Your name alone have we boasted, for we were created for Your glory. You have adopted ⁵us in the sight of all the nations; indeed, You have called ⁶[I]srael “My son, My firstborn” (Exod. 4:22), and You have chastened us as a man chastens ⁷his child.

You have raised us through the years of our generations, ⁸[disciplining us] with terrible disease, famine, thirst, even plague and the sword— ⁹[every reproa]ch of Your covenant. For You have chosen us as Your own, ¹⁰[as Your people from all] the earth. That is why You have poured out Your fury upon us, ¹¹[Your ze]al, the full wrath of Your anger. That is why You have caused [the scourge] ¹²[of Your plagues] to cleave to us, that of which Moses and Your servants ¹³the prophets wrote: You [wou]ld send evil ag[ain]st us in the Last ¹⁴Days [. . .]

A prayer celebrating the glorious future of Israel and Jerusalem.

Col. 4 ²Your tabernacle [. . .] a place of rest ³in Jerusa[lem, the city that You ch]ose out of all the earth, ⁴that Your [name] should dwell there forever. Surely You love ⁵Israel more than all the other peoples; more narrowly, You chose the tribe of ⁶Judah. You have established Your covenant with David, making him ⁷a princely shepherd over Your people, that he sit before You upon the throne of Israel ⁸eternally.

Having seen Your glory— ⁹inasmuch as You have displayed Your majesty in the midst of Your people Israel, for the sake of Your great ¹⁰name—all the nations shall bring their offerings: silver, gold, and gems, ¹¹even every precious thing of their lands, whereby to glorify Your people and ¹²Zion, Your holy city, as well as Your glorious temple. No adversary shall come forward, ¹³nor evil happenstance occur. No, rather peace and blessing [. . . Israel] ¹⁴shall eat until satisfied, shall even grow fat [. . .]

A prayer celebrating God's faithfulness.

Col. 5 ¹[. . . They abandoned] ²the fount of living water [. . .] ³and served a foreign god in their land. Further, their land ⁴became a wasteland thanks to their enemies. For Your wrath was [pou]red out ⁵and Your burning anger was a zealous flame, leaving the land desolate, ⁶so that no one went to and fro.

Nevertheless, You did not reject ⁷the seed of Jacob nor spew Israel out, ⁸making an end of them and voiding Your covenant with them. Surely You ⁹alone are the living God; beside You is none other. You have remembered Your covenant ¹⁰whereby You brought us forth from Egypt while the nations looked on. You have not abandoned us ¹¹among the nations; rather, You have shown covenant mercies to Your people Israel in all ¹²[the] lands to which You have exiled them. You have again placed it ¹³on their hearts to return to You, to obey Your voice ¹⁴[according] to all that You have commanded through Your servant Moses. ¹⁵[In]deed, You have poured out Your holy spirit upon us, ¹⁶[br]inging Your blessings to us. You have caused us to seek You in our time of tribulation, ¹⁷[that we might po]ur out a prayer when Your chastening was upon us. We have entered into tribulation, ¹⁸[cha]stisement and trials because of the wrath of the oppressor.

Surely we ourselves ¹⁹[have tr]ied God by our iniquities, wearying the Rock through [our] si[ns]. ²⁰[Yet] You have [not] compelled us to serve You, to take a [pa]th more profitable ²¹[than that] in which [we have walked, though] we have not harkened t[o Your commandments].

A prayer for forgiveness and help. Judging by its relation in the scroll to what follows, this prayer was recited on Friday, the traditional day for confessing sins.

Col. 6 ²[. . . You have hurl]ed all ou[r] transgressions fro[m] us, and pu[ri]fied us ³from our sins for Your own sake. Justice is Yours alone, O Lord, for ⁴it is You who has done all these things. And now, on this day, ⁵with humble heart we seek atonement for our iniquities and the iniquity of ⁶our fathers, for our rebellion and continued hostility to You.

Yet we have not refused ⁷Your trials, nor has our spirit loathed Your chastisement, so as to break ⁸our covenant with You, despite all our distress of soul when You sent our enemies against us. Surely it is You ⁹who have given us strength of heart, to the end that we recount Your mighty deeds for all the generations of ¹⁰eternity.

Please, O Lord, just as You work wonders from everlasting to ¹¹everlasting, let Your anger, and especially Your fury, turn back from upon us. Look upon [our] aff[li]ction], ¹²toil, and oppression, and rescue Your people Isr[ael] from all] ¹³the lands, near and far, to wh[ic]h You have banished them—] ¹⁴each one who is written in the Book of Life. [. . .] ¹⁵to serve You and praise [Your holy name . . . Rescue them] ¹⁶from all those who are hostile toward them [. . .] **Col. 7** ²Who has rescued us from every distress. Amen! [Amen!]

The title preserved indicates that these are prayers for the Sabbath, traditionally a day to praise God. "Holy Ones" is here, as often in the scrolls, a synonym for angels. Abaddon is essentially hell.

¹Praises for the Sabbath day. Give thanks to [the Lord, bless] ³His holy name forever with a [holy] so[ng. Praise Him,] ⁴all the angels of the holy firmament, and [all the Holy Ones above] ⁷the heavens, the earth and all its handiwork; [. . . the great] ⁸Abyss, Abaddon, the waters and all that is in [them. Let] ⁹all His creatures [bless Him] continuously, forever and [ever. Amen! Amen!]

¹⁰[Bless] His holy name, sing joyously to the awe[some] God [. . .]

A prayer of praise and confession.

***Frag. 4** ³[. . . the] earth and the work of all the [. . . have] You [given to him,] ⁴[together with the j]oy of [his] hear[t. Sure]ly You are the God of knowledge, [and] every though[t of our hearts] ⁵lies open be[fore Y]ou. We know these things because You have graciously granted us [Your] h[oly] spirit.

[Take pity on us,] ⁶and [rem]ember not to hold against us the iniquities of our forbears with all their wick[ed] deeds, [those] ⁷who were stiff-necked. Redeem us, and [please] forgive our iniquities and si[ns]. ⁸[. . .] the Law that [You] commanded through Mos[es] Your servant . . .]

A prayer extolling God's special care of Israel.

Frag. 6 ¹[. . . Re]member, please, that all of us are Your people. You have “borne us miracu[lous]ly ⁷[on] eagles’ [wings] and brought us to Yourself” (Exod. 19:4). “As an eagle stirs up its nest, [and] ⁸hovers [over its young;] as it spreads its wings, takes them up and bears them aloft on its [pinions]” (Deut. 32:11).] ⁹[so we] dwell apart and are not reckoned among the nations. [. . .] ¹⁰[O Lord,] it is You who is in our midst in a pillar of fire, who [appears to us] as a cloud; ¹¹Your [hol]iness goes before us, Your glory [dwells] among [us].

A prayer recalling God's dealings with the father of all humanity, Adam.

Frag. 8 ¹[. . . Re]member, O L[o]r[d,] that [. . .] ²[. . .] and it is You who lives for[ever . . .] ³[. . . You have done] wonders of old, and awesome deeds [long ago]. ⁴You fashioned [Adam,] our [fa]ther, in the image of [Your] glory; You breathed ⁵[the breath of life] into his nostrils, [and filled him] with understanding and knowledge. ⁶[Y]ou set him to rule [over the gar]den of Eden that You had planted. ⁷[. . .] and to walk about in a glorious land [. . .] ⁸[. . .] he guarded it. You enjoined him not to turn as[ide from Your] commands. . . .]

—M.O.W.

106. THE SONGS OF THE SAGE FOR PROTECTION AGAINST EVIL SPIRITS

4Q510–511

According to *Jubilees* 10:1–14, in the days following the Flood powerful spirits began to trouble Noah's children. Noah prayed to God and received assurance that these spirits would be bound and held for judgment. But then Mastemah, the chief of the evil spirits, complained that he would be unable to carry out his task of corrupting humanity, so God compromised and allowed him to keep one-tenth of the spirits. *The Songs of the Sage* contains incantations to help protect the faithful against the power of these spirits. This writing bears comparison with *An Exorcism* (text 122) and the *Songs to Disperse Demons* (text 129). Unlike those works, however, it is almost certainly sectarian, for it uses the technical term “Instructor,” the name of one of the officials of the *Yahad*.

God's dominion over all is established (ll. 1–4a) and he is called upon by the Instructor to terrify (ll. 4b–9) the demons who were leading men astray.

4Q510 Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] praises.

Ble[ssings to the K]ing of Glory. Words of thanksgiving in psalms of [. . .] ²[. . .] to the God of knowledge, splendor of s[treng]th, the God of gods,

Lord of all the holy ones. [His] domini[on] ³is over all the mighty strong ones, and by the power of His streng[th] all will be dismayed and scattered, running hurriedly from the majesty of the dwe[lling] ⁴of His royal glory.

And I, the Instructor, proclaim His glorious splendor so as to frighten and to te[rrify] ⁵all the spirits of the destroying angels, spirits of the bastards, demons, Lilith, howlers, and [desert dwellers . . .] ⁶and those which fall upon men without warning to lead them astray from a spirit of understanding and to make their heart and their [. . .] desolate during the present dominion of ⁷wickedness and predetermined time of humiliations for the sons of lig[ht], by the guilt of the ages of [those] smitten by iniquity—not for eternal destruction, ⁸[bu]t for an era of humiliation for transgression. [. . .]

Sing for joy, O righteous ones, for the God of Wonder. ⁹My psalms are for the upright. And [. . . let] all those who are blameless exalt Him!

4Q511 Frag. 10 ¹⁰With the lyre of salvation ¹¹they [shall ope]n their mouths for God's compassion. They shall seek His manna.

Save me, O Go[d], ¹²[He who preserves loving-kindne]ss in truth for all His works and judges in righteous[ness] those who exist forever ¹³[unt]il eternity. He judges in the council of gods and men. ¹⁴In the height of heaven is His rebuke, and in all the foundations of the earth, the judgments of the LORD [. . .]

Thanks to God for freedom from demonic activity.

4Q511 Frag. 1 ¹[. . . their d]ominions ²[. . .] and al[. . . on the e]arth and with all ³the spirits of its domain, [let them] continually b[less] Him in their times, ⁴the seas and every creature. Let them proclaim [. . .] the splendor of ⁵it all. Let them rejoice before the righteous God, with sho[uts of joy for] salvation ⁶for the[re is no] destroyer within their borders ⁷nor do wicked spirits walk among them. For the glory of the God of knowledge has shone forth ⁸through His words, and none of the sons of injustice shall be sustained.

To protect his own, God promised Jacob an inheritance, ordered the camps of Israel in the wilderness, established festivals, and gave dominion to the Yahad.

Frag. 2 Col. 1 ¹For the Instructor: [. . .] song [. . . Praise the name of] ²His holiness. Let all who know [righteousness] exalt Him. ³And He put a stop to the head of the dominions without [. . .] ⁴eternal [joy] and life everlasting, making the light shine [. . .] ⁵His lot is the first fruits in Jacob, the inheritance of God [. . .] Israe[. . .] ⁶[those who kee]p the way of God and His [h]oly highw[ay] for the saints of His people. By the discerning knowledge of ⁷[Go]d, he placed Israel [in t]welve camps [. . .] for Himself ⁸[. . .] the lot of God with the ange[ls of] His glorious lights. In His name the praises of ⁹their [. . .] He established as the festivals of the year, [and the d]ominion of the *Yahad*, to walk [in] the lot ¹⁰[of God] according to [His]

glory [and] to serve Him in the lot of the people of His throne. For the God of [. . .]

The second song of incantation.

Frag. 8 ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] they shall rejoice in God [. . .] ³[. . .]

⁴[For the Instructor:] the second [so]ng so as to frighten those who terrify [. . .] ⁵[. . .] his straying through humiliations but not for [eternal] destructi[on . . .] ⁶[. . .] God in the secret of the Almighty (*Shaddai*) [. . .]

The Instructor acknowledges that God has given him understanding.

Frag. 18 ¹⁻²[. . .] ³[. . .] in His [s]trength ⁴[. . .].

⁵[Is there any foolishness] in my words? There is none. Or [in] the utterance of my lips? There is no worthlessness ⁶[. . .] and the spirit of my understanding and [. . .] work of wickedness, for ⁷G[o]d is concerned with me. And I have hated all the works of impurity, for ⁸God has shined the knowledge of understanding in my heart. Righteous instructors ⁹correct my sins, and faithful judges correct all my guilty transgressions. For God is my judge and in the hand of a stranger [He shall] not [. . .]

The Instructor acknowledges that he is but a humble mortal.

Frag. 28–9 ¹[. . .] ²[. . .] they [shall] rejoice in God with joy. And a[s for me, I shall thank Yo]u that, for the sake of Your glory, ³You [pl]aced knowledge in my frame of dust in order to that I might p[raise You]. And I was formed of spittle (?). ⁴I was molded [of clay] and [my] format[i]on was in darkness [. . .] and injustice is in the filth of my flesh ⁵[. . .]

The Instructor speaks of God's infinite power.

Frag. 30 ¹You sealed [. . .] and [. . .] ²and they are deep [. . . the] heavens and the deeps and the dar[k places of the earth . . .] ³You, my God, have sealed all of them forever, and there is none to open. And to who[m . . .] ⁴“Shall the abundant waters be measured by the hollow of a man's hand? [Shall the heavens be measured] by a span? [Who with a measure] ⁵can calculate the dust of the earth or weigh the mountains in a balance or the hills with scale[s?]” (Isa. 40:12, modified). . . .] ⁶Man did not make these things. [How then] can a man measure the spirit [of God]?

God will judge wickedness and preserve his righteous people.

Frag. 35 [. . .] ¹G[o]d with all flesh, and a judgment of vengeance to wipe out wickedness and by the fierce ²anger of God among those who have been refined sevenfold. But God will consecrate some of the holy ones ³for Himself as an eternal sanctuary; a refining among those who are purified.

And they shall be ⁴priests, His righteous people, His army, and ministers, His glorious angels. ⁵They shall praise Him for His awe-inspiring wonders.

⁶And I am pouring out the fear of God to the ends of my generations, to exalt the Name [. . . to frighten] ⁷by His strength al[l] the spirits of the bastards, to subdue them by [His] fear [. . .]

The Instructor acknowledges that God has given him knowledge of his purpose.

Col. 2 (Frag. 48–49, 51) ¹in the council of God, for [. . .] His knowledge he put [in my] hear[t . . .] ²the praises of His righteousness, and [. . .] and by His mouth he frightens [all the spirits] ³of the bastards to subdue [. . .] uncleanness. For in the filth of ⁴my flesh is the foundation of [. . . and in] my body are conflicts. The statutes of ⁵God are in my heart, and I prof[it] from all the wonders of man. The works of ⁶guilt I condemn [. . .]

God is gracious and righteous in his judgment.

Col. 3 (Frag. 52, 54–55, 57–59) ¹[. . .] their [. . .] And You, my God, [are a merciful and gracious God,] slow to anger, abounding in steadfast love, the foundation of tr[uth . . .] ²[. . .] for Adam and for [his] son[s . . .] the [s]ource of purity, the reservoirs of glory, great in righteousn[ess . . .]

The Instructor proclaims the wonders of God.

Col. 2 (Frag. 63 Col. 2 + Frag. 64) ²[. . .] I will bless Your name. And in my appointed times I shall relate ³Your wonders. I shall engrave them, the statutes of thanksgiving for Your glory. The beginning of every purpose of the heart ⁴is knowledge and the beginning of every blessed utterance is righteous lips and in being prepared for every true service.

The song of the tongue set free.

Col. 3 (Frag. 63 Col. 3) ¹And as for me, my tongue shall sing out Your righteousness, for You set it free. You placed on my lips a fountain ²of praise and on my heart the secret of the origin of all the works of man, and the fulfillment of the deeds ³of the blameless, the judgments for all the toil of their works, in order to justify ⁴the righteous one in Your truth and to condemn the wicked one in his guilt, to proclaim peace ⁵to all the men of the covenant and to e[xal]t with a terrifying voice, "Woe to all who break it!"

The Instructors' concluding praise.

Col. 4 (Frag. 63 Col. 4) ¹Let them bless all Your works ²continually, and blessed be Your name ³for ever and ever. Amen, amen.

—M.G.A.

107. A PURIFICATION RITUAL

4Q512

This liturgical writing incorporating purity laws is related to *Ritual Purity Laws Concerning Menstruation* (text 49) and *Laws for Purification* (text 52). A *Purification Ritual* contains readings for the ritual that accompanied the cleansing. For a discussion of the importance of purity laws for Second-Temple Jews, see the introduction to *Ordinances* (text 17).

A *Purification Ritual* is inscribed on the reverse side of the fragments of *Daily Prayers* (text 104). This observation suggests that this scroll was a private copy, as opisthographs—two-sided scrolls—did not circulate in the normal book market. The combination of these two texts produces a practical handbook.

A fragment that mentions the cryptic “secret of men.” The Damascus Document (text 1, 14:10) stipulates that the Overseer of the camps was to be an expert in the details of this “secret.”

Col. 3 (Frgs. 36–38) ¹¹[. . .] his clothes and [. . .] ¹²[. . .] all tongues [. . .] ¹³[. . .] for You, the secret of me[n . . .] ¹⁴[. . .] ^{15–16}[. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] Your [. . .] from every impurity [of] our flesh [. . .]

The four feasts of the year, mentioned only here among the scrolls (1. 2), may be celebrations at the beginning of the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months, the demarcations of the solar calendar’s seasons.

Col. 4 (Frgs. 33, 35) ¹[. . .] and for the feast of the Sabbath, on the Sabbaths of all the weeks of ²[. . . and the] fea[st of . . . and] the four feasts of ³[. . . and] the feast of the harvest, that is, of summer, and the be[ginning of] the first [m]onth ⁴[. . .]

⁵[. . .] in water [. . .] to consecrate oneself ⁶[. . .] he shall [bless] and shall say [in response,] “Blessed are You, ⁷[O God of Israel . . .] to have compassion [on us . . .] Your [. . .] ⁸[. . .] and I [. . .] ⁹[. . .] in impuri[ty . . .] ¹⁰[. . .] purity [. . .]”

The burnt offering for the atonement of sin.

Col. 7 (Frgs. 29–32) ¹[. . .] “Blessed are Y[ou, O God of Israel . . .] ²[. . .] holy people [. . .] ³[. . .] error [. . .] ⁴[. . . in] water and [. . .]” ⁵[. . .] and he shall bless [the God of Israel] there [and say in response, “Blessed are You, O] ⁶[God of Israel. I am standing] before You at the appointed ti[me . . .] ⁷[. . .] You [. . .] me for the purification of [. . .]”

"[. . .] and his burnt offering. And he shall bless and say in respon[se,]
 "Blessed are You, [O God of Israel, who] ⁹[has delivered me from all] my
 transgressions, cleansed me from filthy shame and atoned for me that I might
 enter [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] purity and the blood of the burnt offering that You de-
 sire, a soothi[ng] memorial [. . .] ¹¹[. . .] Your holy and soothing incense,
 Your desire [. . .] ¹²⁻¹⁸[. . .] my sin [. . .] ¹⁹[. . .] righteousness and [. . .]
²⁰[. . .] You shall leave unpunished until [the] judgment [of . . .]s[rael whi[ch]
 . . . "] ²¹[. . . "Blessed are] You, O God of Is[rael . . .] for atonement [. . . "]

The seven days of purification.

Col. 10 Frag. 11 ¹[. . .] ²[and when] he [has completed] the seven days
 of [his] puri[fication . . .] ³[. . . then] he shall wash his clothes in w[ater and
 bathe his body . . .] ⁴and he shall cover his nakedness with his clothes and
 kneel up[on his knees . . .] And he shall say in response, "Blessed are You,
⁵O God of Isr[ae]l [. . .]

A man with a seminal discharge is cleansed and renewed to fellowship.

Col. 11 (Frag. 7-9) ¹all [these] th[ings . . .] ²when he is cleansed from
 [his] f[low . . .]cleansing of Isr[ael,] ³to eat and to d[rink . . . in their] inhab-
 ited [ci]ties, ⁴to be a [holy] people [. . .]

Liturgical response for the washing of the third day (Num. 19:12, 19).

Col. 12 (Frag. 1-6) ¹On the third day [. . .] And he shall ble[ss] and sa[y]
 in response, ["Blessed are] ²[Yo]u, O God of Israel, [Who commanded the
 tempora]rily (?) [unclean] to cleanse themselves from [the impurity of]
³[. . .] soul in the atonem[ent . . .] holy ash [. . .] ⁴[. . .] in purify[ing] wa-
 ters [. . .] on the eternal tablets ⁵and waters for bathing for the temporary
 cleansing [. . . "] his clothes. And then [they (?) shall sprinkle over him] ⁶the
 waters for sprinkling so as to cleanse him and all [. . .] ⁷And aft[er] he has
 been [s]prinkled with water[s of sprinkling, he shall say in response, "Blessed
 are You,] ⁸O Go[d of Isr[ae]l, for You gave [us . . .] ⁹and from the filth of un-
 cleanness. And today [. . .] ¹⁰impurity, to consecrate oneself for You and
 [. . .]tern[al], for ¹¹[. . .] impurity. And no one shall be abl[e . . .] the
 [d]ays of Your glory ¹²and the co[venant (?)] the first and [. . .] their guilt
 and upon [. . .] ¹³all [. . .] and You consecrated him [in the] ¹⁴atoneme[nt
 which] You desire [. . .] and You abhorred them for [. . .] ¹⁵[. . .] their
 works and [. . .] ¹⁶[. . .] with the disease of impurity so as be separated
 [from] ¹⁷[. . .] banished [. . . "]

Praise for the distinction between the clean and the unclean (Lev. 20:25).

Col. 14 (?) (Frag. 40-41) ¹[. . .] that [which] is unclean. ²[And] when a
 [ma]n or a woman approaches, [. . .] Then he shall ble[ss] and say in response,

³["B]lessed are You, O God of Isr[ael] . . . and has made a di]stinction for us between ⁴the unclean and the clean [. . . to ser]ve You ⁵[with] a righteous cleansing [. . .] and Your ⁶[goo]d will [. . .]"

God is praised for commands that allow for the cleansing of all things.

Frgs. 42–44 Col. 2 ²And then he shall enter [. . . And he shall bless and] say ³[in response,] "Blessed are [Y]ou, [O God of I]s[rael, who . . . According to] ⁴Your command the cleansing of all [things] is defined [. . .] ⁵they shall not be cleansed in the water of washing. And [to]d[a]y I [. . .] ⁶[. . .] the palm[s . . .]"

Cleansing is completed when the sun sets.

Frgs. 48–50 ¹[. . . Then he shall bless] ²and [say] in response, ["Blessed are You, O God of Israel . . .] ³a hol[y] people [. . .] ⁴And who is the [. . .]" ⁵And after [the] sun [sets], the day [. . .] ⁶just as You [took] us for Yourself as a people [. . .]

God's command to separate from uncleanness is a key to understanding the Yahad's emphasis on ritual purity (Lev. 15:31).

Frag. 69 ²And You commanded us to separate ourselves from [unclean-ness lest we die . . .]

—M.G.A.

108. REDEMPTION AND RESURRECTION

4Q521

The Gospel of Matthew tells of an occasion on which John the Baptist sent word to Jesus, asking, "Are you the one who is coming, or are we to look for another?" Jesus is said to have answered, "Go and report to John what you hear and see: the blind have regained their sight, the lame walk, lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, and the poor have the good news preached to them" (Matt. 11:2–5).

This account of Jesus' response to the Baptist (see also Luke 7:22) parallels the Dead Sea Scrolls' *Redemption and Resurrection* in a remarkable way. Both the Gospels and this scroll presuppose that during the age of the messiah, the dead will be resurrected, either by God himself or through his messianic agent. Yet nowhere in the Old Testament do we read of this belief. This fact suggests that the Gospel writers may have known *Redemption and Resurrection*—or at least been familiar with the traditions it contains.

Precisely how the first two paragraphs of our work once related is no longer clear. Too much of the scroll has been lost. But if it is correct to read them as part of a continuous description of activity during the messianic era, then the figure before us is unique among the scrolls. Notably lacking are the characteristics of the royal messiah seen so clearly in *The War of the Messiah* (text 54, especially frag. 5) or the *Commentaries on Genesis* (text 44, see frag. 1, col. 5). It may be, as John Collins has suggested, that an anointed prophet of the Last Days is in view here. Elijah, for example, was an anointed prophet, and we know from many sources of the time of the scrolls that some Jews expected him to return. *An Apocryphon of Elijah* (text 80) is another text that incorporates this notion.

Frag. 2 + Frag. 4 Col. 2 ¹[. . . For the hea]vens and the earth shall listen to His Messiah ²[and all w]hich is in them shall not turn away from the commandments of the holy ones. ³Strengthen yourselves, O you who seek the Lord, in His service.

⁴Will you not find the Lord in this, all those who hope in their heart? ⁵For the Lord seeks the pious and calls the righteous by name. ⁶Over the humble His spirit hovers, and He renews the faithful in His strength. ⁷For He will honor the pious upon the th[ro]ne of His eternal kingdom, ⁸setting prisoners free, opening the eyes of the blind, raising up those who are bo[w]ed down]. ⁹And for [ev]er (?) I (?) shall hold fast [to] the [ho]peful and pious [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] shall not be delayed [. . .] ¹¹and the Lord shall do glorious things which have not been done, just as He said. ¹²For He shall heal the critically wounded, He shall revive the dead, He shall send good news to the afflicted, ¹³He shall [. . . the . . .], He shall lead the [. . .], and the hungry He shall enrich (?). ¹⁴[. . .] and [. . .]

The theme of a final judgment is clear in this fragment. A review of God's creative power is given in ll. 1–3. The second paragraph (ll. 4–6) capitalizes on the biblical picture of curses and blessings (Deut. 27–28)—the cursed are destined to die whereas the blessed are to be resurrected (Deut. 30:19; Matt. 22:30–32; 1 Cor. 15:12ff.; Rev. 20:4–6).

Frag. 7 + Frag. 5 Col. 2 ¹[. . .] see all t[hat the Lord has made,] ²[the eart]h and all that is on it, the seas [and all] ³[that is in them] and every reservoir of water and the streams.

⁴[. . .] those who do good before the Lor[d] ⁵[shall bless . . . and no]t as these who curse. They shall b[e] destined to die, [when] ⁶“the One who re-
vives [rai]ses the dead of His people.

⁷Then we shall [giv]e thanks and relate to you the righ[teous acts] of the Lord that [. . .] ⁸thos[e destined to die]. And He shall open [graves . . .] ⁹and [. . .] ¹⁰and [. . .] ¹¹so commit (?) [your] w[orks . . .] ¹²and a bridge of [. . .] ¹³the accursed shall be little esteemed (?) [. . .] ¹⁴and the heavens shall meet [. . .] ¹⁵[and a]ll the angels [. . .]

The term "messiah" is used in this fragment in the plural (l. 9) in probable reference to the priests as tabernacle utensils are mentioned (l. 8).

Frag. 8 ¹[. . .] a wall be[twe]en ²-[. . .] ⁵[. . .] they shall shine out
⁶[. . .] Adam ⁷[. . .] Jacob ⁸[. . .] and all His holy vessels ⁹[. . .] and all its
 anointed ones ¹⁰[. . .] and [t]he[y] spo[ke] the word of the Lord, and [. . .]
¹¹[. . .] the Lord ¹²[. . .] the eyes of

—M.G.A.

109. A TALE OF JOSHUA

4Q522

The legible fragments of the present work concern strikingly different subjects. The first fragment comprises a simple list of geographical names, while the second praises God's choice of Mount Zion for the building of the Temple. The thread that seems to bind the two parts together is that God has specially blessed the land of Israel as a whole, and Jerusalem in particular. The list of city names, as a genre, has something in common with the description of the apportionment of the Holy Land in Joshua 13–21. Some of the cities are unknown, while others are mentioned in the Bible.

From the narrator's perspective, Jerusalem is still in the hands of the Amorites. This, plus the similarity of the first column to the geographical lists of Joshua, make it likely that the scroll originally contained a hitherto unknown narrative about Joshua and his times.

A list of cities in Canaan and the tribes to which they are assigned.

Frag. 1 Col. 1 ¹[. . .] and En-qober, and Beth- ²[. . .] Biqah and Beth-Zippor and ³[. . .] the whole valley of Mazo and ⁴[. . .] Ekalyzad, Jaaphor, and ⁵[. . .] and Mano, and En-kobed ⁶[. . .] Garim, Haditha, and Oshel ⁷[. . .] Ek]ron (Josh. 13:3) of ⁸[. . .] and Ashkelon (Josh. 13:3) ⁹[. . .] Ga]lilee and two [. . .] the Sharon valley (Isa. 33:9) ¹⁰[. . .] Judah: Beer-Sheba (Josh. 15:28), Baaloth (Josh. 15:24) ¹¹[. . .] Keilah (Josh. 15:44), Adullam (Josh. 15:35) and ¹²[. . .] Gezer (Josh. 21:21), Timni (Josh. 15:57), Gimzon (2 Chron. 28:18), and ¹³[. . .] Heker, and Kitron (Judg. 1:30), and Ephronaim, and Sekut (1 Sam. 19:22) ¹⁴[. . .] Upper and Lower Beth-Horon (1 Chron. 7:24), and ¹⁵[. . .] Upper and Lower Giloh (Josh. 15:51) ¹⁶[. . .]

God reveals the time when the Temple will be built.

Col. 2 ²He will not [abandon Zion], to make His name dwell there, the Tent of Meeting . . . [to the end] ³of time, for, look, a son is born to Jesse son of Peretz son of Ju[dah . . . he will choose] ⁴the rock of Zion and drive out

from there all the Amorites from Jeru[salem . . .]⁵to build the temple for the Lord, God of Israel, gold and silver [. . .]⁶cedar and pine shall he bring from Lebanon to build it; and his younger son [shall build the temple . . . and Zadok]⁷shall serve as priest there first [. . .]⁸[. . .] from heaven [. . .] the Lord's beloved will dwell there securely [. . . for a long]⁹time and his people will dwell forever. But now, the Amorite is there, and the Canaanite [and the Jebusite and all the]¹⁰inhabitants who have committed sin, whom I have not sought [. . .]¹¹from you. As for the Shilonites, I have made them servants [. . .]

—E.M.C.

110. THE BLESSINGS OF THE WISE

4Q525

“**B**lessed is the man who attains wisdom, and walks in the law of the Most High.” With these words and others like them, *The Blessings of the Wise* could almost come right out of the pages of the New Testament—so great is the occasional similarity of form and ideas to those of the famous Beatitudes of Matthew 5:3–10. Striking similarities aside, *Blessings* is another example of wisdom literature comparable to *The Book of Secrets* (text 10) and *The Secret of the Way Things Are* (text 88). In keeping with wisdom literature as a whole, the author contrasts the nature and behavior of the righteous person with those of the wicked; the recommended course of behavior becomes obvious. Just in case particularly thick-headed ancient readers did not see the obvious, near the end of the work our author hits them between the eyes with a graphic description of hell, replete with fire, brimstone, and venomous serpents (frag. 15).

The possible thematic statement “to know wisdom and discipline, to understand . . .” echoes Proverbs 1:1–6.

Frag. 1 ¹[. . . which he spok]e in the wisdom which God gave to him [. . .] ²[. . . to kno]w wisdom and disc[ipline,] to understand [. . .] ³[. . .] to increase [. . .]

This portion of the manuscript reveals distinct similarities to the beatitude form of Sirach 14:20–15:1 and Matthew 5:3–10. Although wisdom is clearly exalted here, it is important to note that the pronoun “it” finds its antecedent in the law as well (see ll. 3–4). Wisdom and law are viewed as inseparable.

Frag. 2 Col. 2 [Blessed is the one who . . .] ¹with a clean heart and does not slander with his tongue. Blessed are those who hold fast to its statutes and do not hold fast ²to the ways of injustice. Ble[ssed] are those who rejoice in it,

and do not burst forth on paths of folly. Blessed are those who seek it ³with pure hands, and do not search for it with a deceitful [hea]rt. Blessed is the man who attains wisdom, and walks ⁴in the law of the Most High: establishes his heart in its ways, restrains himself by its corrections, is continually satisfied with its punishments, ⁵does not forsake it in the face of [his] trials, at the time of distress he does not abandon it, does not forget it [in the day of] terror, ⁶and in the humility of his soul he does not abhor it. But he meditates on it continually, and in his trial he reflects [on the law, and with all] ⁷his being [he gains understanding] in it, [and he establishes it] before his eyes so as not to walk in the ways [of injustice, and . . .] ⁸[. . . and . . .] together, and perfects his heart by it, [and . . .] ⁹[and places a crown of . . . upon] his [hea]d, and with kings it shall se[at him, and . . .] ¹⁰[. . . and . . .] brothers shall [. . .] ¹¹[. . .]

¹²[And now my sons, listen to me and do n]ot turn aside [from the words of my mouth.]

The incomparable nature of wisdom/law.

Col. 3 ¹[nothing] ever compares with it [. . .] ²It cannot be obtained with gold o[r silver . . . or] ³with precious jewels [. . .] ⁴[They] are silent in [. . . of] their face [. . .] ⁵and purple flowers with [. . .] ⁶scarlet, with all the garments of [. . .] ⁷and with gold and pearls [. . .]

Those who walk in perfection turn aside injustice and do not reject wisdom's demands or the law's punishments.

Frag. 4 ¹[. . .] and at the time wh[ich . . .] ²[. . .] turned back, and [. . .] ³[. . .]

⁴[. . .] ⁵[. . .] do not seek it with a do[uble] heart [. . .] ⁶[. . .] with a deceitful heart and with [. . .] ⁷[. . . do not] forsake [the . . . of] your [inheritan]ce or your lot to foreigners. For wisdo[m . . .] ⁸[they] instruct in sweetness. [Those] who fear God keep its ways and walk in [. . .] ⁹its statutes and do not reject its chastisements. Those who understand speak [. . .] ¹⁰Those who walk in perfection turn aside injustice and do not reject its punishments [. . .] ¹¹they are laden. The shrewd recognize its ways and its depths [. . .] ¹²they gaze. Those who love God demonstrate a humble walk in it and [. . .]

A description of the unjust/unwise (see frags. 10, 13).

Frag. 7 Col. 2 ¹[. . .]and the one (soul?) who is jealous without [knowl- edge . . .] ²that he might not understand, from the spirit which [. . . that he might not] ³know, from the spirit which circumcises (?) [. . .] ⁴he has blessed. And the one who causes stumbling witho[ut knowledge . . . judgment is] ⁵sure. The one sends away without [knowledge . . .] ⁶pride and deceit [. . .]

An exhortation to be upright.

Frgs. 8–9 ¹[. . .] mourning and sorrow [. . .] ²[. . .]

³Pay attention to me, all you sons of [. . .] ⁴[. . .] meekness, uprightness and [. . .] ⁵and He shall surely love. But let Him not justify all flesh [. . .]

⁶[I]f you do well, He shall prosper you [. . .] you shall return [. . .] ⁷[. . .] all [. . .] knowledge [. . .]

The lot of the just/wise.

Frag. 12 ¹[. . .] abundance of peace [. . .] all the blessings of [. . .] ²[. . .] of majesty to a[ll] who hold fast to Me (or Him) [. . .] ³[. . .] perfect in all My (or His) paths. And [. . .] ⁴[. . . and] with all the spirit[s of . . .]

A description of the just/wise.

Frag. 14 Col. 2 ¹[. . .] your [. . .] in [. . .] ²upon a throne of injustice and upon the high places [. . .] ³[. . .] they will raise up your head [. . .] ⁴[. . .] because of your word and [. . .] ⁵in a[ll] majesty you shall desire [. . . he who] ⁶has drawn near your paths. You shall not be shaken [. . .] ⁷you shall be blessed. In the time of your reeling you shall find [. . .] ⁸the reproach of the enemy shall not bring you [. . .] ⁹together, both your enemies and your associates [. . .] ¹⁰your heart, and you take delight in [. . .] ¹¹for the width of your foot, and you shall tread upon the heights of your [. . .] ¹²your soul. He shall deliver you from every evil, and terror shall not bring you [. . . that which] ¹³He gives you to possess. He shall fill your days with good, and you shall [. . .] in an abundance of peace [. . .] ¹⁴you shall inherit honor. And when you are swept away to eternal rest, they shall inherit [. . .] ¹⁵and all those who know you shall walk together in your teaching. And [. . .] ¹⁶they shall be lost together. But they shall remember you in your ways, and you shall be [as . . .] ¹⁷[. . .]

An exhortation—most likely from the Instructor—to righteous humility.

¹⁸And now, O discerning one, listen to me, and devote your heart [. . .] ¹⁹speak knowledge to your innermost part and [. . .] meditate [. . .] ²⁰with righteous humility utter [your] words. Do [no]t give [. . . Do not] ²¹turn aside the words of your companion, lest he [gi]ve you [. . .] ²²answer in accordance to what you hear, as a merchant which brings out the [. . .] with him [. . . Do not] ²³utter a complaint before you hear their words [. . .] ²⁴exceedingly. First, hear their explanation, and then answer [. . .] ²⁵patiently bring them out. Answer correctly in the midst of princes and do not [. . .] ²⁶with your lips. Be very careful of causing offense with your tongue [. . .] ²⁷lest you be entrapped by your lips [and ens]nared together with [your . . .] ²⁸. . . [. . .] from me and [. . .]

A description of hell, the lot of unwise/unjust.

Frag. 15 ¹[. . .] darkness [. . .] store up poison (or poverty) and by num[ber . . .] ²[. . .] serpents with [. . . and he shall] go to it. You shall enter [. . .] ³[. . . shall] burn, and with an[guish] a serpent shall bring lords low (?) [. . .] ⁴[. . .] they shall take their stand. Eternal curses and the venom of serpents [. . .] ⁵[. . .] viper. And in it the flame[s of] death shall fly about, at its entrance [. . .] cry o[ut . . .] ⁶[. . . da]rkness, flaming brimstone is its footing, and its foundation is [. . .] ⁷[. . .] its [doors] are shameful reproaches and its locks are the restraints of perdition [. . .] ⁸[. . .] they shall not attain the paths of life. You shall en[ter . . .] ⁹[. . .] they shall spread out [. . .]

Divination by the examination of entrails (hepatoscopy) is condemned.

Frag. 22 ¹they held its entrails before G[od (?) . . .] ²I flee. And on the day designated [. . .] ³so as to go down to the depths of the pit and to [. . .] ⁴in the fiery furnace.

An exhortation to spurn unrighteousness.

For I am [. . .] ⁵God commanded men of cunning [. . .] ⁶on behalf of them, from the knowledge of wisdom [. . .] ⁷turn about, lest they meditate in [. . .] ⁸I have abhorred, and with scornful men [. . .] ⁹righteousness, and as a rock of st[umbling . . .] ¹⁰For Go[d] has denounced me [. . .]

The lot of those who attain the paths of wisdom.

Frag. 23 ¹[and tr]uly you utter word[s . . .] ²heart. Listen to Me and [My] wor[ds . . .] ³I established and they shall drink water [of the well . . .] ⁴My house is a house of [prayer . . .] ⁵My house. The one who dwells in [. . .] ⁶forever. And they shall go [. . .] ⁷those that gather it shall [. . .] ⁸he has burned. And all those who drin[k . . .] ⁹the well of the waters of the sp[ring . . .]

—M.G.A.

111. THE WORDS OF THE ARCHANGEL MICHAEL

4Q529

According to Daniel 12:1, the archangel Michael is the “protector of Israel,” and the *War Scroll* (text 8) speaks of “the glorious angel, the dominion of Michael in light eternal” (17:6). He plays a prominent role in the Jewish literature of this period, and for centuries thereafter as the chief of the angels; the New Testament refers to “Michael and his angels” (Rev. 12:7). For this reason he is often imagined as God’s chief messenger or revealer. (For other appearances of Michael in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see text 98).

The Words of the Archangel Michael is unique in portraying Michael as speaking to the other angels, not to a human being, and as receiving a vision from Gabriel. The genre of the text is uncertain, as is its sense. The key to the meaning is the restoration at the end of l. 9: in the city spoken of, will “evil be done” or “[nothing] evil be done”? If it is the former, then the city may be Babylon or even Rome (K. Beyer); but if the latter, then it may be Jerusalem (Eisenman and Wise). The similarity to text 109, *A Tale of Joshua*, and the nameless “man” who will come requiring “silver and gold,” makes one think more of Jerusalem and of David who will amass materials for the building of the Temple.

If this understanding is correct, then Michael may be telling the angels about seeing angelic troops permanently quartered on Mount Zion and asking for an explanation. Gabriel shows him that in the future a great city is to be built there for the worship of God.

¹The words of the book that Michael said to the angels [. . .] ²he said, I found there fiery troops [. . .] ³[. . .] nine mountains, two to the east, [to the west, to the north, and to the] south. There I saw the angel Gabriel [. . .] ⁵[. . .] he showed me a vision and said to me [. . .] “in my book of the Great One, Eternal Lord it is written [. . .] ⁷the children of Ham and the children of Shem, and behold, the Great One, Eternal Lord [. . .] “when tears flow freely [. . .] ⁹and, behold, a city is to be built to the name of the Great One, [Eternal Lord . . . and there nothing] ¹⁰evil shall be done before the Great One, [Eternal] Lord [. . .] ¹¹and the Great One, Eternal Lord, will call His creation to mind [. . .] ¹²mercy belongs to the Great One, Eternal Lord, and also [. . .] ¹³in the distant lands there will be a man [. . .] ¹⁴is he, and he will say to him, This one is [my holy mountain . . .] ¹⁵to me silver and gold [. . .]
—E.M.C.

112. THE BIRTH OF THE CHOSEN ONE

4Q534–536

That all things happen according to the divine plan is a characteristic theme of the Dead Sea Scrolls. If someone belonged to the Qumran sect, that was not simply good fortune, but the outcome of a divine decision, and the Qumran sect sometimes referred to itself as “the chosen of God” (e.g., text 4, *A Commentary on Habakkuk* 10:13; text 8, *War Scroll* 12:5). This text, however, speaks of a particular person as the “chosen one”—chosen, it is clear, to be a Revealer of God’s secrets to others. When the first part of the text was published, scholars surmised that the “chosen one” was the messiah; later, following a suggestion of J. A. Fitzmyer’s, scholars began to attribute the text to a lost *Book of Noah* and to understand “the chosen one” as Noah.

In fact, there is no very good reason to assign the text to a *Book of Noah*, although Noah's birth was taken to be miraculous (see text 2, *Tales of the Patriarchs*). With the full release of all the unpublished scrolls, it is clear that the initial impulse was correct: the "chosen one" is a messiah, if not *the* messiah. Particularly striking are the parallels to the scroll 4Q541, the latter part of *The Words of Levi* (text 34). There a prophecy is given of a mighty priest who will arise and "reveal hidden mysteries" and whose "teaching is like the will of God"—much like the "chosen one" of this text who "will reveal secrets like the Most High" (4Q536 l. 8) and whose "wisdom shall come to all peoples" (4Q534 col. 1, l. 8).

The coming priest of *The Words of Levi*, then, may well be "the chosen one" of this text, that is, the priestly messiah, who, with the "Leader of the Nation," the royal messiah, shall rule Israel in the Last Days. *The Birth of the Chosen One* relates some of the distinguishing physical characteristics of the priest, and describes the greatness and success of his ministry.

The "chosen one" may be recognized by certain telltale physical traits.

4Q534 Col. 1 [. . .] ¹on the hand, two [marks . . .] one mark. Red will be ²his hair, and moles will be on [. . .] ³and tiny marks on his thighs, and they will be different from each other.

The education of the "chosen one," and his future greatness.

He will know [. . .] ⁴in his youth, his words will be those [of a m]an who does not know anything until ⁵he knows the three books.

⁶Then he will be wise and will know ma[n]y things [. . .] vision to come to him on [his] knees, ⁷and through his father and his forefathers [long] life and old age shall be his, and prudence and wisdom, ⁸and he will know the secrets of men, and his wisdom shall come to all peoples, and he will know the secrets of living things. ⁹[A]ll their designs against him will fail, and the joy of all living things will be great ¹⁰[. . .] his purposes, because he is the chosen one of God. His birth and the spirit of his breath ¹¹[. . .] his purposes will last forever [. . .]

More on the circumstances of his birth. The details are obscure.

4Q435 ¹[. . .] is born and they are exalted together [. . .] ²[. . .] is born at night and comes out who[le . . .] ³[. . . at a] weight of three hundred and fi[fty] shekels . . . ⁴[. . . in the ni]ght he sleeps until half his days are done and [. . .] ⁵[. . .] in the daytime until two years are over [. . .] ⁶[. . .] shall be moved from him; and after [x] ye[ars . . .]

The sublimity of the chosen one's teaching.

4Q536 ¹[. . .] will be [. . .] ²[. . .] he will call to mind the holy angels [. . .] ³[. . .] the lig[hts] will be revealed to him ⁴[. . .] all of his teaching,

sp[endor . . .] ⁵[. . . wi]sdom of humanity and every wise man “[. . .] in mortality; and he will be great ⁷[. . .] humanity will be troubled “[. . .] he will reveal secrets like the Most High ⁹[. . .] and with the perception of the mysteries of ¹⁰[. . .]

—E.M.C.

113. THE VISION OF JACOB

4Q537

When the patriarch Jacob came of age to marry, his father, Isaac, sent him to his uncle, Laban, to get a wife. While en route, Jacob spent a night at a “certain place,” as Genesis 28:11 describes it. Falling asleep, he had a dream in which he saw a ladder reaching to heaven, with angels ascending and descending. He heard God speak to him, promising land, numberless descendants, and blessing. When he awoke, Jacob set up a stone and poured out a libation upon it, and named the place Bethel, meaning “House of God.”

The extrabiblical book *Jubilees* elaborates on this vision of Jacob. The author of *Jubilees* is concerned with explaining why Bethel—despite this promising beginning and its portentous name—was not the place God ultimately chose for his Temple. Indeed, *Jubilees* goes the Bible one better and portrays Jacob as having every intention of sanctifying Bethel as a cultic site. To forestall this intention, God appears to Jacob in a second vision—about which the Bible, of course, says nothing.

The portion of *Jubilees* that narrates the second vision is clearly related to the text before us. Indeed, at points there is a manifest verbal connection. But the present work is not simply an Aramaic version of this portion of *Jubilees*, for the story here is told in the first person, whereas in *Jubilees* an angel is telling Moses about the events. Furthermore, our author outdoes *Jubilees* in some of the details he provides.

Jacob receives some heavenly tablets in which he reads about the future and learns that no temple should be built at Bethel. The reconstruction in l. 5 follows from Jubilees.

Frag. 1 (Then I saw in a vision of the night and behold, an angel of God descended from heaven with seven tablets in his hands. He said to me, “God Most High has blessed you, you and) ‘your progeny. All the righteous and upright shall be a remnant. [. . . No longer will] ²evil [be done]; lying shall no longer be found. [. . .] ³Now, take the tablets and read all [that is written on them.” So I took the tablets and read. Written on them were all my sufferings] ⁴and oppression, indeed, everything that would happen to [me during the hundred and forty-sev]en years of my life. [Again he said to me, “Take] the

tablet from my hand." [. . .] ⁵[So] I took this tablet from his hands, [and . . . I read all of it.] I saw inscribed on it that [no sanctuary was to be built in this place.] "[. . . Again he said to me,] "You are to leave it, and on the [. . .] day, [. . .] unavailing before [God Most High . . .]"

Jacob sees the city and Temple, presumably in Jerusalem.

Frag. 2 ¹[I saw . . .] and how the structure should be built [. . . and how] their [priests] were to be dressed and [their hands] purified, ²[and how] they were to offer up sacrifices on the altar, and h[ow in ev]ery [la]nd they were to consume [as foo]d some of their sacrifices, ³[and how . . .] that would be exiting the city, underneath its walls. Then, behold, they will be [. . .]

⁵[Then I looked and, behold,] before me was an area divided into squares, two and fo[rty (?) in number . . .]

—M.O.W.

114. AN APOCRYPHON OF JUDAH

4Q538

In Genesis 37–50 the Bible narrates the famous story of Joseph. Beginning life as a mere shepherd in Canaan, Joseph goes on to become the vizier of Egypt, second only to Pharaoh in the world's most powerful kingdom. Along the way he has many adventures and numerous close calls; the Joseph novella has all the elements of great literature. Several of the episodes in Joseph's life center on his conflict with his brothers. Except for Benjamin, Joseph is Jacob's youngest son and evidently his father's favorite. Through the jealousy of his older brothers, the young Joseph is sold into slavery in Egypt. Yet ultimately they all meet again. Famine in Canaan forces Joseph's brothers to come to Egypt to buy grain, not once, but twice. On those occasions they come face-to-face with Joseph, now vizier. While he recognizes them, they do not know him for who he is. The fragments before us seem to tell the story of the second dramatic meeting between Joseph and his brothers, corresponding to Genesis 44:1–45:10.

Judah narrates the meeting in Egypt between Joseph and his brothers. Judah presents himself as observing from a distance. Perhaps this lack of involvement reflects his earlier disagreement with the brothers' plot against Joseph. They had planned to kill Joseph, but Judah persuaded them to sell the youth into slavery (Gen. 37:26–27).

Frag. 1 + 2 ¹[. . .] Then he conceived a scheme agai[nst his brothers . . .] ²[. . .] For behold, they had in their hea[rt] against hi[m . . .] When I

was br[ou]ght and entered, ³[. . .] they [dr]ew near as one and entered, their [clothes] w[orn, dust upon] their he[ads. They came] before Joseph ⁴[. . . and] bowed down. Then he knew that there was no [. . .] evil, and he was no longer able ⁵[to control himself. He commanded them, "Le]ave this place!" He could no longer [. . . agai]nst his brothers. "[. . . He fe]ll [up]on my neck and kissed me, weep[ing . . .] ⁷[. . .] Joseph [no] longer, and all [. . .]

—M.O.W.

115. THE LAST WORDS OF JOSEPH

4Q539

The biblical story of Joseph (Gen. 37–50) was—and still is—an immensely rich lode for later Jewish and Christian interpreters interested in mining moralisms. Among such interpreters was the early Christian author of the *Testament of Joseph*, which comprises a series of chapters in the larger work known as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. As we have noted above, many of the Christian testaments incorporated earlier Jewish writings such as we find in the scrolls, and that seems to be the case here as well. The very fragmentary remains of the present Qumran scroll appear to lie behind the later *Testament of Joseph*, chaps. 15–17. The *Testament of Joseph* does not, then, derive from the Bible without mediation. It relies upon other early writings as well. Particularly striking is the apparent relationship of ll. 5–6 below with the *Testament of Joseph* 17:1, which reads: "See, children, how much I endured . . . that I not put my brothers to shame." The wording of the rest of the fragment is only broadly similar to that of the Christian writing, so we must conclude that a free reworking of the *Last Words* took place in Christian circles.

Joseph addresses his children, relating the story of his sale to Ishmaelite slave traders and drawing moral principles from the events. The money in l. 4 apparently refers to the price for which Joseph was sold. According to the Testament of Joseph 16:5, the price was eighty pieces of gold.

Frag. 1 ¹[. . . and] my [father] Jacob we[pt over me . . .] ²[And now, li]sten, my children [. . . and pa]y attention to me, my beloved [. . .] ³[. . . the s]ons of my great-uncle, [Ish]ma[el . . .] My father, Ja[cob], held a mourning-fe[ast] for me [. . .] ⁴[. . .] eight talents [. . . ei]ghty. Soon [. . .] ⁵[. . .] to them. If you [. . .] to scorn [. . .] ⁶[See, my children,] this [story]; from [. . . that I not] scorn my brothers [. . .] ⁷[. . .] human [. . .]

—M.O.W.

116. THE LAST WORDS OF KOHATH

4Q542

The Last Words of Kohath is another example of a “testament” (see the introduction to *The Words of Levi*, text 34). In fact, since Kohath was Levi’s eldest son, this text forms a sequel to *The Words of Levi* and was itself succeeded by the *Vision of Amram* (text 117).

The Bible says of Kohath only that he was the son of Levi (Gen. 46:11). According to *The Words of Levi*, Levi saw in a vision that “all the people would gather to him, and that the high priesthood over all Israel would be his” (Cambridge Geniza C:6–7). As the ancestor of high priests, Kohath, like Levi and Abraham before him, is portrayed as one who encouraged his sons to be faithful to their calling and to perform their duties with care and reverence.

We do not know when *The Last Words of Kohath* may have been composed. Kohath’s warning to his sons in 1:5–6 of the danger of giving the priestly inheritance to “strangers” and the inheritance to “assimilationists” may be an allusion to the religious crisis under the high priest Jason (174–171 B.C.E.). According to 2 Maccabees, “There was such an extreme of Hellenization and increase in the adoption of foreign ways because of the surpassing wickedness of Jason, who was ungodly and no high priest, that the priests were no longer intent upon their service at the altar. . . . For this reason heavy disaster overtook them, and those whose ways of living they admired and wished to imitate completely became their enemies and punished them” (4:13–14, 16). *Kohath* may have been composed in part to encourage the assimilating priests to resist temptation.

Since the beginning and end of the text is lacking, we do not know whether or not this work, like other testaments, contained any narrative or prophetic vision.

Kohath blesses his sons and descendants.

Col. 1 [May you receive the blessing of] the greatest of all gods forever, and may He shine his light upon you, and tell you His great name ²so that you may truly know Him. For He is the God of the ages, and Lord of everything that is done, and ruler ³of all people, doing with them whatever He pleases. May He give you happiness, and to your descendants joy, in the generations of ⁴truth forever.

Kohath commands future priests to protect their office from contamination and make their ancestors proud. In this way they will defeat the wicked.

And now, my sons, be careful with the inheritance that has been entrusted to you,⁵ and which your ancestors have bequeathed to you. Do not give your inheritance away to strangers, nor your inheritance to ⁶assimilationists, lest you become low and degraded in their eyes, and they despise you; for then ⁷they will be alien to you and and become your rulers.

So hold firm to the command of Jacob ⁸your ancestor, grasp tightly the judgments of Abraham and the good deeds of Levi and myself, and be holy and pure ⁹from all intermingling, holding firm to the truth, walking in integrity and not with a divided heart, ¹⁰but with a pure heart, and with an honest and good spirit. Then you will have among them a good reputation, and happiness will come ¹¹to Levi, joy to Jacob, celebration to Isaac, and praise to Abraham, because you have kept ¹²and passed on the inheritance that your ancestors left you: truth, good deeds, honesty, ¹³perfection, purity, holiness, and priesthood, according to everything that I have commanded you and according to everything **Col. 2** ¹I have taught you reliably, from this time forth and forever. All [. . .] ²all the reliable utterances shall come true for you [. . .] ³Eternal blessings shall rest on you and [. . .] ⁴endures for eternal generations, and you shall no longer [. . .] ⁵from your sufferings, and you shall stand up to give judgment on [. . .] ⁶to behold the sins of the sinners of the ages [. . . they shall be punished] ⁷by fire and in the abysses and in all the infernal caverns, terrifying [. . .] ⁸in the generations of the truth, but all the wicked shall pass away. [. . .]

Kohath commands Amram, the father of Moses, to protect the sacred priestly writings and to pass them down to his descendants.

⁹Now, to you, Amram my son, I command [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] you, and to their descendants I command [. . . to guard the sacred writings that they left behind] ¹¹and gave to my father Levi, and that my father Levi gave to me. [. . .] ¹²all my writings as a testimony that you should be careful with [. . .] ¹³to you. In them is great merit when you carry them along with you [. . .]

—E.M.C.

117. THE VISION OF AMRAM

4Q543–548

The Vision of Amram is the last “testament” in a series that begins with text 34, *The Words of Levi*, and continues with text 116, *The Last Words of Kohath* (Levi’s son and Amram’s father).*

*This translation is based on a transcription of the fragments independently prepared for the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon project.

This scroll alone of the Qumran discoveries preserves its opening paragraph containing the ancient title.

4Q543 Frag. 1 ¹A copy of the book "The Words of the Vision of Amram [son of Levi." It contains everything that] ²he told his sons and everything that he commanded them on [the day he died, in the] ³one hundred and thirty-sixth year, that is the year of [his death, in the one hundred] ⁴and fifty-second year of [Israel's sojourn in Egypt . . .]

According to the Bible, Amram married his own aunt, Jochebed (Exod. 6:20). According to this text, he similarly gave in marriage his daughter Miriam, Moses' sister, to his own brother Uzziel. The practice of aunt-nephew marriage is condemned in the Bible (Lev. 18:12-13) and uncle-niece marriage is condemned in the Damascus Document (A 4:7-11). The inconsistency among these texts is still unexplained.

4Q545 ¹[When he settled in] the land ²he called to Uzziel his younger brother [and gave] him Miriam his daughter "in marriage at the age of thirty years. Then he gave a feast lasting seven [days] ³and he ate and drank at the feast and rejoiced.

In this cycle of priestly literature, Amram's claim to fame is not as the father of Moses, but as the father of Aaron, who was the ancestor of all rightful priests and the high priest par excellence. Amram here prophesies Aaron's elevated status as the spokesman for God. Although the Bible states that Aaron will be "the mouth of Moses," this scroll goes further by giving Aaron the rank of "mouth of God and angel of God."

Then when ⁴the days of the feast were over, he sent for Aaron his son, [who] was [twenty] years old ⁵[and he said] to him, "Summon me the angel of the Lord, my son." Then, from the house of ⁶[. . . when] he came to him, he called out to him ⁷[. . .] am I ⁸[. . .] his father ⁹[. . .] from ¹⁰[. . .] your command ¹¹and we will give you [. . .] forever ¹²and we will give you wisdom [. . .] will be added ¹³to you [. . . a mouth] of God you will be, and the angel of God ¹⁴you will be called [. . .] you shall do in this land ¹⁵and justice for the pious [. . .] and if your name is his to all ¹⁶[. . .] to eternal generations [. . .] ¹⁷[. . .] you shall do ¹⁸[. . .] Isra[el . . .]

The following paragraph relates that Kohath and Amram returned with a group to Canaan from Egypt in order to build tombs for their forebears who had died during the Egyptian sojourn. While in Canaan the threat of war brought Kohath back to Egypt, but he left Amram in Canaan to finish the work. When war finally broke out between Egypt, Canaan, and Philistia, Amram was unable to return to Egypt and to his wife and family for forty-one years.

¹⁹in this land and I went up to [. . .] ²⁰to bury our fathers and I went up [to Canaan . . . with] **4Q544** ¹Kohath there to remain and to live and to build for [. . .] many of my cousins together [. . .] ²[every] man and from our

family, very many, up to two hundred men [. . .] a frightening rumor of war reached [. . .] we [. . .] to the land of E[gypt . . .] ³quickly but they had not built tombs of their fathers and my father Kohath left me [. . .] and to build and to take to them all their needs from the land of Canaan [. . .] ⁴while we were building there was war between the Philistines and Egypt [and the king of Philistia] defeated [the king of Egypt . . .] ⁵and the [gates] of Egypt were closed and it was no longer possible [. . .] ⁶“forty-one years and we were not able to return to Egypt [. . .] therefore [. . . war] ⁷between Egypt and Canaan and Philistia. During this time Jochebed [my wife . . . was] in my care [. . . another’s wife] ⁸she was not. I [did not] take another wife [. . .] ⁹everything, for I would return to Egypt safely and see my wife’s face [. . .]

As is typical in this genre of literature, the hero of the story is granted a prophetic vision (as, for instance, in The Words of Levi). Amram’s vision expresses the strong dualism of Light and Darkness that is central to many of the Qumran documents, particularly the idea that a good angel of light and an evil angel of darkness contend for control of human destiny (see the Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association 3:13–24).

¹⁰in my vision the vision of the dream, and there were two figures arguing over me, and saying [. . .] ¹¹and holding a great dispute over me. So I asked them, “How is it that [you have authority over me?” They said, “We] ¹²rule and have authority over all the human race.” And they said to me, “Which one of us [. . .]” ¹³[I lifted my eyes and saw] one of them, whose appearance [was dread]ful[ly frighten]ing; [his clothing was] multicolored and very dark ¹⁴[. . . and I saw another and he was pleasant] in his appearance, and his face was laughing [and he was covered in white . . .]

Apparently Amram chooses to follow the angel of light and begins to question him about the meaning of the vision. The angel of darkness is named Malki-Resha and the angel of light, we may presume, is called Melchizedek, ruler of righteousness. Melchizedek as an angelic figure also appears in text 130, The Coming of Melchizedek.

Col. 2 ¹[. . . rules] over you [. . .] ²[. . .] who is this one? He said to me, “Now this one [. . .] ³[. . . His name is] Malki-Resha, ruler of wickedness.” And I said, My lord, what is the nature of [. . .] ⁴[. . .] all his deeds are darkness, and he dwells in darkness [. . .] ⁵[. . .] he sees, and he rules over all darkness, while I [am Melchizedek . . .] ⁶[. . .] from the height to the depths, I am ruler over all light [. . .]

Melchizedek tells Amram the fates of those who follow the light or darkness.

4Q548 ¹[. . .] In truth I tell [you . . . all the Children of Light] ²shall be light [and all the children of] darkness shall be dark [. . .] ³in all their

knowledge [. . .] they shall be and the children of darkness will perish [. . .]
¹³Indeed every fool and wicked man [is dark] and every [wise] and honest
 man is light [. . . all the Children of Light] ¹³are destined for light and [. . .]
 and [shall receive a just] judgment while all the children of dark[ness are des-
 tined for darkness [. . .] ¹⁴and shall go to destruction [. . .] to the people il-
 lumination. I shall tell [. . .] ¹⁵and make known [. . .] away from darkness
 for all [. . .] ¹⁶the children [. . .] and all the Children of Light [. . .]

As part of the vision, Amram or his angelic master speaks of the future of the priestly clan, predicting the coming of a great high priest.

4Q547 ²[. . .] they were delivered [. . .] ³[. . .] on Mount Sinai [. . .]
⁴[. . .] is great on the bronze altar [. . .] ⁵[. . .] his son shall be exalted as
 priest over all the children of the world. Then [. . .] ⁶[. . .] and his sons after
 him for all the eternal generations among his [brothers . . .] ⁷[. . .]

Amram commits the vision to writing and eventually returns to Egypt to give the writing to his family.

Then I awoke from the sleep of my eyes and I wrote down the vision
 [. . .] ⁸[. . .] from the land of Canaan and he saw me, and he said this [. . .]
⁹[. . .] Miriam and afterwards to Kohath [. . .]

—E.M.C.

118. HUR AND MIRIAM

4Q549

Two small fragments are all that remain of an Aramaic work that may have re-
 told the stories of Exodus in the same way that *Tales of the Patriarchs* (text 2)
 retells those of Genesis. The first part of frag. 2 tells of the death of an unknown
 individual—perhaps the first husband of Miriam, older sister of Moses and
 Aaron. After a paragraph break, further details about her family follow, including
 the mention of a cousin, Sithri.

Next the author turns to Hur. He apparently combines two biblical figures
 who may originally have been distinct: the Hur who was the hero of the battle
 against Amalek (Exod. 17:10, 12) and the Hur of Exodus 31:2, who was the fa-
 ther of Uri (in our work's I. 10, spelled "Ur") and grandfather of the famed
 craftsman Bezalel. Josephus (*Ant.* 3.54) knew of a tradition that made Hur the
 husband of Miriam, and our author may have seen things the same way. That
 would be the reason for his mentioning Hur at this juncture. Given the text's
 fragmentary character, however, this line of interpretation is a bit speculative, and
 other ways of understanding the work may be possible.

Frag. 2 ¹which he shall eat, he and hi[s] sons [. . .] ²her husband [entered] the eternal sleep [. . .] ³upon him and they found hi[m . . .] ⁴his sons and the sons of h[is] brother [. . .] ⁵they dwelt temporarily (or they dwelt in their wickedness) [. . .] ⁶he departed to *his* eternal home [. . .] [. . .] ⁷ten. And with Miriam he fathered a peopl[e (?) . . .] ⁸and for Sithri. Then Hur took as a wife [. . .] ⁹and with her fathered Ur and Aar[on . . . and he fathered] ¹⁰and with her fathered Ur and Aar[on . . . and he fathered] ¹¹forty sons with her [. . .]

—M.G.A.

119. THE TALE OF BAGASRAW

4Q550^{a-f}

Although the Israelites' ideal place was the Holy Land, they were forced to spend time outside it, most notably during the time of bondage in Egypt and the exile in Babylon. Both periods served as the settings for what scholars call "court stories," tales set within the royal court of a foreign land in which members of a despised ethnic group (usually the ones telling the story) prove their worth or cleverness. Such is the tale of Joseph in the court of Pharaoh in the book of Genesis (chaps. 38–50) and also the stories about Daniel and his friends in the time of Nebuchadnezzar and his successors (Dan. 1–6; ca. 600–540 B.C.E.). The entire book of Esther is devoted to the story of how the pious Esther and her uncle Mordecai foil the plans of the evil Haman and save the Jews from genocidal destruction in the court of Ahasuerus (Xerxes) in the time of the Persian Empire (fifth century B.C.E.).

These tales do not exhaust the supply of court stories from the ancient Near East; other cultures had them, too. But it also appears that Jews produced more tales of this sort than are preserved in the Bible, and one of them is *The Tale of Bagasraw*. It takes place, like Esther, in the Persian court, and the king whose court provides the setting is also Xerxes. But what exactly happens in this tale is not clear. The hero appears to be Bagasraw the Jew (all of the characters have Persian names), who apparently was the son of one Patireza, himself of some unspecified service to the king. The following summary is largely hypothetical, but consistent with the extant fragments, and resembles the kind of plot that is normal in the court story.

Patireza was in charge of making the royal garment for King Darius; at some point, Patireza was able to help Darius in some way, and the king recorded this favor in his records. When his son Xerxes became king and learned of the episode, he decided to show favor to Patireza's son.

A certain Bagoshi, who was a member of the royal retinue, was aware of the king's plan, but warned Bagasraw, Patireza's son, of some opposition from the

royal advisers known as “the king’s pillars.” In some unspecified way (perhaps unwittingly), Bagoshi helped Bagasraw overcome this antagonism and to receive all that the king had planned to give him. In the end, the king commanded all to honor Bagasraw and to revere his God.

Bagasraw hears about his father, Patireza.

Frag. 1 ‘[. . . everyone] would obey Patireza your father [. . .]’ [. . .]
 ‘and among those who make the royal garments [. . .] to ‘the business of the king, according to everything that [. . .].

The Persian king discovers the service that Patireza did for his father.

At that very time ‘the king was unable to fall asleep, so he had [brought to him] the records of his father. They were read before him, and among “the books was found a scroll [sealed] seven times with the signet of Darius his father. On the outside it said ‘[. . .] “Darius king of the whole earth to those who exercise authority, greeting.” It was opened and read, and the following was found written in it: “Darius the king ‘[to the kings who] will reign after me and to those who exercise authority, greeting. Let it be known to you that every oppressor and liar [. . .]”

The king decides to reward the family of Patireza. Bagasraw’s adviser warns him of the enmity of some in the court.

Frag. 2 [. . .] ‘a man, therefore the king knows if there is [. . .]’²and his good name and his reputation will not perish [. . .] ‘the king [asked], “Does Patireza have a son?” And [they said . . .] ‘the fear of the scribal guild fell on him [. . .]’⁵the pillars of the king what you shall say and it will be given [. . .] ‘my house and my possessions to whatever may be given [. . .]’⁷are you able to take upon yourself your father’s business? [. . .]

Frag. 3 ‘[. . .] the pillars of the king what you should say to Sharhata his [wife . . .]’²[. . .] Patireza your father. Who has seen that he stood over the business of [the kingdom] before the king [. . . ?]’³[. . .] with him and he served honestly and relia[bly be]fore her [. . .]’⁴[. . .] and the pillars [of the king] said [. . .]’⁵[. . . clothe] him in pur[ple . . .]

Bagasraw promises to serve Bagoshi. In the end, Bagasraw receives all the benefits that were rightfully his.

Frag. 4 Col. 1 ‘For you know [. . .] in the sins of my fathers’²that they committed before you [. . .] to the Merciful and I spent a long time [. . .] a man, ‘a Jew, from the Benjaminites [. . . holding] a scroll, standing before him and asking [. . .] a good [deed]’⁴the good man has done [. . .] what shall I do for you, since you know [. . . what is] possible’⁵for a man like me to answer [a man] like you, standing in the place where you stand [. . .] I am

[. . .] ⁶However, whatever you want, command me, and when [you] die, I will bury you [. . .] ⁷dwelling in everything, it may be that you would bring my work be[fore . . .] all that [. . .] **Col. 2** ¹[. . .] I decreed [. . .] and the second passed [. . .] ²[. . .] the plagues, and the third passed [. . .] in the clothing of [the kingdom . . .] ³[. . .] a crown of gold on his head; and five years passed [. . .] ⁴[. . .] he alone [. . .] and the sixth passed [. . .] ⁵[. . . all] silver and all gold, [all the posses]sions that belonged to Bagoshi, in double measure [. . .] ⁶and the seventh [passed . . . the]n Bagasraw came in good health to the court of the king [. . .] ⁷[. . .] Bagoshi [. . .] killed, then Bagasraw entered the court of the king se[ven times . . .] ⁸so he took him by the hand [. . .] on his head [. . .] and he kissed him. He raised his voice and said [. . .] Bagasraw from [. . .]

The king recommends to his court and people the worship and respect of Bagasraw's God.

Col. 3 ¹[. . .] the Most High that you all revere and worship He rules over [all the] earth. All who want to draw near to His temple [may . . .] ²[. . .] everyone who says anything bad about Bagasraw [. . .] shall be killed, so that there may be no [. . .] ³[. . .] forever [. . . every]thing that is proper [. . .] twice. And the king said, "Let it be [written . . .] ⁴[. . .] ruler [. . .] documents in the court of the king quickly [. . .] ⁵[. . . those] who arise after Bagasraw will read in this book [. . .] ⁶[. . . who says anything] bad, evil shall come upon his [head . . .]

—E.M.C.

120. THE VISION OF THE FOUR TREES

4Q552–553

The book of Daniel on two occasions foretells the fate of four kingdoms to come: once with the metaphor of a great statue made of four different materials (Dan. 2) and once through a vision of four beasts (Dan. 7). The "four kingdom" motif goes back to ancient Near Eastern tradition, and there are examples of the pattern in Roman and Persian texts as well.

In Daniel, the four kingdoms are Babylon, Media, Persia, and Greece. After the fall of the Greek kingdoms to Roman power, Daniel's four kingdoms were reinterpreted to refer to Babylon, Media-Persia, Greece, and Rome, and this interpretation lasted as long as the Roman (and Byzantine) Empire itself. It entered into Jewish tradition, and later exegetes of the Bible found the same four kingdoms in other texts. For example, the phrase "a great and frightful darkness fell upon Abraham" (Gen. 15:12) is paraphrased in a later Aramaic translation as follows:

“Four kingdoms are going to subdue the children of Abraham. Frightful is Babylon; darkness is Media; great is Greece; and fell is Edom [= Rome], which is going to fall, never to rise again” (*Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*).

Along with the four-kingdom tradition is a common metaphor of trees standing for kings or kingdoms. The parable of the trees in the book of Judges (9:7–15) represents different trees as types of rulers. The king of Egypt is compared to a great tree cut down (Ezek. 31), as is Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. 4).

The Vision of the Four Trees combines both these motifs. It probably belongs to the cycle of stories about Daniel; angels are mentioned, and so is a king, and it is not clear whether Daniel or the king has seen a vision. In any case, the vision is of four trees that symbolize four kingdoms. But which four? The only identification that survives is of the first tree, which has a double identification. It is Babylon, but it also “rules over Persia.” If this is a device to combine kingdoms, then the first kingdom would be Babylon-Persia, the second Greece, the third Rome, and the fourth tree-kingdom, whose top reaches into the heavens, may represent the kingdom of God.*

The setting of the vision: angels are present, and a king, and a seer who speaks in the first person.

4Q552 ⁵[. . .] the light of the angels who were “[. . .] he said to them, “All of it will be ⁷[. . . king]doms are exalted. This is what [. . .] ⁸and the king said to me, Because of this ⁹[. . .] how this came to pass. They were standing [. . .] ¹⁰[. . . all that] he said will happen, and they will vanish in plain sight ¹¹[. . .] their masters will be eliminated from them ¹²[. . . upon] it Col. 2 ¹the light of dawn was resting, and four trees [. . .]”

The first tree, which represents Babylon-Persia.

[There] ²stood a tree and the other trees were far away from it.

He said [to me, “Do you see] ³the form?”

And I said, “Yes, I see it and I am trying to understand it.” [And I saw that] ⁴the tree’s [fruit] was bad [. . .] ⁵and I asked it, “What is your name?” And he said to me, “Babylon.”

[And I said to him,] ⁶“You are the one who rules over Persia.”

The second tree (Greece?).

And [I saw] ⁷another tree [that] extended to the Great Sea, to [. . .] and I spoke ⁸to the second one, and I asked him, “What is your name?” [. . .] ⁹And I said to him, “You are the one who [rules over all] ¹⁰the waves of the sea and over the port [. . .]”

*This translation is based on a transcription of the fragments independently prepared for the Comprehensive Aramaic Lexicon project.

The third tree may represent the power of Rome. It looks "different," as the fourth kingdom does in Daniel (7:23); in the first century B.C.E., Daniel's fourth kingdom was thought to be Rome.

And I saw] ¹¹the third tree and I said to him [. . . why is] ¹²your appearance [different? . . .]

The fourth tree is higher than the rest; it may represent the rule of Israel or the kingdom of God.

4Q553 Frag. D ¹[. . . a fourth tree whose] summit reached to the heavens, ruling [over . . .] **Frag. F** ¹[. . .] a place of water ²[. . .] calves and lambs [. . .]

—E.M.C.

121. A BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY

4Q559

Early in the transmission of the biblical books, anonymous scribal copyists began to calculate the chronology of various events about which the Bible gives numerical information. For example, these scholars began to add up the numbers given in Genesis. They soon realized that, as presented in the traditional text, these numbers imply that some of Noah's ancestors lived through the Flood, while Genesis explicitly says the opposite: none survived other than those on the ark. The scholars solved the problem straightforwardly and efficiently: they simply changed the numbers. The changed version of the numbers survives in the text of the Greek version of the Old Testament known as the Septuagint (Gen. 5). For the most part our modern Bibles translate the traditional text and therefore present the *unchanged* numbers.

Thus we know that very early on the chronological concerns that motivated the present scroll were present in priestly circles. Anonymous scholars changed the biblical text (though the unchanged form survived as well), and then later, other anonymous scholars wrote books in which they tried to solve the chronological problems of one form of the text or the other. Such writings are known as *chronographs*. The present work is one of the very earliest known to us, probably dating back to the late third century B.C.E. The problems with which our author wrestled were notorious difficulties for ancient scholars, Jewish and Christian. These problems are: (1) the length of the Israelites' sojourn in Egypt; (2) the chronology of the wilderness wanderings; and (3) the chronology of the period of the judges. In the case of the first problem, the difficulty was to resolve the apparent conflict between the time given for the sojourn by Genesis 15:13–14 (400 years) and that stated in Exodus 12:40 (430 years). For the

wilderness wanderings, the difficulty was to derive any sort of chronology at all. What happened when? The biblical text almost completely lacks time statements for that series of episodes in Exodus and Numbers. In the case of the judges, the main difficulty was to rationalize the implications of a straightforward adding of the time periods given in the book of Judges (410 years). This number presents problems when compared with 1 Kings 6:1, which encompasses all the judges and many other events in a period spanning just 480 years.

The problem of the length of time spent by the Israelites in Egypt. In order to calculate this period, the author considers the chronology of Jacob's life, and the ages of the patriarchs when they fathered particular sons.

Col. 1 ⁷[. . . After I]saac [blessed him,] Jac[ob fled] ⁸[and entered, at the age of fifty-]five, the la[nd of the sons of] the Ea[st.] ⁹[. . . He s]erved [fo]urteen years for [Leah] ¹⁰[and Rachel . . .]

Col. 2 ¹[. . . Abraham was] nin[ety-nine ye]ars old ⁴[when he fathered Isaac. Is]aac was [sixty years o]ld [when he fathered] ⁵[Jacob. Jacob was] sixty-five y[ears old when he fathered Levi.] ⁶[He gave to Levi the Book of the Words of] Enoch [to preserve and pass on] ⁷[to his own descendants. Levi was thirty-f]ive when he fa[thered Kohath.] ⁸[Kohath was twenty-ni]ne when he fathered Am[r]am. Amr[am was] ⁹[one hundred and twenty-three when he fathered] Aaron. Aaro[n] left Egy[pt] ¹⁰[with the priests,] who [totaled] eleven thousand, five hundred and thirty-six.

The chronology of certain events during the forty years of wilderness wandering.

Col. 3 ²[. . .] From the lan[d of Egypt until] ³[Kor]ah [arose and rebelled was five ye]ars. [Aaron died] ⁴[and did not cross the Jo]rdan. From Kade[sh until the plains of] ⁵[Moab was] thirty-f[i]ve [years].

The period of Joshua and Eleazar the son of Aaron and the subsequent time of the judges.

In Gilgal, [five (?) ye]ars. ⁶[In Shiloh,] twenty years. And after [Eleazar the son of Aaron] died, ⁷Cushan-rishathaim the king of [Aram-] ⁸[Naharaim,] ei[g]ht [year]s; Othniel the so[n of Kenaz], ⁹for[ty years]; Eglon the king of Moab, [eighteen] ye[ars]; ¹⁰[Eh]ud the son of Gera, eighty years; Sham[gar the son of Anath,] **Col. 4** ¹[one (?) year; Jabin the king of Canaan, twenty years; Deborah] ²the [prophetess and] Barak the so[n of Abinoam, forty years; Gideon the son] ³[of Joash], forty [ye]ars; To[la the son of Puah, twenty-three years; Jair] ⁴the [Gileadite, twenty-two] years [. . .]

—M.O.W.

122. AN EXORCISM

4Q560

Some years ago Morton Smith wrote a book entitled *Jesus the Magician*. Smith gathered all the evidence of the New Testament and other witnesses to Jesus and tried to show that Jesus was essentially just a magician, a wonder-worker of the sort known from Greco-Roman antiquity who operated partly with illusion and sleight-of-hand and partly with psychological techniques. Smith's book was controversial and ultimately convinced few scholars—yet he had raised important issues for our understanding of the Gospels.

A principal difficulty in assessing the “magical” aspects of the Gospels has been the lack of Jewish magical writings dating to the time and coming from the place where these works were composed. The present work, however, is such a writing. With this work we hold in our hands a part of the resources of a Jewish magician of the time of Jesus. This formula probably derives from a “recipe book” that contained other, similar formulas as well. Such recipe books are well known from Mesopotamia.

The present formula mentions concerns common to other magical texts: potential problems with childbirth, demons and the diseases that they brought on, sleep or dreams (a common realm of demonic activity—especially nightmares), and perhaps the safety of possessions. Particularly striking is the mention of the Fever-demon, for this same demon appears in the New Testament. Luke 4 tells the story of Peter's mother-in-law being sick as Jesus comes to visit. Luke 4:39, which reports that Jesus healed her, can be translated, “Then he stood over her and rebuked the Fever-demon, and it left her.”

The text's reference to a midwife probably reflects a belief similar to that spelled out in other magical texts, wherein certain demons who intended to snatch a child's life are prohibited from appearing as a midwife, wet nurse, or nanny. The mention of earth and clouds in col. 2 may designate spheres within which the given demons move; alternatively, it may be part of an incantation that refers to those areas from which evil spirits are banned.

Col. 1 ²[. . .] the midwife, the punishment of those who bear children, any evil visitant or d[emon . . .] ³[. . . I adjure you, all who en]ter into the body: the male Wasting-demon and the female Wasting-demon ⁴[. . . I adjure you by the name of the LORD, “He Who re]moves iniquity and transgression” (Exod. 34:7), O Fever-demon and Chills-demon and Chest Pain-demon ⁵[. . . You are forbidden to disturb by night using dreams or by da]y during

sleep, O male Shrine-spirit and female Shrine-spirit, O you demons who breach ⁶[walls . . . w]icked [. . .] **Col. 2** ²before h[im . . .] ⁴before him and [. . .] ⁵And I, O spirit, adjure [you against . . .] ⁶I adjure you, O spirit, [that you . . .] ⁷On the earth, in clouds [. . .]

—M.O.W.

123. AN ARAMAIC HOROSCOPE

4Q561

A law in medieval Spain stated that if two men were accused of a crime and it was not clear which was guilty, the uglier man should die. The assumption was that character proved itself through outward appearance, which is the same assumption by which the present text operates. Properly speaking, this work is not a horoscope at all, for it contains no mention of the zodiac or related ideas. This is a physiognomic writing similar to text 32, *A Horoscope Written in Code*. Physiognomy was a "science" whose purpose was to divine an individual's character and destiny by studying his or her physical appearance. The surviving fragmentary portions of 4Q561 preserve parts of the descriptions and analyses for five individuals.

Description of the first individual. This description is similar to that of the fourth person in text 32, possessing elements of the "Golden Mean," but any reference to concomitant virtue has been lost.

Col. 3 ¹(Anyone) whose [hair color (?)] is medium and not extreme, whose eyes are ²neither light nor dark, whose nose is long ³and attractive, whose teeth are even, whose beard ⁴is sparse but not extremely so, whose limbs ⁵are [s]mooth [and neither] thin nor thick: ⁶[. . .] He will possess a [sp]irit ⁷[characterized by . . . He will suffer] oppression.

A very fragmentary description of a second individual.

⁸[Anyone whose] hair is thick ⁹and full [. . .]

The third individual. This description includes elements not found in text 32, notably fingernails. This person possesses the balanced physical qualities of the happy medium. Probably, therefore, the lost portions would have ascribed to him a generally positive spiritual temper.

Col. 4 ¹(Anyone whose . . .) is [. . .], whose voice is [. . . and neither thin] ²nor full (?), [. . . whose nose is neither short] ³[no]r long, [whose teeth

⁴Column designations follow a new reconstruction of the text. Similarly, this translation includes new proposed joins. A full technical discussion is forthcoming.

are even], ⁴the hair of whose beard is very th[ick, whose limbs] ⁵are neither thick nor [thin] ⁶and are well forme[d, . . . whose . . .] ⁷are somewhat thick, whose fingernails are [. . .] ⁸Regarding his height and [. . .]

The fourth individual. Note the mention of elbows. This is a less positive description than those of the first and third individuals.

Col. 6 ¹(Anyone) whose elbows are prominent, [whose . . . are] ²wide, whose thighs are [neither thin] ³nor thick, the sole of whose foot is [. . . but not] ⁴extreme[ly so, . . .] whose foot is [. . .] ⁵[. . .] and cov[ered with hair, . . .] ⁶[. . .] from the end of [. . .]

The fifth individual. The reference to this person's shoulder may have to do with bodily symmetry, a concern of the Greco-Roman physiognomic treatises.

Frag. 9 + 11 ¹[Anyone whose . . . are neither . . .] nor reddish-yellow, [. . .] ²[whose eyes (?)] are [gl]obular and round, ³[. . .] the hair on whose head is [. . .] ⁴[. . .] whose shoulder is [. . .] ⁵[. . .] will be upon [. . .] ⁶[He will be . . .] and not a great man.

—M.O.W.

124. AN ARAMAIC TEXT ON THE PERSIAN PERIOD

4Q562

This text concerns the period of the return from exile in Babylon, where many from Judah had been taken into captivity at the time of Nebuchadnezzar (586 B.C.E.). With the conquest of Nebuchadnezzar's empire by Cyrus and the Persians, the captives were allowed to return to Judah beginning in 538 B.C.E. The present work takes that time of return and life in the Persian period as its setting. The author mentions a prophet—apparently Zechariah—along with priests, captives, and Susa (one of the several capital cities of the Persians).

Discussion of priests disqualified from the priesthood, a major issue of the early Persian period.

Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] wicked, who by the sword and in war [. . .] ²[. . .] they shall not be ordained to the priesthood [. . .] ³[. . . t]emple [. . .] two [. . .]

The fate of those who plundered Israel.

Frag. 2 ¹[. . .] that the prophet [Zechariah] said, [. . .] ²“One who touches you] is as one who touches the apple of His eye” (Zech. 2:8). Therefore they shall be smitten ³[. . .] there, the place of the cemetery.

Priests, captives, and Susa.

Frag. 3 ¹[. . .] men from [. . .] ²[. . .] the seventh. (?) Behold, [they] shall gather ³[. . .] that is what we found, that ⁴[. . .] the priests and all the captives.

Frag. 9 ¹[. . .] Susa [. . .]

—M.O.W.

125. A PRIESTLY VISION

4Q563

This Aramaic writing is so fragmentary that interpretation is difficult, but what can be made out is tantalizing. The person addressed may be a priest, since the word “service” in the first line is often used of priestly activities in the Temple. Someone is warning this priest about a very dangerous future. Just who is speaking is unclear. Perhaps the priest is experiencing a vision in which he receives this warning from God, or perhaps a prophet has come to him. If the warning is directed to a priest, then the traitorous actions of his relatives and children may be an aspect of future apostasy. Seen in this light, the work may be related to *The Words of Levi* (text 34).

Frag. 1 ¹[. . .] you shall be summoned, together with all that you possess. Your service [. . .] ²[. . .] Fear them, because [. . .] ³[. . .] and in the latter part of your life, you shall be betrayed. After you, the bread of your sustenance shall be e[aten by] ⁴“your relatives. Beware of [your] children, [. . .] and scr[utin]ize them, le[st . . .] ⁵[ag]ainst you.

—M.O.W.

126. THANKSGIVINGS

4QHodayot-like

Three fragments are all that remains of a collection of thanksgiving psalms inscribed on papyrus. The themes are similar to those of the *Thanksgiving Psalms* (text 3). This work is the only one in this volume that has not yet been given an official numerical designation, a reflection of the fact that it has but recently been recognized as a discrete literary work.

Frag. 2 ¹for [. . .] eternally

As in Thanksgiving Psalms (text 3), this fragment preserves a psalm for the Instructor (20:4) concerning the elect of Israel who thrive as the well-watered tree (14:14–17).

²For the Instructor: an ut[tera]nce concerning the glory.[. . .] ³a plant of delights, a plant in His gard[en] and in His vineyard [. . .] ⁴His garden beds. Its branches shall bring forth fruit and increase in [. . .] ⁵and its branches upon the support of the height of the heavens. And [. . .] ⁶beauty throughout the eternal generations and to produce the frui[t of . . .] ⁷to all those who taste it and among its fruit no worthless fruit shall appear [. . .] ⁸its foliage and its leaves and its blossoms shall be on it [. . .] continually [. . .] ⁹from its roots it shall not be pulled up from its pleasant bed, for [. . .]

Thanks to God who delivers earthly man from the torments of his enemies (Thanksgiving Psalms 11:19–36).

Frag. 3 ²[. . .] burning for [. . .] ³[. . .] upon [. . .] ⁴[. . .] those who [b]low [. . .] to] appoint a shattering [. . .] ⁵[. . .] and He was indignant [. . .] ⁶[. . .] thus [. . .] His anger for all the.[. . .] ⁷[. . .] it shall burn [. . .] with flames of fire [. . .] ⁸[. . .] flames of [fire] in the shee[p]folds [. . .] ⁹[. . .] scornful trampers [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] and those girded with flam[es of fire . . .] ¹¹[. . .] rivers of pitch consuming [. . .] ¹²[. . .] throughout the generation[s . . .]

—M.G.A.

127. APOCRYPHAL PSALMS OF DAVID

11Q5–6; 4Q88, 4Q448

Among the more intriguing scrolls to come forth from the caves near Qumran are several copies of the Psalter that differ markedly from the book of Psalms we are accustomed to reading. The psalms we know are there, sometimes slightly changed and in a different order, and interspersed among them are additional, unfamiliar psalms. The whole is attributed to the “sweet psalmist of Israel,” David. One of these apocryphal psalms was previously known to scholars from the Greek version of the Old Testament, where it is numbered as Psalm 151 (the book of Psalms printed in modern Bibles has only 150 psalms). Two of the other “new” psalms of David had been preserved from antiquity among the Christians of Syria, who knew these writings as Psalms 154–155. The other “new” psalms are just that, new—unknown before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The language of these compositions is a late form of biblical Hebrew—much later than the time of David—so the claim that David wrote them is spurious. Nevertheless, their attachment to the great king illustrates a trend in Second-Temple Judaism, whereby writings of unknown authors were attributed to great luminaries of the past. Thus many psalms were said to be written by David, just as many wisdom writings were attributed to Solomon, the wisest man in the Bible.

Indeed, most scholars believe that these trends began early in the years after the return from exile in Babylon. The headings of the biblical psalms themselves were probably written in those years, six or seven centuries after David. The headings of numerous psalms related them to episodes in David's life with which they originally had nothing to do. This process can be observed when one compares the headings of the psalms that have been passed down by various streams of tradition. The headings of the psalms in the Masoretic Text (the traditional Hebrew Bible) do not agree with those of the Greek Old Testament, nor again with the headings in the Syriac Bible used by the ancient Christians of Syria. The apocryphal Davidic writings translated here give us a window into the fascinating process by which the book of Psalms came to be.

Psalm 151. This is a poetic account of David's choice as future ruler of Israel, inspired by 1 Samuel 16:1–13.

11Q5 Col. 28 ³Hallelujah! A psalm of David, son of Jesse. I was smaller than my brothers, youngest of my father's sons. So he made me a 'shepherd for his sheep, a ruler over his goats. My hands fashioned a pipe, my fingers a lyre, ⁵and I glorified the LORD. I said to myself, "The mountains do not testify 'to Him, nor do the hills proclaim." So—echo my words, O trees, O sheep, my deeds! ⁷Ah, but who can proclaim, who declare the deeds of the Lord? God has seen all, ⁸heard and attended to everything. He sent his prophet to anoint me, even Samuel, ⁹to raise me up. My brothers went forth to meet him: handsome of figure, wondrous of appearance, tall were they of stature, ¹⁰so beautiful their hair—yet the LORD God did not choose them. No, He sent and took me ¹¹who followed the flock, and anointed me with the holy oil. He set me as prince to His people, ruler over the children of His covenant.

Psalm 151B. This portion was apparently combined with the lines above in the Greek translation of Psalm 151 produced by the Jews of Alexandria, Egypt (the Septuagint). In the Qumran manuscript, however, it is a separate composition.

¹³[Dav]id's first mighty d[ee]d after the prophet of God had anointed him. Then I s[a]w the Philistine, ¹⁴throwing out taunts from the [enemy] r[anks . . .]

Psalm 154. This psalm, numbered among Syrian Christians of antiquity as Psalm 154, is a call to worship. A major presence in the psalm is the personification of wisdom, who appears as a woman.

'[Lift your voice and glorify God; when the general membership is assembled proclaim His glory. In the multitude of the upright glorify His name,

³Portions preceding the first numbered line and most of ll. 16–17 are absent from the Hebrew scroll and are restored from the Syriac. Several words in ll. 15–17 have been preserved in another very fragmentary Qumran scroll, 4Q448, and that manuscript has been followed for those readings.

and recount His greatness among the faithful. Bind] **11Q5 Col. 18** 'your souls to those who are good, even to the blameless, so to praise the Most High. Assemble together ²to publish His victory, and be not idle declaring His might—His glory ³to all the untutored. For to declare God's glory was Wisdom given; to recount ⁴His many deeds was she made known to man: To make known to the witless His might, ⁵to teach the foolish His glory—those far from her gates, ⁶those astray from her portals. For the Most High, Lord is He over ⁷Jacob, and His majesty o'er all his works. Surely he who glorifies the Most High ⁸finds favor as if bringing an offering; as though offering he-goats and calves, ⁹as though fattening the altar with myriad burnt offerings; as a sweet savor at the hand of ¹⁰the righteous. From the gates of the righteous is Wisdom's voice heard, from the pious assembly ¹¹her song. When they eat and are full she is cited, when they drink, bound together ¹²as one: their conversation the Law of the Most High, their words but declaring His might. ¹³How far from the wicked her word! To know her, from the haughty! Behold, ¹⁴the eyes of the LORD look with compassion on the good. His mercy increases upon them who glorify, ¹⁵from an evil time will He rescue [their] soul. [Bless]ed is the LORD, redeeming the poor from the power of ¹⁶enemies [deliv]ering [the blameless from wicked oppressors. He calls forth a horn out of Ja]cob, ¹⁷[from Israel], a judge [of the peoples]; in Zion [will He desire] His habitation, ch[oo]sing Jerusalem forever.]

Psalm 155. Like Psalm 154, this psalm survived among Syriac-speaking Christians but was unknown in Hebrew until discovered at Qumran. This poem is a partial acrostic—l. 5 begins with the second letter of the Hebrew alphabet, l. 7 with the third letter; then (roughly) each line following with the subsequent letters.

***11Q5 Col. 24** ³O LORD, I cry out to You, hearken to me. I spread my hands toward ⁴Your holy dwelling, give ear and grant my request; ⁵do not withhold my boon. Enlighten my soul, cast it not down; let it not be forsaken before the ⁶wicked. May the Judge of truth turn back from me the wages of sin; O LORD, ⁷judge me not as my sin requires, for none living is justified before You. ⁸Grant me, O LORD, to understand Your Law, and teach me Your statutes, ⁹that many may hear of Your deeds, and peoples extol Your glory. ¹⁰Remember me, do not forget me; cast me not into hardship beyond bearing. ¹¹Remove afar off the sins of my youth, and let not my sins be remembered against me. ¹²Cleanse me, O LORD, from evil's affliction and let it not again return. Let its ¹³roots within me dry up, its le[av]es find no sustenance within. LORD, You are glory itself, ¹⁴wherefore is my plea fulfilled in Your presence. To whom else might I cry to have it granted? ¹⁵To men? [Their] strength has ebbed—my trust, O LORD, is bef[o]re You. ¹⁶I cried out, "O

*Portions following l. 17 are lost from 11Q5 and are restored from the Syriac.

LORD!" and He answered, [He healed] my broken heart. I grew drowsy and ¹⁷slept; I dreamt, then [awoke]. [You, O LORD, [did support me,] ¹⁸[the stricken of heart; for I cried, "O LORD, my deliverer!" Now shall I see their shame; but hidden in You, I will not be ashamed. Redeem Israel, Your faithful, O LORD; even the House of Jacob, Your chosen.]

A prayer seeking forgiveness of sin and deliverance from the power of Satan. This psalm, known in two copies from Cave 11, had otherwise perished in antiquity. About five lines are missing from the beginning, and another line or so has been lost at the end. Sheol, mentioned in l. 10, was the domain of the afterlife.

11Q6 Frag. A ¹[Poor] and weak am I, for [. . .] ***11Q5 Col. 19** ¹Indeed, no worm gives You thanks, nor any weevil recounts Your loving-kindness. ²"The living, the living, they thank You" (Isa. 38:19), they of uncertain step give You praise when You make them ³know Your mercy, when You teach them Your righteousness. For the soul of all the living is in Your ⁴hand, You alone breathe life into flesh. Render to us, O LORD, ⁵by Your goodness; according to Your boundless compassion, Your myriad righteous acts. The LORD ⁶hears the voice of those who love His name, of His loving-kindness He deprives them not. ⁷Blessed be the LORD, worker of righteousness, who crowns the pious ⁸with mercy and compassion. My soul clamors to praise Your name, to praise ⁹Your loving-kindness with a joyous cry—to tell of Your faithfulness; of praise due You there is no measure. I was in death's ¹⁰thrall through my sins; my iniquities had sold me to Sheol—but You saved me, ¹¹O LORD, according to Your boundless compassion, Your myriad righteous acts. I, too, have loved ¹²Your name and sought shelter in Your shadow. When I recall Your might, I take ¹³heart and throw myself on Your mercy. Forgive, O LORD, my sins, ¹⁴cleanse me from my iniquities! Favor me with a constant and knowing spirit and let me not be shamed ¹⁵by ruin. Let Satan have no dominion over me, nor an unclean spirit; let neither pain nor the will ¹⁶to evil rule in me. Surely You, O LORD, are my praise; in You I place my hope ¹⁷all the day. My brothers rejoice with me, and my father's house, amazed at Your favor! ¹⁸[. . .] I shall be glad in You forever.

An address to Zion in the style of biblical passages such as Isaiah 54:1–8. Zion is in the prayers of those who love her, who remind God of all that the prophets have promised about the city. This is another acrostic poem.

***11Q5 Col. 22** ¹I remember you for a blessing, O Zion, with all my might ²do I love you. May your memory be blessed forever! Great is your hope, O

*11Q6 frags. a and b overlap 11Q5 here at ll. 1–9 and 12–15.

¹Lines 1–3 and 8–15 are partially preserved also in 4Q88 cols. 7–8.

Zion: peace and the ³victory you await shall come. Age to age shall you be indwelled, generations of the pious will ⁴adorn you: they who long for the day of your victory, to rejoice in your bounteous ⁵glory. At your glorious bosom they will suckle, in your majestic streets rattle their bangles. The faithful acts of your prophets ⁶shall you recall, being glorified by the works of your pious. Purge wrongdoing from your midst, lying and ⁷iniquity be cut off from you. Your children shall rejoice within you, your loved ones join themselves to you. ⁸How they have hoped for your victory! How your blameless have mourned you! Hope for you shall not perish, ⁹O Zion, nor shall your prospect be forgotten. Who, being righteous, has ever perished? Who has escaped ¹⁰in his sin? Man is tested as to his way, each rewarded according to his works. All around your enemies are cut off, ¹¹O Zion, all who hate you are scattered. How sweet is the waft of your praise, O Zion, ¹²over all the earth! Again and again shall I remember you for blessing; I will bless you with all my heart. ¹³May you lay hold of righteousness everlasting, may you receive the blessings of the Glorified. Embrace the vision ¹⁴spoken of you, O Zion, the dreams of prophets sought for you! Grow high, spread wide, O Zion; ¹⁵praise the Most High, your redeemer—while my soul rejoices in your glory.

A hymn to God the Creator. Lines 14–15 are a rearrangement of Jeremiah 10:12–13 and Psalm 135:7. Line 13, in turn, was quoted in modified form by text 73, A Sermon on the Flood, col. 1, ll. 1–3.

11Q5 Col. 26 ⁹Great and holy is the LORD, a Holy of Holies for generation after generation. At His fore ¹⁰marches majesty, at His rear, the tumult of many waters. Loving-kindness and truth surround His face, truth, ¹¹justice, and righteousness uphold His throne. Darkness He divides from light, preparing the dawn with the knowledge of ¹²His heart. When all His angels saw, they rejoiced in song—for He had shown them what they knew not: ¹³decking out the mountains with food, fine sustenance for all who live. Blessed be He who ¹⁴by His might created the earth, who by His wisdom established the world. By His understanding He stretched forth the heavens and brought out ¹⁵[the wind] from [His] trea[sure stores]. He created [lightning for the rajin and [from] the end of [the earth] made vapor[s] to rise.

This prose composition describes the literary activity of King David. Not only is he considered the author of the book of Psalms—including the apocryphal psalms above—but he is credited with many other works as well. The claim for David's prolific writing seems intended to compete with similar claims made for Solomon in 1 Kings 5:12. Note the 364 songs of David for the daily sacrifice: this number equates with the number of days in the "Qumran calendar," thus associating the greatest king of Israel with the "right side" in the polemical debate over the proper calendar.

For the "songs for charming the demon-possessed with music," mentioned in l. 10, compare text 129, Songs to Disperse Demons.

11Q5 Col. 27 ²Now David the son of Jesse was wise and shone like the light of the sun, a scribe ³and man of discernment, blameless in all his ways before God and men. The LORD gave ⁴him a brilliant and discerning spirit, so that he wrote: psalms, three thousand six hundred; ⁵songs to sing before the altar accompanying the daily ⁶perpetual burnt offering, for all the days of the year, three hundred and sixty-four; ⁷for the Sabbath offerings, fifty-two songs; and for the New Moon offerings, ⁸all the festival days, and the Day of Atonement, thirty songs.

⁹The total of all the songs that he composed was four hundred and forty-six, not including ¹⁰four songs for charming the demon-possessed with music. The sum total of everything, psalms and songs, was four thousand and fifty.

¹¹All these he composed through prophecy given him by the Most High.

—M.O.W.

128. AN ARAMAIC TRANSLATION OF THE BOOK OF JOB

11Q10

In the two centuries or so before the fall of the Jerusalem Temple in 70 C.E., translations of portions of the Bible from Hebrew into Aramaic began to appear. At first the biblical portions selected may have been those that were especially significant or whose Hebrew was most difficult for ordinary people to understand. At least, such is the witness of the findings from the caves of Qumran, for the manuscripts include one Aramaic translation of a portion of Leviticus (Lev. 16:12–15, 18–21) and two translations of the book of Job. Leviticus 16 concerns the Day of Atonement and the scapegoat ceremony (thus treating the most important festival of the holy year), while the Hebrew of Job is unquestionably the most difficult of the entire Bible.

The portion of Job translated below is a sample to show how the scroll as a whole operated. For the most part, the translation is literal and straightforward; in only a few places does the scroll suggest a different Hebrew original than what has survived. Still, the translator not infrequently understood the Hebrew text that he saw in a different way than modern scholars do. His treatment is interesting and often valid, offering new ways of seeing the problems of the book. The portion below illustrates this contribution with three examples.

The preserved ending begins in the middle of Job: 42:9. Note the differences from the traditional biblical text and modern translations: the Hebrew text in ll. 3–4 says,

"And the LORD restored the fortunes of Job when he had prayed for his friends." In l. 5 the Hebrew text reads "brothers and sisters," not, as our translator renders interpretively, "friends and brethren." The Hebrew word translated into Aramaic as "sheep" in l. 7 can also mean "money" and is so rendered in modern translations of Job.

(So Eliphaz the Temanite and Bildad) Col. 38 ¹[the Shuhite and Zophar the Naamathite went and] did [what they had been told by] ²God. And G[o]d listened to the voice of Job and forgave ³them their sins because of him.

Then God turned back to Job in compassion ⁴and gave him twice what he once had possessed. There came to ⁵Job all his friends, brethren, and those who had known him, and they ate bread ⁶with him in his house. They consoled him for all the evil that ⁷God had brought upon him, and each man gave him one sheep ⁸and one gold ring.

⁹So God blessed J[ob's] latt[er days, and h]e [had] ¹⁰[fourteen thousand] sh[ee]p . . .]

—M.O.W.

129. SONGS TO DISPERSE DEMONS

11Q11

As is clear from many of the scrolls, the land and sky of the first centuries B.C.E. and C.E. was, at least in imagination, populated not only by angels but also by demons. Although the legions of the devil would be defeated in the end, in the meantime their power was considerable, and certain measures were needed to dispel their influence. One example is text 122, *An Exorcism*; others may be found here. Instead of straightforward exorcisms, these demonic defenses are composed as psalms and assigned to biblical characters. Unlike *An Exorcism*, which may have been intended to be worn on the person as an amulet, these texts were meant to be recited. Some of the instructions survive within the text.

The God of creation, who separated light from darkness, is invoked for protection against the powers of darkness.

Col. 1 ¹⁻²[. . . A Psalm of] Solomon. He took [. . .] ³[. . .] the demons [. . .] ⁴[. . .] these are [the de]mons [. . .] ⁵[. . .] [sr]ael . . .] ⁶⁻⁷[. . .] with me [. . .] healing ⁸[. . . the righteous] leans on Your name and calls [. . .] ⁹[. . . He says to Is]rael, Be strong ¹⁰[. . .] the heavens ¹¹[. . .] who has separated [light ¹²from darkness . . .]

God's power in creation is again entreated. The spell proper begins with the words "I adjure . . ." and goes on to include a citation from Scripture.

Col. 2 ¹[. . .] ²and the earth [. . .] the earth, who m[ade the host of heaven for seasons] ³and for sig[ns . . .] He is the Lord [. . .] ⁴He made the [. . .] I adjure all [. . .] ⁵[. . .] and all [. . .] which [. . .] before [. . .] ⁶[. . .] the earth [. . .] ⁷[. . . every] sin, and concerning all these [. . .] you know ⁸[. . .] which are not [. . .] if not ⁹[. . .] from before the Lord [. . .] to slay the soul of ¹⁰[. . .] the Lord, and let him be afraid [. . .] this great [spell:] ¹¹“One of you [will pursue] a thou[sand]” (Josh. 23:10) . . . served the Lord [. . .] ¹²[. . .] great [. . .]

Another psalm-spell, calling on angelic powers to combat the demonic.

Col. 3 ¹Great is [. . .] I adjure [you . . .] ²and the great [. . .] against [you . . .] the mighty [angel . . .] ³all the earth [. . .] the heavens and [. . .] ⁴May the Lord smite you [with a mighty blow] in order to destroy you [. . .] ⁵and by His fierce wrath [may He send] against you a mighty angel [. . .] ⁶[. . .] which [. . . no] mercy for you, who [. . .] ⁷[. . .] against all these which [shall be sent forever] into the great abyss ⁸[. . . to] lowest Hades, and who [. . . there] you shall lie, and darkness ⁹[. . .] very much [. . .] in the earth ¹⁰[. . .] forever [. . .] with the curses of des[truction . . .] ¹¹[. . .] the fierce wrath of [. . .] darkness [. . .] ¹²[. . .] affliction [. . .] your portion [. . .]

A summary statement on the nature of the preceding psalm.

Col. 4 ¹[. . .] ²which [. . .] and those possessed by [demons . . .] ³those crushed [by Belial . . . on Isra]el, peace [eternal . . .]

An incantation attributed to David, to be uttered against Resheph, an ancient deity whom the Israelites thought of as a demon. Here the chief weapon is mockery. Note the reference to the demon's horns.

¹A Psalm of David, against [. . .] in the name of the Lor[d . . .] ⁵against Resheph [. . .] he will come to you at ni[ght, and] you will say to him, ⁶“Who are you? [Withdraw from] humanity and from the ho[ly] race! For your appearance is ⁷[nothing], and your horns are horns of sand. You are darkness, not light, ⁸[wicked]ness, not righteousness [. . .] the Lord [. . .] ⁹[in Had]es most deep, [enclosed in doors] of bronze [. . .] ¹⁰[. . .] light and not [. . . never again to see] the sun that ¹¹[shines on the] righteous [. . .] and then you shall say [. . .] ¹²[. . .] the righteous to come [. . .] to do harm to him [. . .] ¹³[. . . tr]uth from [. . . righ]teousness to [. . .]

—E.M.C.

130. THE COMING OF MELCHIZEDEK

11Q13

The biblical jubilee year was the fiftieth year, the year following the succession of seven sabbatical years. Whereas a sabbatical year was one in which the land must lie fallow and rest (analogous to the Sabbath at the end of the week), in the jubilee year all land that had been alienated from its original owners was supposed to return to them. All Hebrew slaves were to be set free. The jubilee year began on the Day of Atonement and was signaled by the blowing of trumpets throughout the land and the proclamation of universal liberty.

The author of the present intriguing melange of biblical citations has selected many of the Bible's verses that relate to the jubilee year and created a work wherein those portions receive their "true" interpretation—one that is by no means obvious to the casual reader of the Bible. He understands the jubilee year remission of debts as referring not merely to prosaic matters of money, but to the forgiveness of sin. The author declares that the agent of this salvation is to be none other than Melchizedek, a mysterious figure referenced only twice in the Bible, in Genesis 14 and Psalm 110. For our author Melchizedek is an enormously exalted divine being, to whom are applied names that are generally reserved for God alone, the Hebrew names *el* and *elohim*. In the author's citation of Isaiah 61:2, which speaks of "the year of the LORD's favor," "Melchizedek" is substituted even for the most holy name of Israel's God, *Yahweh*. Yet more remarkably, Melchizedek is said to atone for the sins of the righteous and to execute judgment upon the wicked—actions usually associated with God himself. By the power of Melchizedek, dominion on earth shall pass from Satan (here called Belial) to the righteous Sons of Light.

This latter group constitutes those who are predestined to belong to the party of Melchizedek, "the congregation of the sons of righteousness." These people heed the message of a second figure described in this writing as "the messenger." The messenger, also designated "Anointed of the spirit" (Hebrew *messiah*), is conceived of as coming with a message from God, a message explicating the course of history (that is, a declaration of when the End shall come) and teaching about God's truths. This figure dies, an event that may correspond somehow with the text's references to "jubilee periods." In many of the scrolls, jubilee periods are not only times of liberation as described in the Bible, but also ways of keeping track of time. The present text apparently envisions a scheme in which the coming of the Last Days is calculated by means of these jubilee periods.

Much about this remarkable text remains mysterious and considerable further research is needed to achieve a truer understanding of its ideas. The figure of Melchizedek as portrayed here is strikingly reminiscent of the New Testament reference to a heavenly figure of that name, a high priest described as follows: “without father, without mother, without genealogy, having neither beginning of days nor end of life, but resembling the Son of God, he remains a priest forever” (Heb. 7:3). Clearly Melchizedek was a focus of powerful salvific imagery among various Jewish groups in the period of the scrolls.

The figure of Melchizedek, the heavenly savior of those predestined to belong to him.

Col. 2 ²[. . .] And concerning what Scripture says, “In [this] year of jubilee [you shall return, every one of you, to your property” (Lev. 25:13) and what is also written, “And this” ³is the [ma]nner of [the remission]: every creditor shall remit the claim that is held [against a neighbor, not exacting it of a neighbor who is a member of the community, because God’s] remission [has been proclaimed” (Deut. 15:2): ‘[the interpretation] is that it applies [to the L]ast Days and concerns the captives, just as [Isaiah said: “To proclaim the jubilee to the captives” (Isa. 61:1). . . . just] as ³[. . .] and from the inheritance of Melchizedek, f[or . . . Melchize]dek, who “will return them to what is rightfully theirs. He will proclaim to them the jubilee, thereby releasing th[em from the debt of a]ll their sins.

[He shall pro]claim this decree ⁷in the fir[s]t [wee]k of the jubilee period that foll[ows] nine j[ubilee] periods. Then the “D[ay of Aton]ment” shall follow af[ter] the [te]nth [ju]bilee period, ⁸when he shall atone for all the Sons of [Light] and the peopl[e who are pre]destined to Mel[chi]zedek. [. . .] upo[n the]m [. . .] For ⁹this is the time decreed for “the year of Melchiz[edek]’s favor” (Isa. 61:2, modified), [and] by his might he w[ill] judge God’s holy ones and so establish a righteous ki[n]gdom, as it is writ-ten ¹⁰about him in the Songs of David, “A godlike being has taken his place in the council of God; in the midst of the divine beings he holds judgment” (Ps. 82:1). Scripture also s[ays] about him, “Over [it] ¹¹take your seat in the highest heaven; A divine being will judge the peoples” (Ps. 7:7–8).

Concerning what Scripture s[ays], “How long will y[ou] (plural: you-all) judge unjustly, and sh[ow] partiality to the wick[e]d? [S]el[ah]” (Ps. 82:2), ¹²the interpretation applies to Belial and the spirits predestined to him, becau[se] all of them have rebe[l]led, turn[ing] from God’s precepts [and so becoming utterly wicked.] ¹³Therefore Melchizedek will thoroughly prosecute the veng[ea]nce required by Go[d’s] statu[te]s. [Also, he will deliver all the captives from the power of B]elial, and from the power of all [the spirits predestined to him.] ¹⁴Allied with him will be all the [“righteous] divine beings” (Isa. 61:3). [The . . .] is that wh[ic]h . . . all] the divine beings.

The figure of the messenger, an Anointed one who comes with a message from God but is "cut off."

This vi[sitation] ¹⁵is the Day of [Salvation] that He has decreed [through Isai]ah the prophet [concerning all the captives,] inasmuch as Scripture sa[ys], "How] beautiful "upon the mountains are the fee[t of] the messeng[er] who [an]nounces peace, who brings [good] news, [who announces salvat]ion, who [sa]ys to Zion, 'Your [di]vine being [reigns]' " (Isa. 52:7). ¹⁷This scrip-ture's interpretation: "the mounta[ins] are the] prophet[s], they w[ho were sent to proclaim God's truth and to] proph[esy] to all I[srael]. ¹⁸"The messen-ger" is the [An]ointed of the spir[it], of whom Dan[iel] spoke, ["After the sixty-two weeks, an Anointed one shall be cut off" (Dan. 9:26). The "messen-ger who brings] ¹⁹good news, who announ[ces salvation"] is the one of whom it is wri[tt]en, ["to proclaim the year of the LORD's favor, the day of vengeance of our God;] ²⁰to comfo[r]t all who mourn" (Isa. 61:2). This scrip-ture's interpretation:] he is to inst[r]uct them about all the periods of history for eter[nity . . . and in the statutes of] ²¹[the] truth. [. . .] ²²[. . . dominion] that passes from Belial and ret[urns to the Sons of Light . . .] ²³[. . .] by the judgment of God, just as it is written concerning him, ["who says to Zi]on 'Your divine being reigns' " (Isa. 52:7). ["Zi]on" is ²⁴[the congregation of all the sons of righteousness, who] uphold the covenant and turn from walking [in the way] of the people. "Your di[vi]ne being" is ²⁵[Melchizedek, who will del]iv[er them from the po]wer of Belial.

Concerning what Scripture says, "Then you shall have the trumpet [sounded loud; in] the [seventh m]o[n]th . . ." (Lev. 25:9).

—M.O.W.

131. THE TEMPLE SCROLL

11Q19-20

Of all the scrolls to come from the caves of Qumran, the primary copy of the *Temple Scroll* is the longest. Unrolled, it measures over twenty-eight feet. This is, however, not at all the most remarkable aspect of the scroll. The author has compiled here a new law for life in the land, a "new Deuteronomy," intended to guide Israel in the period just prior to God's creation of a new heaven and new earth. In compiling this law, the author extracts many portions from the "old law," the first five books of the Bible (especially from Deuteronomy). Yet in his quotations from the Bible he deliberately omits the name of Moses.

The effect of these omissions is electric. The *Temple Scroll* is made to seem a direct revelation from God to the author. Many scholars believe that the author

was claiming thereby to present a new, previously hidden, writing from the hand of Moses. That is, according to this view the *Temple Scroll* is an apocryphal Moses book, one of about a dozen that appear among the Dead Sea Scrolls.

But another way to understand the phenomena of the work is as a revelation to a New Moses. As it was commonly understood in the Second-Temple era, Deuteronomy 18 prophesied the rise of a New Moses; in Deuteronomy 18:15 Moses says, "The LORD your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from among your own people." We know that in the general period of the scrolls many were expecting the arrival of such a figure. The Gospel of John clearly voices this expectation in a question posed to John the Baptist: "Who are you? . . . Are you the prophet?" (John 1:19-21).

The scroll is possibly the work of the shadowy figure known as the Teacher of Righteousness (see the *Damascus Document* and *A Commentary on Habakkuk*, texts 1 and 4). If the Teacher did not himself compose the work, disciples may have done so after his death, thinking that it was something he meant to do and should have done.

The *Temple Scroll* mandates the construction of a vast temple and surrounding complex. The architectural details agree neither with the biblical description of the Temple built by Solomon, nor with any other known Israelite or Jewish temple. The author imagines a temple surrounded by three progressively larger squares. The temple complex of the scroll is much, much larger than that of the other temples, even than that of the famed Temple built by Herod. In fact, the size of the complex equals that of the entire city of Jerusalem as it then existed! Moreover, building the temple commanded by the scroll would require apocalyptic adjustments to the landscape: the Kidron Valley to the east of Jerusalem would have to be filled in with millions of tons of rock and soil, and comparable amounts of both would have to be quarried to level the western side of the city. The huge size of this complex, as well as many particular details of the architecture, point to a connection between the *Temple Scroll* and the New Jerusalem described in *A Vision of the New Jerusalem* (text 12).

The scroll includes a festival calendar that mandates hitherto unknown festivals, sacrifices, and festal regulations. In outline the calendar is the "Qumran calendar" known from many of the calendrical writings, but the new festivals do not always appear in those other calendrical works.

While the author intended to create a "new Deuteronomy," he did not simply arrange his quotations from that book and related biblical portions according to the biblical order. Rather, he organized the material by the principle of concentric circles of holiness. These circles begin with the innermost ring surrounding the Holy of Holies in the temple and work outward to embrace the entire land. Thus, the beginning of the scroll describes the architecture for the sanctuary, while by the end we are reading laws governing outlying cities and the land as a whole. On this principle the author inserted the festival calendar, for example, at

the time he was describing the "circle" surrounding the altar and inner portions of the innermost court. The calendar would especially govern the activities that took place within that circle. Dual constraints guided this "circular reasoning": an overriding concern for ritual purity and the belief that a new law for life in the land should be based on the biblical equivalent, which begins at Deuteronomy 12.

Perhaps a New Moses wrote this work, but he owed a very large debt to his predecessor. For precisely this reason, a comparison of the contents of the *Temple Scroll* with the laws of Deuteronomy brings some of our author's new ideas into focus. It is in what he does not say that he often speaks loudest. The author has eliminated from his law all passages of Deuteronomy that concern, directly or by implication, either divorce or polygamy. He also added new, extrabiblical laws to regulate divorce and niece marriage. (The *Damascus Document* manifests concerns for precisely these same two aspects of marriage.) Another striking series of omissions occurs wherever the biblical book mentions foreigners or sojourners. The *Temple Scroll* omits all such passages. Its author conceives of an Israel in which no foreigner lives within the boundaries of the land—none at all. Thus his new law needed no regulations for such groups. This extreme xenophobia appears in a number of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

A general statement about entry into the land God is about to give the people. This portion is a pastiche weaving together Exodus 34:10–16 and Deuteronomy 7:25–26.

***Col. 2** '[. . . For it is an awesome thing that I] am about to do [with you.] ²[See, I will drive out before you] the A[morites, the Canaanites,] ³[the Hittites, the Girgashite]s, the Pe[rizzites, the Hivites, and] ⁴[the Jebusites. Take care not to make a coven[ant with the inhabitants of the land] ⁵[into which you] will enter, or they will become a sna[re among you]. ⁶You shall tear down their [alta]rs, [their] pillars [you shall break, and] ⁷[th]eir [sacred poles] you shall cut down. The images of [their] go[ds you shall burn] ⁸[with fire]. Do not covet the silver or the gold becau[se you could be ensnared by it; certainly it is abhorrent] ⁹[to Me]. Do [not] take any of it and do not bri[ng an abhorrent thing into your house,] ¹⁰or, like it, [you will] be set aside for destruction. You are utterly to detest [and abhor it,] ¹¹[for] it is set apart for destruction. You shall worship no [other] go[d, for the LORD, whose name is Jealousy,] ¹²is a jealous God. Be careful not to make [a covenant with the inhabitants of the land,] ¹³[for when they whore] after [their] gods [and] sacrifice to [their gods, they will invite you] ¹⁴[and you will eat of their sacrifices. You will ta]ke [their daughters for your sons, and when their daughters whore] ¹⁵[after their gods, they will] make [your sons also into whores . . .]

^{*}The translation renders 11Q19, with the overlapping fragments of 11Q20 guiding restorations at various junctures.

Cols. 3–13:9 are very fragmentary. They describe the architecture of the temple and preparation of the temple furnishings. At 13:10 a calendar begins, specifying the year's festal occasions and the sacrificial requirements for each. The calendar continues through the subsequent columns until col. 30 and generally weaves together Numbers 28–29, portions from Leviticus, and many nonbiblical details. Col. 13:10ff. specifies the perpetual offering and Sabbath offerings. According to the Talmud, a hin was a liquid measure equal to the contents of seventy-two eggs. The ephah was a dry measure whose equivalent varied over time.

Col. 13 ¹⁰[This is what you shall offer on the altar:] t[wo] yearling [lambs] ¹¹without defect [every day as a perpetual offering. One lamb shall be offered in the morning, together with its cereal offering, one-te]nth of an ephah ¹²of choice flour, [mixed with one-fourth of a hin of beaten oil. The second lamb shall be offered at twilight. It is a perpetual burnt offering for a pleasing odor, an offering by fire] ¹³to the LORD. Its drink offering shall be one-fou[rth of a hin] of wine. [The priest who offers the burnt offering] ¹⁴shall keep [the skin] of the burnt offering. [The other lamb you shall offer at twi]light, ¹⁵like the morning offering, [with the same drink offering, an offering by fire, a pleasing od]or to [the LORD]. ¹⁶You shall not [. . .]

¹⁷On the Sabbath days you shall offer two [yearling male lambs without blemish, and two- **Col. 14** ⁰¹[tenths of an ephah of choice flour for a grain offering, mixed with oil, and its drink offering—this is the burnt offering for every Sabbath,] ⁰²[in addition to the perpetual burnt offering with its drink offering.]

Sacrifices for the first day of the month.

[At the beginning of your months you shall offer a burnt offering to the LORD:] ¹[two young bulls, one ram, seven male lambs a year old without blemish;] ²[also three-tenths of an ephah of] choice flour for a [gra]in offering [mixed with half a hin of oil, and wine for a drink offering,] ³[ha]lf a hin for [each bull; and a grain offering of choice flour mixed with oil, two-] ⁴[tenths of an ephah] with one-third of [a hin of oil, and wine for a drink offering—one third of a hin—for the ram;] ⁵[and] one-tenth [of choice flour mixed with a fourth of a hin of oil] for a grain [offering, with a wine offering of one-fourth of] ⁶[a hi]n, for every lamb. [. . . a pleasing] ⁷odor to the LORD at the beg[inning of your months. This is the burnt offering for each month] ⁸throughout the year [. . .]

Sacrifices for the New Year of the first month. This festival is not found in the Bible.

⁹On the first day of the [first] mon[th falls the beginning of months; for you it is the beginning of the months] ¹⁰of the year. [You are to do] no work. [You shall offer a male goat for a sin offering,] ¹¹which must be offered separately from the other sacrifices to aton[e for you. In addition, you are to sacri-

fice one young bull,] ¹²one ram, and [seven unblemished year]ling lambs [. . .] ¹³not in[cluding the regular burn]t off[ering of the first day of the month; together with a grain offering of three-tenths of an ephah of choice flour mixed with oil,] ¹⁴one-half of a hin [for the one bull; and wine] for a drink offering, [one-half of a hin, a pleasing odor to the LORD; and two-] ¹⁵tenths of an ephah of choice flour as a grain offering, mixed [with oil, one-third of a hin; and wine for a drink offering.

You are to offer] ¹⁶one-th[ird] of a hin for the [one] ram, [an offering by fire, a pleasing odor to the LORD; and one-tenth of an ephah] ¹⁷[of choice flour] as a grai[n offering, mixed with oil, one-fourth of a hin; and wine for a drink offering.

You shall offer] ¹⁸[one-fourth of a hin for] each [lamb . . .] lambs, and for the male go[at . . .] **Col. 15** ¹[eve]ry day [. . . lambs] ²a year old, seven; and one male [goat for a sin offering, along with the requisite grain offerings and drink offerings . . .] ³according to this ordinance.

Description of an annual seven-day ceremony for the ordination of the priests. Though these rites are derived by analogy with the biblical description of Aaron's one-time ordination, this annual ceremony is not found in the Bible.

For the Ordination Ceremony: one ram for every [day], ^{3a}[and] baskets of bread for all the ra[ms of the ordination ceremony, one basket for] each ⁴[ram]. They are to divide all the rams and baskets for the sev[en days of the ordination ceremony, each] ⁵[day] having [its] portion. They are to offer to the LORD the right thigh ⁶as a burnt offering from the ram, along with [the fat that covers the entrails and] the two ⁷kidneys with [the] fat that is on [them, and the fat that is on] ⁸the loins, and [the complete] fat tail near the spine, and the appendage of the liver. ⁹Its grain offering and drink offering shall follow the usual reg[ulation]. They shall take one unleavened cake from the] basket and one cake ¹⁰of bread with oil and [one] wafer, [and place all of them on top of the fats] ¹¹together with the offering of the right thigh. Then the officiants shall wave the ¹²rams and the baskets of bread as a wa[ve offering be]fore the LORD. It is a burnt offering, ¹³an offering by fire, a pleasing odor before the LORD.

[They are to burn everything on the altar over] ¹⁴the burnt offering to atone for themselves, each of the seven days of [the ordination ceremony].

If a new high priest is about to take office, then a special ceremony of ordination takes place at the time of the general ordination of the priests. Again, this ceremony does not appear in the Bible.

¹⁵If a high priest is about [to take office before the LORD, having] been ordained ¹⁶to we[a]r the priestly garments in place of his father, let him offer [one bull] ¹⁷[fo]r all the peo[ple], and one for the priests. He shall offer ¹⁸[the priests]'s first. The elders of the pri[ests] shall lay [their hands] **Col. 16** ¹⁹[on] its [he]ad, and after them the high [pri]est and all [the other priests. They shall slaughter] the bull ²⁰[before the LORD]. Then the elders of the priests shall take some of the blood [and, using their fingers, put] some of the blo[od on the horns] ²¹[of the altar. The remainder of the blood] they are to pour around the f[o]ur corners of the [altar's] ledge [. . .]

²²[Let the elders take some of its blood] and put it [on the tip of the high priest's right ear, on the thumb of his right hand] ²³[and the big toe of his right [foot.]] They shall sprinkle [some of the blood that was on the altar on him and on his priestly garments.] ²⁴He shall then be [holy] all of his days. [He is not to go near any dead body] ²⁵nor defile himself, [even for the body of his father or mother.] For he is now hol[y to the LORD his God.]

²⁶[Then he may sacrifice upon the al]tar and burn th[e first bull's fat . . .] ²⁷[all] the fat on the entrails and th[e appendage of the liver and the two] ²⁸[kid]neys, and the fat on the[m], and th[e fat that is on] ²⁹the loins, along with its grain offering and drink off[ering, following the usual regulation.] He shall bur[n them upon the altar]; ³⁰it shall be a [bu]rnt offering, an offering by fire, a pleasing odor be[fore the LORD].

[The flesh of the bull, however,] ³¹together with its skin and offal, they shall burn outside the [city of the sanctuary, on a fire fueled by wood,] ³²in a place separated out for the sin offerings. Only there shall they bu[rn it, with its head and legs] ³³and all its entrails. They are to burn it there in its entirety, apart from the fat; for it is a sin off[ering].

³⁴Then he shall take the second bull, the one for the people, and atone with it [for all the people] ³⁵who are assembled, using its blood and fat. Just as he did with the firs[t] bull, [so shall he do] ³⁶with the assembly's bull. Using his finger, he is to put some of its blood on the horns of the [altar, while] he is to sprinkle [all] ³⁷the rest of its blood o[n the fo]ur corners of the altar's ledge. [Its fat], ³⁸[gr]ain offering, and dr[ink] offering he must bu[r]n upon the altar; it is the assembly's sin offering.

Col. 17 ¹[. . . the] priests; and they shall place cro[w]ns upon . . .] ²[. . .] Then they shall rejoice, for atonement has been made for them. ³[. . .] This day shall [be a holy convocation] for them, [these are eternal statutes] ⁴[for generation after generation,] wherever they may dwell. They are to rejoice and be very [glad . . .]

Commands for the Passover, celebrated on the evening of the fourteenth day, the first month. The "third part of the day" in l. 7 means about four hours after sunrise (one-third of the way through the daylight hours).

⁶[On the four]teenth day of the first month, [at twilight, let them kee]p ⁷[the Passover to the LORD.] They shall sacrifice the Passover offering prior to the evening offering, sacrificing it [at the third part of the day.] ⁸"Men aged twenty years and up shall prepare it. Then they are to eat it at night," in the courtyards of [the] temple. Afterwards they shall arise early in the morning and return home.

Commands for the Feast of Unleavened Bread, lasting seven days beginning on the fifteenth of the first month.

¹⁰On the fifteenth of this month a ho[ly] convocation is to take place. ¹¹You are to do no work on it; it is a pilgrimage feast of unleavened bread, seven days ¹²for the LORD. For each of th[ese] seven days you are to offer ¹³a burnt offering to the LORD, comprising two bulls, a ram, and seven unblemished yearling lambs, ¹⁴together with a single male goat—a sin offering—and the requisite grain and drink offerings. ¹⁵You shall [follow] the [us]ual regulations for the bulls, the ram, the [la]mbs, and the goat. Then, on the seventh day, ¹⁶[a solemn assembly] to the [LO]RD shall be held; on that day you are to do no work.

Fragmentary commands for the waving of the barley sheaf (the omer) on the twenty-sixth of the first month.

Col. 18 ²[. . .] for this ram [. . .] ³[. . . They shall hold a sacred convoca- tion] on this day, and [. . .] ⁴[. . . a male] goat for a sin offering [. . .] ⁵[. . . its grain offering and dr]ink offering following the usual regulation: a tenth of an ephah of choice flour ⁶[mixed with oil, one-fourth of a hin, and] wine for a drink offering, one-fourth of a hin. ⁷[. . . He shall atone fo]r the people assembled, for all [their] sin, ⁸[and they shall be forgiven. Generation after generation,] eternal [sta]tutes shall these be for them, ⁹[wherever they may dwe]ll. After that they are to sacrifice the single ram, on[ce], ¹⁰on the day of waving the sheaf.

Regulations for the Festival of the First Fruits of Wheat, beginning on the fifteenth of the third month. This is a biblical feast, but the method of calculating its date was a matter of dispute at the time of the scroll.

You shall count ¹¹seven full weeks from the day on which you bring the sheaf ¹²[of the wave offering. You are to co]unt until the day after the seventh Sabbath: count ¹³[fifty] days. Then you shall bring a new grain offering to the LORD from wherever you dwell, ¹⁴[bread made with ch]oi[ce flour], fresh baked with leaven—first fruits to the LORD, a bread made with wheat. There must [b]e twe[lve] ¹⁵[cakes, with two-tenths] of an ephah of choice flour in each cake. ¹⁶[The heads of the tr]ibe[s shall bring them,] and they are to offer [. . .]

*Col. 19² [. . .] the burnt off[ering . . .]³ [. . .] twel[ve . . .]⁴ [. . .] their [grain] offering and [their dri]nk offering following the usual regulations, and [they] shall wave [. . .]⁵ [. . .] first fruits [. . .] they shall [belong to the] priests, and they shall eat them in the [inner] cour[t],⁶ “[a grain offering of ne]w grain, the bread of the first fruits. Afterward, [. . .]⁷ [. . .] new bread made with fresh, ripe ears of grain. [That] day is to be “[a holy convocation, and these statutes are ete]rnal, for generation after generation. They shall do no work.”⁸ This is a [pilgrimage feast of W]eeks, a feast of first fruits established as a memorial forev[er].

Stipulations for the Festival of the First Fruits of Wine, beginning on the third day of the fifth month. This festival does not appear in the Bible.

¹¹You shall [count] beginning from the day when you bring the new grain offering to the LOR[D—] ¹²the bread of the first fruits—seven weeks, seven full weeks, ¹³[un]til the day after the seventh Sabbath. You are to count fifty days, ¹⁴then [brin]g new wine as a drink offering: four hin from all the tribes of Israel, ¹⁵one-third of a hin from each tribe. In addition to the wine, they are to offer on that day ¹⁶twelve rams to the LORD. All the commanders of the thousands of Israel [. . .]

Col. 20 ¹¹[Then he shall sacrifice the ra]ms, together with their grain offering, following the usual regulations: two-[tenths of an ephah of choice flour mixed with oil,] ¹²[one-third of a h]in of oil per ram, in addition to this drink offering. [. . .] ¹³[. . . and] yearling [male lamb]s, together with a male [goat for a sin offering . . .] ¹⁴[. . . He shall atone for the people] assembled [. . .] the[ir grain offering] and drink offering ¹⁵following the usual regulations for bulls and ram[s . . .] ¹⁶to the LORD. They are to sacrifice at the first quarter of the day [. . .] ¹⁷[the r]ams and the drink offering. Then they are to sacrifice [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] fourteen yearling [male] lambs [. . .] ¹⁹[. . .] the burnt offering. They shall offer them [. . .] ²⁰[. . .]

They shall burn [their fat] upon the altar, [the] ⁵[fat surrounding the entrails]—all the fa[t]—⁶and [the appendage of the liver]. He shall remove the kidneys, and all the fat [that is] on [them] ⁷[and on the loins, and th]e fat tail near the spine, and bu[rn] ⁸[the entirety on the altar], along with the requisite grain offering and drink offering. It is an offering by fire, a pl[ea]sing odor ⁹[before the LORD].

Any grain offering they make must be accompanied by a drink offering following [the usual regulations]. ¹⁰From [eve]ry grain offering [th]at is accompanied by frankincense, or else offered dry, they are to take a handful—the ¹¹[memor]ial portion—and burn it on the altar. The remainder shall be eaten in the [in]n[er] ¹²court. The priests are to e[a]t it [without leaven]; it

must not be eaten leavened. It must be ea[ten] on that very day, ¹³[and] the sun is [not to se]t on [it]. (You are to put salt on all your offerings, never relaxing ¹⁴the covenant to use salt, forever.)

Then they shall make an offering to the LORD ¹⁵[from] the rams and the male lambs: the right thigh, the breast, ¹⁶[the cheeks, the stoma]ch, and the foreleg extending as far as the shoulder bone. They are to wave them as a wave offering. *Col. 21 ⁰²[The priests' portions] are to be the thigh that is waved and the breast [that is waved, according to the usual regulations,] ⁰³[the forelegs, the cheeks, and the stomachs. These are their portions [. . .] ⁰⁴from the children of Isra]el, [as a perpetual statute]. The shoulder, what remains from the foreleg up, [belongs to the Levites.] ⁰⁵[. . . This is] a perpetual statute; it belongs to them and to their descendants ⁰⁶[forever].

The commanders of thousands [are to give] rams and ¹[lambs to the priests—one ram and one lamb. To the Levites they shall give] one [ra]m and one lamb. To all ²[the tribes they are to give on]e [ram] and one lamb, that is, to all the tri[bes, the twe]lve tribes of ³Israel. Then they shall eat them [on that very day in the out]er [court] before the LORD.

⁴[They shall also drink the new wine there. The priest]s shall drink first, then the Levites, ⁵[then the children of Israel: the commanders of the thousands of Isra]el—leaders of divisions—in first position; ⁶[after them, the men of reputa]tion; then the whole people, gre[at] and small, ⁷may begin to drink the new wine. [Afterward they are permitted to ea]t grapes from the vines, whether ripe or unripe, for ⁸[on] this [da]y they will have made atonement for the wine. So the children of Israel are to rejoice bef[ore] the LORD, ⁹this being an eternal [statute], generation after generation, wherever they may dwell. They shall rejoice [this] d[ay], ¹⁰[for they have begun] to pour out a fermented drink offering, new wine, upon the altar of the LORD, an annual rite.

Stipulations for the Festival of the First Fruits of New Oil. This festival was to occur on the twenty-second day of the sixth month, and, once again, it does not appear in the Bible.

¹²Y[ou] shall count from that day seven weeks—seven times seven days, forty-nine ¹³days, seven complete weeks—until the day after ¹⁴the seventh Sabbath: count out fifty days. Then offer new oil from the places where ¹⁵the [tr]ibes of the ch[ildren of Is]rael dwell, half a hin from each tribe, newly extracted oil. ¹⁶[They are to offer the first fruits of the] oil on the altar of burnt offering, as first fruits before the LORD [. . .]

†Col. 22 ⁰²[. . . The high priest shall at]one with the bull for the entire congregation before [the LORD, along with its grain offering,] ⁰³[three-tenths

¹¹Q20 frags. 8–9 col. 1 overlaps 21:02–22:5.

¹¹Q20 frags. 8–9 col. 2 overlaps 22:8–23:4.

of an ephah of choice flour, mixed] with one-half a hin of this new oil. [Then he shall burn] ⁹⁴[its fat, its grain offering and its drink offering following the usual regulations. It is a burnt offering, an offering by fire, a [pleasing] odor ⁹⁵[to the LORD . . . Using] this oil 'they shall light the lamps of the [menorah]s. [They shall illuminate] with th[em . . .]

²[. . .] The commanders of thousands, together with the lea[ders of the divisions, shall bring] ³fourteen ye[arling male lamb]s, with their requisite grain offering and drink offering [. . .] ⁴[. . . for the lambs] and the rams. Then the Levites are to slaughter th[ese peace offerings], ⁵[and] the priests, the sons of Aaron, [are to spri]nkle their blood [all around on the altar, . . .] ⁶and they shall burn their fat on the altar of [burnt offering . . .] ⁷They shall burn [their grain offering] and drink offering on top of the fat[s . . . It is a burnt offering, an offering by fire, a] pleasing [odor] ⁸[to] the LORD.

Next they shall present [to the LORD an offering from the rams and lambs]: ⁹the right thigh, the breast of the wave offering, and, as the best part, [the foreleg]. ¹⁰The cheeks and the stomach shall belong to the priests as their portion, following the usual regulations. The Levites are to receive ¹¹the shoulder.

Afterward, the portions shall be brought out to the children of Israel, who are to give the priests ¹²one ram and one lamb, the Levites the same, and each tribe ¹³the same. They shall eat them before the LORD on that very day in the outer court. ¹⁴This is an eternal statute, for generation after generation, as an annual rite. After ¹⁵they have eaten, they are to anoint themselves with the new oil and eat olives, for on that day they shall have atoned ¹⁶for [a]ll [the oil] of the land before the LORD, as an annual rite once a year. The children of Israel shall rejoice **Col. 23** ¹⁷[before the LORD wherever they may live; this is an eternal statute] ¹⁸[for generation after generation].

The Festival of Wood Offering. Although the Bible requires Israel to provide wood for the sacrifices offered on the altar, no formalized procedure for doing so appears in its pages. The scroll presents a week-long festival for this purpose, beginning the day after the Festival of New Oil. The reference to the "fourth part of the day" in l. 8 means approximately three hours after sunrise (one-fourth of the way through the daylight hours).

¹⁹[The twelve tribes of the children of Israel are to contribute wood] ²⁰for the alt[ar. Those contributing] ²¹on the first day are to be the tribes of Levi and Judah; on the [second day, Benjamin] ²²[and the sons of Joseph; on the third day, Reuben and] Sim[eon]; on the fourth day, ²³Issachar [and Zebulun; on the fifth day, Gad and] Asher; on the [sixth] d[ay, Dan] ²⁴and Naphtali. [Along with] the wood, [they are to offer] as a burnt offering to the L[ORD] ²⁵[two bulls, two rams and two male lambs each day. Also, they shall slaughter]

two male goats as [a sin offering], ⁵[whereby to atone for themselves, along with the] requisite [grain offering] and drink offering, following the usual regulations. Each tribe shall bring] "as a burn[t offering] one bull, one ram and [one] male go[at]; ⁷[thus shall they do as an annual rite, tr]ibe by tribe, the twelve sons of Jaco[b]. ⁸[They shall sacrifice them at the fourth of the day upon the [a]ltar, after the per[petual] burnt offering [and its drink offering].

⁹The high priest is to o[ff]er the [Levites' burnt offering] ¹⁰first, then the burnt offering of the tribe of Judah. W[hen he] ¹¹is ready to begin making offerings, the male goat shall be slaughtered in his presence as the first thing. He is to raise ¹²its blood to the altar in a bowl, and, using his finger, pu[t some] of the blood on the four horns of the altar ¹³of burnt offering, and on the four corners of the altar's ledge. Then he shall pour the rest of the blood on the foundat[ion] ¹⁴of the altar's ledge, all around. Subsequently he shall burn its fat on the altar: the fat covering the ¹⁵entrails and that above the entrails. He shall remove the appendage of the liver and the kidneys, ¹⁶as well as the fat on them and on the loins. He is to burn ¹⁷the entirety on the altar, along with its grain offering and drink offering, as an offering by fire, a pleasing odor to the LORD [. . .]

Col. 24 "[. . .] the flesh, as a [pleasing] odor. [It is an offering by fire] ⁷[to the LORD. Thus shall be done with] each and every bull, ram and [male lamb]. ⁸The limbs shall be ke[pt] apart; the gr[ain] offering and drink offering shall rest on top of it. These are [eternal] statutes, ⁹for generation after generation before the LORD.

¹⁰After this burnt offering he shall offer that of the tribe of Judah separately. Just as ¹¹he has performed the burnt offering of the Levites, so shall he perform that of the sons of Judah, after the Levites. ¹²Then on the second day he shall offer the burnt offering of Benjamin first, and afterwards ¹³that of the sons of Joseph as one, Ephraim and Manasseh. On the third day he is to offer ¹⁴Reuben's burnt offering separately, and that of Simeon separately. On the fourth day ¹⁵he shall offer the burnt offering of Issachar, then that of Zebulun, separately. On the fifth day ¹⁶he shall offer Gad's burnt offering, then Asher's, separately. Finally, on the sixth day ¹⁷**Col. 25** ¹⁸[he shall offer Dan's burnt offering, then Naphtali's, separately.]

The stipulations for the Day of Memorial, on the first day of the seventh month.

²And in the [seventh] mo[nth], ³[on the first day of the month, you shall observe] a day of rest, a memorial proclaimed by trumpets, a [holy] con[voca-tion.] ⁴[You must offer a burnt offering, an offering by fire, a pleasing odor be]fore the LORD. Thus [you are to] sac[rifice] ⁵[on]e [young bull], one ram,

¹¹Q20 frag. 10 preserves a few words of 25:3-5.

and sev[en perfect] yearling [male lamb]s, [along with one goat] ⁶[as a sin offering], accompanied by their grain offerings and drink offerings following the usual regulations—a pleasing odor ⁷to [the LORD.]

[These are in addition to] the perpetual [burn]t offering [and the burn]t offering for the first day of the month. Only after offering those [are you to perform] this ⁸[burnt offering], at the thir[d] part of the day. These are eternal statutes, for generation after generation [wherever you may dwell]. ⁹You are to rejoice on this day, doing no wo[rk] whatsoever. This day is to be ¹⁰a day of rest for you.

Commands for the Day of Atonement, falling on the tenth day of the seventh month. By the time of the Temple Scroll, Azazel had come to be a name for Satan.

On the tenth of this month ¹¹is the Day of Atonement. You are to humble yourselves on it; in fact, any one who does not ¹²humble himself on this very day shall be cut off from his people. You are to offer a burnt offering to the LORD on it: ¹³one bull, one ram, and seven yearling male lambs, together with a male ¹⁴goat as a sin offering—quite apart from the sin offering of atonement—accompanied by their grain offering and drink offering, ¹⁵following the usual regulations regarding the bull, the ram, the lambs, and the goat.

As for the sin offering of atonement, you are to sacrifice ¹⁶two rams as a burnt offering. The high priest shall offer one for himself and his father's house, [and one for the people . . .] **Col. 26** ³[Then] the [high pri]est [shall cast lots for the two] ⁴[goats,] o[ne] lot [designated "The LORD" and the other "Azazel."] ⁵He is to slaughter the goat [upon whom] fall[s] the lot designated "The LORD," and raise ⁶its blood in the golden bowl that he ho[lds]. He is to d]o with [its] blo[od as he did with that] ⁷of the bull he sacrificed for himself, making atonement with it for all the people assembled. Its fat, grain offering, ⁸and drink offering he shall burn upon the altar of burnt offering, whereas its flesh, skin, and offal ⁹are to be burned near that of his bull. This is the sin offering for the assembly, wherewith he shall atone for all the people assembled, ¹⁰and they shall be forgiven.

Then he shall wash the blood of the sin offering from his hands and feet and approach ¹¹the living goat. He is to confess over its head all the iniquities of the children of Israel, as well as ¹²all their guilt and sins, thus putting them upon the goat's head. Then he shall send him away ¹³to Azazel in the wilderness led by a man prepared for the moment. The goat shall carry away all the iniquities **Col. 27** ⁰¹[of the children of Israel to a barren region . . .] ¹[Thus shall the high priest atone] ²for all the children of Israel, and they shall be forgiven.

³Afterwards he is to offer the bull, [r]am, and [lambs following the usual regulations] ⁴on the altar of burnt offering, and the [bur]nt offering will be acceptable on behalf of the children of Israel. These are perpetual statutes, ⁵for

generation after generation. Once each year they shall observe this day as a memorial. ⁶They shall do no work whatsoever on it, because it is a Sabbath of solemn rest. Any man ⁷who does work on it or who does not humble himself will be cut off from ⁸his people. This day is to be a Sabbath of solemn rest, a holy convocation, ⁹so you are to consecrate it as a memorial wherever you may dwell. You are not to do any ¹⁰work.

Commands for the Feast of Tabernacles, a week-long festival beginning on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Most of the commands for the first day and everything for the days following the fourth have been lost.

On the fifteenth day of this month **Col. 28** ⁰¹[you shall observe a holy convocation . . .] [¹ . . .] and [its] grain offering ²on the altar. This is an offering by fire, a [pleasing] od[or to the LORD. And on the] ³second [day], he shall sacrifice twelve bulls, [two rams, four-] ⁴teen [male lambs], and one male goat [as a sin]n offering, together with their [gr]ain offering [and drink] offering, ⁵following the usual regulations for bulls, ram[s], sheep, [and] the goat. This is an offering by fire, ⁶a pleasing odor to the LORD.

On the third day ⁷he shall sacrifice eleven [b]ulls, two rams, fourteen male lambs, ⁸and a male goat as a sin offering, together with their grain offering and drink offering, following the usual regulations for bulls, ⁹rams, lambs, and the goat. On the fo[ur]th day ¹⁰he is to sacrifice ten bulls, two rams, fourteen yearling male lambs, ¹¹and a male goat as a sin offering, together with their grain offering and drink offering as usual for bulls, **Col. 29** ⁰¹[rams, sheep, and the goat . . .] ¹and [their] drink offering [. . .]

A summary statement for the festival calendar. This portion is a crucial clue to the purpose and intentions of the Temple Scroll. Apparently the temple for which the scroll provides the architectural plan is not eternal, but will be replaced at the "Day of Creation" by a temple created by God himself.

²These [are the regulations that you must follow for all of your festivals,] ³each one's burnt offerings, drink offerings, [and peace offerings,] in the temple upon which I shall [cause] my ⁴name [to dwell. Further, these are] the burnt offerings—[each] on the requisite [day] as stipulated by the law of this ordinance— ⁵required of the children of Israel for always (not including freewill offerings that they may choose to sacrifice), ⁶together with their vow offerings and all the gifts that they are to bring to find favor with Me.

⁷And find favor they shall; they shall be my people, and I will be theirs, forever. I shall dwell ⁸with them for all eternity. I shall sanctify My [te]mple with My glory, ⁹for I will cause My glory to dwell upon it until the Day of Creation, when I Myself will create My temple; ¹⁰I will establish it for Myself for everlasting in fulfillment of the covenant that I made with Jacob at Bethel, **Col. 30** ⁰¹[Isaac at Gerar and Abraham at Haran . . .]

Now begins a lengthy section of the scroll detailing the architecture of the temple complex. Virtually nothing of this description derives from the Bible as we know it, though some portions come from a "rewritten Bible" (see text 71). The description begins in the innermost court and works outward. The first structure described is a staircase tower, apparently to be used to reach the roof of the temple. Precisely why that would be necessary is unclear; perhaps calendrical observations would be made from that height, or perhaps priests would reach poles down to clean the Holy of Holies without actually entering it. Only the high priest was ever to enter the Holy of Holies, and then only on the Day of Atonement.

⁵You are to [make] a staircase tower north of the sanctuary, a square structure "measuring twenty cubits from one corner to another, for each of its four corners. It shall be a distance of seven cubits ⁷to the northwest of the sanctuary wall. You shall make its wall four cubits ⁸thick [and forty cubits high,] corresponding to the sanctuary. The interior measurement from angle to angle is to be ⁹twelve [cubits], with a square column set in the middle, four cubits wide ¹⁰in every direction. [. . .] The width of the stairs winding upwards around it is to be four [cubits . . .]

Col. 31 ⁶In the roof chamber of [this] ho[use you must make a ga]te opening to the roof of the sanctuary. A walkway shall lead ⁷from this gate to an entry [in the roof of the] sanctuary, by means of which one can enter the roof chamber of the sanctuary.

⁸You are to overlay this entire staircase tower with gold: its walls, gates, and roof, inside ⁹and out, its column and stairs. You must do everything just as I am telling you.

The second structure described in the inner court is to house the laver (where the priests would wash before and after sacrificing) and related accoutrements.

¹⁰You shall make a square house for the laver to the southeast of the sanctuary, twenty-one ¹¹cubits on a side, fifty cubits distant from the altar. The wall is to be three cubits thick and ¹²twenty cubits high. [. . .] You must make gates for it on the east, north, ¹³and west, four cubits wide and seven high.

***Col. 32** ⁸You are to make nic[hes] on the inner face of the wall of this ⁹house, and inside them [. . .] one cubit wide. The niches shall be ¹⁰four cub[its] above the ground and overlaid with gold. There the priests shall store ¹¹the clothes in which they [com]e, above the house of the [. . .], ¹²when they arrive to serve.

You shall build a water-course surrounding the laver inside its house. The water-course will ¹³lead [from the house] of the laver, and a hole shall descend into the ground, into which ¹⁴the water will pour and go down until it disap-

*A small fragment of 11Q20 guides the restoration of several words in 32:10-11.

pears. None may ¹⁵touch the water because some of the blood from burnt offerings is mixed with it.

A plan for the house storing temple utensils.

Col. 33 ⁸You are to build a house east of the house of the [l]ave[r], the same size as the latter. ⁹The wall must be seven cubits distant from that of the house of the laver. The [wh]ole structure and roof shall be the same as those of the laver's house. ¹⁰It must have two gates, one on the north and the other on the south, opposite each other, measuring the same as those of the laver's house. ¹¹All the inner walls of this house are to have cupboards built in, recessed into the wall. ¹²They shall be two cubits wide and two deep, and four cubits high. ¹³They are to have doors. These shall house the altar's utensils: basins, flagons, fire pans, ¹⁴and silver ladles, with which entrails and ¹⁵limbs are lifted to the altar. When they finish sacrificing, [. . .]

A description of the slaughterhouse, probably located on the north side of the sanctuary. The architectural specifics are badly preserved; most of what can be read concerns the praxis of slaughtering the animals using a system of chains and rings.

Col. 34 ²[. . .] and between one pillar and ano[ther . . .] ³[. . .] that is between the pillars [. . .] ⁴[. . .] the bulls in place between the whee[ls . . .] ⁵[. . . open]ing and closing the wheels, and [. . .] ⁶tying the bulls' heads to the rings and [. . .] in the rings.

⁷Then they shall slaughter them and gather [the blood] in bowls ⁸to sprinkle on the foundation of the altar, all around. After that they are to open ⁹the wheels and flay the bulls' skins from their flesh; next, they shall cut them up ¹⁰into pieces, salting the pieces and washing ¹¹the entrails and legs, then salting those as well. Afterward they may burn them ¹²in the fire upon the altar, bull by bull accompanied by its pieces, its grain offering of choice flour on top of it, ¹³and the wine of its drink offering alongside (some having been poured on top of it). The priests, the sons of Aaron, are to burn the entirety ¹⁴upon the altar as an offering by fire, a pleasing odor before the LORD.

¹⁵You are also to design chains hanging down from the ceiling atop the twelve pillars [. . .]

At this point in the architectural description the author inserts a list of those forbidden to approach the precincts he is describing. Death was to be the penalty for infringement.

Col. 35 ¹[. . . the Hol]y of Holi[es . . .] ²[. . .] Any man who has not [. . .] ³[. . .] Any man who has not [. . . h]oly ⁴[. . .] Anyone who [ap]proaches with them but] is not ⁵a priest must be put to d[ea]th. Any man who is [a pr]iest who comes ⁶with them, but is not wearing the [hol]y vest[ments in wh]ich he was ordained ⁷to minister, must also be put to death. They are

not to profane the temple of their God; they must bear "the penalty of guilty iniquity and die. You must sanctify the precinct of the altar, the sanctuary, the laver ⁹and the colonnade, so that it is utterly holy forever and ever.

Description of a colonnade, or stoa, for the sin and guilt offerings.

¹⁰You shall make a place west of the sanctuary. The entire precinct is to be a stoa of many columns ¹¹for the sin offerings and guilt offerings. There are to be separate sections for the sin offering of the priests and for the male goats, on the one hand, ¹²and for the sin and guilt offerings of the people, on the other. They are not to mix with one another ¹³at all. No, their sections are to be separate from each other, so that ¹⁴the priests do not err with any sin offering of the people, or with any of their goats for guilt offerings. That would result in ¹⁵guilty sin.

As to birds for the altar: one must prepare turtledoves [. . .]

The command to build the inner court. This court, which would surround the sanctuary and the buildings already described, was the innermost of three courts. The initial details have not survived; the first intelligible lines describe the four gates of the court.

Col. 36 ³[. . .] From the [northeast] angle ⁴[to the corner] of the gate is to be one hundred twenty cubits.] Each gatehouse shall be forty cubits wide; ⁵all its dimensions shall have [this same measurement. Its] wall shall be seven cubits [thi]ck. ⁶The height up to the rafters of [its] ceiling is to be [forty-] five [cubits]. [The width] of [its] side[chambers] is to be ⁷twenty-six cubits from angle to angle. The gates through which they will enter ⁸and [e]xit are each to be four[te]n cubits wide and ⁹twenty-eight cubits high, measured from threshold to lintel. The height ¹⁰of the ceiling-structure above the lintel is to be fourteen cubits. Each gate shall be roofed over with an entablature ¹¹of cedar wood overlaid with pure gold. Its doors are also to be overlaid with pure gold.

¹²From the corner of the gate to the southeast angle of the court is to be one hundred ¹³twenty cubits. The same measurement shall apply with respect to all the gates and angles of ¹⁴the inner court. The gatehouses shall intrude into the courtyard [x cubits] . . .

The inner court could be entered only by priests. This court is where they would eat their sacrificial portions while serving in the temple. Here the author describes some of the priestly structures to be built and the activities that were to take place there.

Col. 37 ⁹Inside the [in]ner cou[rt] you are to design a qu[ar]ter with s[e]ats for the priests, with tables ⁹placed before the seats. The quarter is to be in the inner stoa, next to the court's outer wall. ¹⁰Also, places are to be made for the priests' sacrifices, first fruits, and tithes, ¹¹as well as the peace offerings

that they will sacrifice. The peace offerings sacrificed by ¹²the children of Israel must never mix with those of the priests.

¹³In each of the four corners of the court you shall make the priests a place for the caldrons ¹⁴in which they will boil their sacrifices. The sin offerings **Col. 38** ¹⁵the priests [shall boil] in the northeast corner, then eat [them in the southwest. The caldrons ¹⁶are to be fashioned of bright] bronze. [. . .] ¹⁷And they shall eat [the sacrifices during the days of the first fruit]s of grain, wine, and oil. [. . .] ¹⁸[. . .] the sons of Israel.

On the day of the first fruits ¹⁹they shall consume near the western gate [some of the new grain,] of the [wine,] grapes, pomegranates, ²⁰[figs, and any other] edible fruit of the tree.

[To the south of th]is [gate] they shall consume the grain offerings ²¹upon which frankincense is sprinkled. (Only the grain offering for jealousy [shall lack frankincense.]) ²²Thus, to the south of this gate [they shall eat] every grain offering, [as well as] every sin offering that [they shall receive.] ²³[. . .] They shall eat the grain there, and the bird offerings—namely, the turtledoves and the young pigeons.

The command to build a middle court surrounding the inner court, and instruction on who may and may not enter it. The gerah of l. 9 was a small coin or its equal in metal by weight.

²⁴You shall build a second [co]urt surrou[nd]ing the [inn]er [court] at a distance of one hundred cubits. ²⁵The length of its eastern wall shall be four hundred eighty cubits, the same dimension applying to all ²⁶its walls: south, west, and north. Its wall is to be [fo]ur cubits thick and ²⁷twenty-eight cubits high. Chambers must be built into the outside surface of the wall, distant from each other three **Col. 39** ²⁸[and one-half cubits . . .]

²⁹[. . .] No woman shall enter it, nor any young man before the day ³⁰on which he fulfills the law [and pays] his [atonement money] to the LORD: one-half shekel. This is an eternal law, ³¹a memorial wherever they may dwell. (The shekel shall equate to twenty gerahs.) ³²When they collect a man's half shekel [atonement money] for Me, he may enter—anyone ³³twenty years old [and up].

The twelve gates of the middle court, named after the sons of Jacob.

[The] na[m]es of the g[ate]s for this [co]urt shall be according to the na[m]es of ³⁴Is[r]ael's sons: Simeon, Levi, and Judah on the east, [R]euben, Joseph, and Benjamin on the south, ³⁵Issachar, Zebulun, and Gad on the west, Dan, Naphtali, and Asher on the north.

The measurement between the gates shall be as follows: ³⁶from the north-eastern corner to Simeon's gate, ninety-nine cubits. The gate itself shall be

¹⁵twenty-eight cubits wide. From Simeon's gate to that of Levi, ninety-nine ¹⁶cubits, the gate itself being twenty-eight cubits wide. From Levi's gate to that of Judah [. . .]

The command to build a third, outermost court, with dimensions, structures, and who may enter.

Col. 40 ⁵[. . .] You shall build a thi[r]d court, [. . .] ⁶[Entry is permitted to all Israel, their sons and] daughters, and, as to proselytes, the children [of the third generation] who are born to them. ⁷[. . .] It shall surround the middle court at a [dis]tance of [five hundred] six[ty cubits]. ⁸The wall shall be about one thousand six [hundred] cubits long from corner to corner, the same dimension applying to all its sides: ⁹east, south, west, and no[rt]h. The wall is to be seven cubits thick and forty-nine cubits ¹⁰high. Chambers must be [b]uilt into the outside surface of the wall between the gates, along the foundation ¹¹and up to the wall's cornice. It shall have three gates in the east, three in the south, three ¹²in the west, and three in the north. The gatehouses are to be fifty cubits wide and seventy cubits ¹³high. From gate to gate shall [measure] three hundred sixty cubits. From the northeast corner to the ¹⁴gate of Simeon shall likewise be three hundred sixty cubits; from the gate of Simeon to that of Levi ¹⁵shall be the same measure, and so from Lev[i]'s gate to that of Judah, three [hundred] sixty **Col. 41** ⁰¹[cubits . . .]

²[. . . From] this [western corner] ³to the ga[te of Issachar shall measure three hundred sixty] cubits; from the gate of ⁴Issachar [to that of Zebulun shall be three] hundred [sixty] cubits; ⁵from Zebulun's to Gad's, three hundred sixt[y] ⁶cubits; and from Gad's [to the northwest corner], three hundred sixty ⁷cubits. From this corner to ⁸the gate of Dan shall be three hundred sixty cubits, and the same from Dan's gate to ⁹Naphtali's: three hundred sixty cubits; and from Naphtali's gate ¹⁰to that of Asher, three hundred sixty cubits. From the gate of ¹¹Asher to the northeast corner is to be three hundred sixty cubits.

¹²The gatehouses shall project outward from the court's wall seven cubits, ¹³and inward thirty-six cubits. ¹⁴The width of the entrances is to be fourteen cubits, while their height shall be ¹⁵twenty-eight up to the lintel. They must be roofed over ¹⁶with beams of cedar and gilded with gold. Their doors must be overlaid ¹⁷with pure gold.

Facing inward between the gates you shall make chambers, **Col. 42** ⁰¹[rooms and stoas]. ⁰²The rooms shall be ten cubits wide and twenty cubits long; ⁰³their height shall be four[teen cubits. They shall be roofed over with] cedar ⁰⁴[beams] and their walls shall be two cubits thick.

Between the wall and the rooms ⁰⁵shall be the chambers. [Each chamber shall be ten cubits wide] ¹and twenty cubits [long]. Their walls are to be

*A few portions of cols. 41–42 are restored on the basis of 4Q365.

two cubits thick ²[and fourteen high], up to the lintel. The entrance ³shall be three cubits wide. [Thus you shall design] all the chambers and th[eir] rooms. ⁴As for the sto[as, they are all to be] ten cubits [wi]de. So, between one gate ⁵and the next [you must build eigh]teen chambers, the corresponding rooms—⁶eight[een in number—and the corresponding stoas.]

⁷You are to build a stairhouse near the walls of the gatehouse, inside ⁸each stoa, in which stairs spiral upward to the second and third stories of the stoas ⁹and thence to the roof. Second- and third-story chambers must be built, their dimensions, rooms and stoas ¹⁰corresponding to those of the first story.

On the roof of the third story ¹¹you are to construct columns, crowned with beams attaching column to column. ¹²This will be a place for booths, with columns eight cubits high. Booths ¹³will be built around them annually on the feast of Booths to serve the elders of ¹⁴the congregation, the leaders: the heads of clans among the children of Israel, ¹⁵and the commanders of thousands and hundreds. They shall climb up ¹⁶and sit there until the festival's burnt offering is sacrificed—that is, the one ¹⁷for the feast of Booths—each and every year.

Between one gate and the next they shall [. . .]

Here the author discusses an important activity that was to take place in the third courtyard: the consumption of the second tithe, which was eaten not by the priests, but by the laypeople who offered it to God. The author stipulates who must bring the tithe, when it may be eaten, and how to dispose of unused portions. This column is closely related to Jubilees 32:10–15; note also the Copper Scroll 1:9–12 (text 14) for a reference to second tithe.

Col. 43 ²[. . .] on the Sabbath days and on the day[s of . . .] ³[. . .] and on the days of the first fruits of grain, wi[ne, and oil, ⁴and during the festival for offering the] wood. On these days the second tithe may be eaten.

But none of it may be le[ft over] ⁵from one year to the next. Rather, they shall consume it as follows: ⁶beginning with the pilgrimage feast for the First Fruits of Wheat, the grain may be eaten ⁷until the second year's First Fruits. So for the wine: from the day ⁸of the Feast of New Wine until the second year at the Feast of ⁹New Wine. Likewise, the oil: from the day of its festival until the second year ¹⁰at the festival, the day of offering New Oil on the altar.

Everything that ¹¹remains after the corresponding second year's festival begins is to be sanctified and burned in fire. It may not be eaten any more, ¹²for it has been consecrated.

Those who live three or more days' journey distant from the temple ¹³must bring all they are able to bring with them. If they cannot ¹⁴transport it, they may sell the item for money and bring the money. Then they can use it to buy grain, ¹⁵wine, oil, cattle, or sheep.

They shall consume the tithe on festival days; they are not ¹⁶to eat any of it on working days when they are unclean. It is holy; ¹⁷therefore it may be eaten on holy days but not on work days.

Allocation of rooms, chambers, and booths in the third court to priestly and Levitical families and to the children of Israel generally, tribe by tribe.

Col. 44 ³You shall apportion the [chambers and corresponding rooms south from the gate of] ⁴[Simeo]n and north from the gate of Judah to the priests. ⁵These en[ti]re sections immediately to the north and south of Levi's gate shall belong to your brothers, the sons of Aaron: you shall appor[ti]on them ⁶one hundred eight chambers with their rooms, as well as two booths ⁷up above them on the roof.

From the gate of Judah south to the corner the sons of Judah ⁸shall receive fifty-four chambers with corresponding rooms, and the booth(s) ⁹set up above them. From the gate of Simeon north to the corner ¹⁰the sons of Simeon shall receive their chambers and corresponding rooms, together with their booths.

From the angle adjoining the sons of Judah ¹¹as far as the gate of Reuben the sons of Reuben shall receive ¹²fifty-two chambers and corresponding rooms, and their booths. From the gate of ¹³Reuben to the gate of Joseph shall belong to the sons of Joseph, that is, Ephraim and Manasseh. ¹⁴From the gate of Joseph to the gate of Benjamin shall belong to the sons of Kohath, subdivision of the Levites. ¹⁵From the gate of Benjamin to the western corner shall belong to the sons of Benjamin. From this corner ¹⁶to the gate of Issachar shall belong to the sons of Issachar; and from the gate of [Issachar . . .]

The changing of the divisions of priests and Levites. Divisions would serve in the temple for one week. On the eighth day, counting from the time when the first group began to serve, a second course would arrive to replace it. They would enter and exit through the gate of Levi.

Col. 45 ³In the same way that [the divisions enter, so shall they leave. The] new division shall enter to the left ⁴while the old one exits to the rig[h]t. They are not to intermingle, neither they nor their vessels. Let each division [come] ⁵to its own area and encamp. On the eighth day one comes and the other leaves. The incoming division shall purify ⁶the chambers, one after another, at the time that the old division exits. There must be no ⁷intermingling.

Laws on entry into the temple and temple city. These laws are derived from the Bible in most cases but are often combined and rewritten to create new meanings. The author's concern is to safeguard the purity of the holy environs.

No m[an] who has a nocturnal emission is to enter ⁸any part of My temple until three [com]plete days have passed. He must launder his clothes and

bathe ⁹on the first day; on the third he must again launder and bathe; then, after the sun has set, ¹⁰he may enter the temple. They are not to enter My temple while unclean, for that would defile it.

¹¹If a man has intercourse with his wife, he may not enter any part of the temple ¹²city (where I shall make My name to dwell) for three days.

No blind man ¹³may enter it as long as he lives, lest the city in whose midst I dwell ¹⁴be defiled. For I, the LORD, shall dwell among the children of Israel forever and ever.

¹⁵Any man who wishes to purify himself from a genital emission must count seven days as a cleansing period. On the seventh ¹⁶day he must launder his clothes and bathe his entire body in running water. Afterwards he may enter the temple ¹⁷city.

None unclean because of touching a dead body is to enter the city until purified.

No leper ¹⁸or person afflicted with a skin disease is to enter the city until purified. When he has become pure, he may sacrifice *Col. 46 ¹⁹[to Me].

[No man afflicted with an erupt]ion of skin on his head or in his beard may enter the ²⁰temple [until cleansed . . . He may] ²¹[neither] eat any [holy thing nor enter] the temple.

Structures on the wall of the third court and outside it.

¹[. . . No] unclean bird is to fly ²over [My] temp[le, so you must make spikes on the court's wall and on] the roofs of the gates ³belonging to the outer court. No [unclean bird may] ever be inside My temple, forev[er], ⁴all the days that I [dwe]ll among them.

⁵You are to build a terrace surrounding the outer court, extending ⁶fourteen cubits out from the court as measured from the entrances to the gates. You shall make ⁷twelve steps by which the children of Israel will ascend to it ⁸when entering My temple courts.

⁹You are also to build a dry moat around the temple courts, one hundred cubits wide, in order ¹⁰to separate the holy temple from the city. Therewith they will not enter My temple without thought ¹¹and defile it. They must sanctify and reverence My temple, ¹²for I dwell in their midst.

Structures outside the city: the outhouse and quarantine areas.

¹³You are to build them a precinct for latrines outside the city. They shall go out there, ¹⁴on the northwest of the city: roofed outhouses with pits inside, ¹⁵into which the excrement will descend so as not to be visible. The outhouses must be ¹⁶three thousand cubits from any part of the city.

*A fragment of 11Q20 allows the partial restoration of the first three lines of this column.

You shall also make ¹⁷three places to the east of the city, separated from one another, where ¹⁸those with a skin disease, a genital flux, or a [nocturnal] emission shall go [. . .]

Commands regarding entry into the temple city of clean and unclean animal skins. The long and detailed discussion of animal skins indicates that it was a topic of polemics in the author's day.

Col. 47 ³[. . .] The city ⁴that I shall sanctify by establishing My name and temp[le] there must be holy and pure ⁵from anything that is in any way unclean, by which one might be defiled. Everything inside it must be ⁶pure, and everything that enters it must be pure: wine, oil, edibles, ⁷and any foodstuff upon which liquid is poured—all must be pure.

No skin of a clean animal that has been slaughtered ⁸in other cities is to enter My city. Certainly in other cities they may use ⁹them for their work, whatever the need may be, but such skins are not to be brought into My city. ¹⁰The reason: their degree of purity corresponds with that of the animals' flesh. Therefore you are not to defile the city ¹¹that I sanctify, where I have established My name and temple. No, they must use skins of animals sacrificed ¹²in the temple of My temple city, where they bring their wine, oil, and ¹³edibles. They must not defile My temple with the skins of improper ¹⁴offerings that they have slaughtered elsewhere in the land. Nor are you to consecrate a skin from ¹⁵another city for use in My city; for the skins are only as pure as the flesh from which they come. If ¹⁶you have sacrificed the animal in My temple, the skin is pure for use in My temple; but if you have slaughtered the animal in another city, it is pure ¹⁷only for use in other cities. In sum, all pure foods sent to the temple must be brought in skins originating in the temple. You must not defile ¹⁸either My temple or My city with improper skins, for I dwell in its midst.

Laws concerning animals that may and may not be eaten, including dead animals. The author combines portions of Leviticus and Deuteronomy to fashion his commands.

Col. 48 ¹(You may not eat) [the cormorant, the stork, any ki]nd of [heron], the hoop[oe, nor the bat. Any winged insect that walks about on ²four feet is detestable to you.]

³[The following are the] winged [insects] you may eat: the locust according to its kind, the ba[ld] locust according to its kind, the cricket ⁴according to its kind, and the grasshopper according to its kind. Also, among the winged insects that go about on four feet you may eat those ⁵that have jointed legs above their feet, which both leap on the ground and fly with wings.

⁶You are not to eat the carcass of any winged thing or animal, but you may sell it to a foreigner. You must not eat any abominable thing, ⁷for you are a holy people to the LORD your God.

Forbidden mourning and burial practices.

You are children ⁸belonging to the LORD your God; therefore you are not to gash yourselves, nor to shave your forelocks ⁹on behalf of the dead. You must not incise your flesh or tattoo yourselves for the dead, ¹⁰for you are a people holy to the LORD your God.

Thus you shall not defile ¹¹your land. You are not to do as the nations do: they bury ¹²their dead everywhere, even inside their homes. Rather, you must set apart ¹³places in your land where you will bury your dead. For every four ¹⁴cities you must designate one burial ground.

The command to quarantine lepers and others throughout the land.

In each and every city you shall make places for those suffering from a skin disease, ¹⁵whether leprosy or affliction or scab, so that they do not enter your cities and defile them.

Also, you must make places for men suffering from a genital emission ¹⁶and for women during menstruation and after giving birth. Thus they will not defile your houses ¹⁷with their menstrual uncleanness.

As for the person suffering from a skin disease, whether old leprosy or scab, let the priest declare him unclean **Col. 49** ³[. . .] and with cedar wood, hyssop and [. . . Thus you are not to defile] ⁴your cities with leprous affliction, so that they become unclean.

Uncleanness of a house in which a person dies.

⁵When a person dies in your cities, the house in which the person died becomes unclean ⁶for seven days. Everything that is in the house and everyone who enters the house is likewise unclean ⁷for seven days. Any foodstuff upon which wa[t]er is poured becomes unclean: every part of such food ⁸is unclean. Earthen vessels become unclean, together with their contents, for every clean man. ⁹Open vessels and all the moistened food ¹⁰that they contain become unclean for every Israelite.

¹¹On the day on which they remove the dead person, they must cleanse the house from every ¹²defiling smirch of oil, wine, and water moisture. Its floor, walls and doors must be scraped, ¹³and its locks, doorposts, thresholds, and lintels washed with water. On the day ¹⁴on which the body leaves, the house must be purified, as well as its implements: mills, mortars ¹⁵and everything made of wood, iron and bronze—all implements capable of purification. ¹⁶Clothes, sacks, and skins must be washed.

Every person who was in the house ¹⁷and everyone who entered it must bathe in water and launder his clothes on the first day. ¹⁸On the third day they shall be sprinkled with the water that cleanses from impurity, and they shall bathe and launder their clothing ¹⁹and wash the implements in the house. Then on the seventh day ²⁰they shall be sprinkled a second time, bathe, and

wash their clothing and implements. When evening comes they will be purified ²¹of the dead, and may touch their pure things.

As for anyone who was not defiled by [the dead person . . .]

Laws regarding a corpse found in an open field.

Col. 50 ⁴Any ⁵man in an open field who touches the bone of a dead person, or touches a body slain by the sword, ⁶or any dead body or its blood, or a grave—let him purify himself by the procedure of the ordinance already described. ⁷If he does not purify himself according to the ordinance of this law, he remains unclean. ⁸His impurity abides with him, and anyone who touches him must launder his clothes and bathe, becoming pure ⁹that evening.

The woman with a dead fetus.

¹⁰If a woman is pregnant and her child dies in her womb, she is unclean all the days ¹¹that it is dead inside her, just like a grave. Every house that she enters becomes unclean, ¹²and its implements as well, for seven days. Anyone who touches the house is unclean until evening.

But if ¹³someone went inside the house with her, he is unclean for seven days. He must launder his clothes ¹⁴and bathe on the first day. On the third day he must be sprinkled, launder his clothes, and bathe. ¹⁵Then on the seventh day he must be sprinkled a second time, launder his clothes, and bathe. When the sun sets, ¹⁶he becomes clean.

You shall treat all the implements, clothes, skins, and ¹⁷things made of goat hair as described already in the ordinance of this law. But all ¹⁸earthen vessels must be broken, for they have become unclean and cannot be made pure again, ¹⁹ever.

Procedures for anyone touching the body of a creeping thing.

²⁰You are to regard as unclean anything that creeps upon the ground: the weasel, the mouse, every type of lizard, ²¹the gecko, the sand gecko, the great lizard, and the chameleon. Anyone who touches one of them when they are dead **Col. 51** ⁰¹[shall be unclean for seven days. He must bathe and launder his] clothes [on the first] ⁰²[day]. ⁰³[On the third day and on the seventh day he must launder his clothes and bathe] ⁰⁴[and be sprinkled with] the wat[er that cleanses from impurity.] ⁰⁵[Any wooden implement or piece of clothing or skin or sack—anything with which he does] ⁰⁶[work—must be put] into water [and is unclean until evening. Then it becomes pure.] ¹[As for everything that co]mes out of them, if [a man touches it, he bec]omes unclean ²[as far as you are concerned.] You are [not] to defile yourselves with the[m, but anyone who does touch what comes out of] a dead [creeping thing] becomes

*A fragment of 11Q20 aids the restoration of 51:01–3.

impure ³until evening. He shall launder his clothes and bathe [and], when the sun [sets], he becomes pure.

⁴Anyone who carries one of their bones or any part of their carcass, whether skin, flesh, or nail, must launder ⁵his clothes and bathe. Then, after the sun sets, he becomes pure.

An emphatic statement on the necessity of purity. Although this portion is not a quotation from the Bible, note the reference to "this mountain." Either the author is writing in the name of Moses, or he imagines himself a new Moses, even down to the detail of where revelation occurs.

You are to warn ⁶the children of Israel about every sort of impurity. They are not to defile themselves with the things about which ⁷I speak with you on this mountain. They shall not defile themselves, for I am the LORD who dwells ⁸in the midst of the children of Israel. You are to sanctify them, so that they become holy. They must not make themselves ⁹detestable by anything that I have defined as unclean; no, they are to be ¹⁰holy.

Commands for judges and officials, drawn from passages in Deuteronomy.

¹¹You shall appoint judges and officials in all your towns, who will judge the people ¹²righteously. They must be impartial in judgment. They are not to take bribes or ¹³pervert justice. Most certainly bribery perverts justice, subverts the testimony of the righteous man, blinds ¹⁴the eyes of the wise, causes great guilt, and defiles the courthouse with iniquitous ¹⁵sin. You shall pursue justice and justice alone, so that you may live. entering and inheriting ¹⁶the land that I am about to give you as an inheritance forever.

Any man ¹⁷who does accept a bribe and perverts righteous judgment must be put to death. You shall not fear him; ¹⁸put him to death.

Commands about idolatry. Asheroth were sacred trees; stelae were stones set upright.

¹⁹You shall not do in your land as the nations do. They sacrifice here, there, and ²⁰everywhere; they plant Asheroth, erect sacred stelae, ²¹set up carved stones to worship, and build themselves . . . **Col. 52** ¹[. . .] You are not to plant [any tree as an Asherah next to My altar] ²[that you are to build.] Neither are you to erect a sacred stela, [which I hate, nor] make [any ca]rved ³[st]one to worship anywhere in your land.

The use of animals for sacrifice, slaughter, and work.

You shall not ⁴sacrifice to Me any ox or sheep that has a serious bodily defect, for they are abominable ⁵to Me. Neither are you to sacrifice to Me any ox, sheep, or goat that is pregnant, for they are abominable to Me. ⁶You must not sacrifice any ox or sheep, mother and young, both on the same day; nor shall you kill any mother bird ⁷with its fledglings.

Every firstborn male among your cattle and sheep ⁸you must consecrate to Me. You shall do no work with the firstborn of your oxen, nor shear the firstborn ⁹of your sheep. You are to eat those before Me annually in the place that I shall choose. But if one has ¹⁰any bodily defect, or is lame or blind—if it has any serious bodily defect at all, you are not to sacrifice it to Me. ¹¹You may eat it in your towns, pure and impure among you alike, as though it were a gazelle or a wild ram. Only do not eat the blood. ¹²You shall pour that out on the ground like water and cover it up with earth.

Do not muzzle an ox while it plows, ¹³and do not plow with an ox and a donkey together. You must not slaughter any clean ox, sheep, or goat ¹⁴in any of your towns within a three-day journey of My temple. Instead you must sacrifice it ¹⁵in My temple, making of it a burnt offering or a peace offering. Then you shall eat ¹⁶and rejoice before Me in the place that I will choose to establish My name.

Any clean ¹⁷animal that has a bodily defect you may eat in your towns, provided you are at least four miles distant from ¹⁸My temple. You are not to slaughter it near My temple, for its flesh is improper. ¹⁹You must not eat the meat of an ox, sheep, or goat within My city (which I shall sanctify ²⁰by establishing My name in its midst) if it has not been brought to My temple. It must be sacrificed there; ²¹then they will sprinkle its blood on the foundation of the altar of burnt offering, and burn its fat [. . .]

Eating clean animals in the cities of the land. Bringing offerings to the chosen place.

Col. 53 ⁰⁷[. . . When I enlarge your territory] ¹[as I have promised you, if the place where I shall choose to establish My name is too far], ²[and you think, “I would like to eat meat,” indeed,] you crave m[eat—you may] eat [as much] m[at as you want.] ³[You may ki]ll any of your flock or herd with which I have blessed you ⁴and eat it in your towns, the clean and the unclean among you alike, as though it were a gazelle ⁵or wild ram. Only restrain yourself from eating the blood. You must pour it on the ground like water and cover it ⁶with earth, for the blood is the life. You are not to eat the life with the blood, so that ⁷it may go well with you and your children after you forever. You must do what I regard as right and good, ⁸for I am the LORD your God.

⁹You must take up devoted gifts and all your voluntary offerings and go to the place where I shall establish ¹⁰My name. There you shall sacrifice them before Me, as you have consecrated them or vowed to do.

Laws concerning oaths and vows. For the most part these vows concern a promise made to God, but they can involve human interaction as well.

¹¹When you make a vow, do not delay fulfilling it, for I will certainly require it of you ¹²and it would become a sin counted against you. But if you

refrain from vowing, no sin will count against you. ¹³Be careful about what passes your lips, for what you have voluntarily sworn to do must be done ¹⁴as you have vowed. Anyone who makes a vow to Me or who swears ¹⁵an oath, thereby binding himself, cannot break his promise. He must do everything that has ¹⁶passed his lips.

Any woman who makes a vow to Me or who binds herself with an oath ¹⁷while living with her father in her youth—when her father hears of her vow or ¹⁸binding oath, if he says nothing to her, then ¹⁹all her vows shall stand, and every binding oath shall be in force. But if ²⁰her father forbids her on the day when he hears of all her vows and binding oaths, ²¹then they do not stand. I will forgive her, because her father forbade her [. . .]

Col. 54 '[when her husband] hea[rd of them. But if he nullifies them after] the da[y] on which [he] hea[rd them], then her] hus[band must bear] ²her sin, [for he has voided them. Any vow] or bi[nding] oath [to afflict herself] ³must be upheld or voided by her husband on the day when he hears of them. I shall forgive [he]r.

⁴As for any vow made by a widow or divorced woman, everything that she binds herself by ⁵shall stand, just as it passed her lips.

You must be careful to do ⁶everything that I have commanded you today. You are neither to add to them ⁷nor subtract from them.

The false prophet.

⁸If a prophet or interpreter of dreams arises among you and promises you an omen or ⁹portent, and then the omen or portent that he has promised actually happens—if he says, ¹⁰“Let us go and serve other gods” that you have not known, you must not ¹¹obey that prophet or dream interpreter. For ¹²I am testing you to know whether you really love the LORD, ¹³the God of your fathers, with all your heart and soul. You shall follow ¹⁴the LORD your God and serve Him; you shall fear Him and obey Him ¹⁵and cleave to Him. That prophet or dream interpreter must be put to death. He has spoken rebellion ¹⁶against the LORD your God, who brought you out of Egypt (I redeemed you ¹⁷from the house of bondage), turning you astray from the way in which I have commanded you to walk. Thus you shall purge ¹⁸the evil one from your midst.

¹⁹If your brother, the son of your father or your mother, or your son or daughter, ²⁰or the wife of your bosom or your best friend, entices you secretly, saying, ²¹“Let us go serve other gods,” whom neither you [nor your father] have known [. . .]

The city led into idolatry.

Col. 55 ²If you hear concerning on[e of your cities that] I am giving you to in[dwell] ³that worthless men have gone out from your midst and that they

are influencing all the [in]habitants ⁴of their city, saying "Let us go and serve gods" that you have not known, ⁵then you must inquire, search and investigate thoroughly. If indeed the rumor proves true and factual—⁶this abomination has been done in Israel—you must put all the inhabitants ⁷of that city to the sword. Destroy the city utterly, together with every person and ⁸all its cattle. Gather all its spoil into ⁹the city square and burn both the city and its spoil as a whole burnt offering to the LORD ¹⁰your God. It shall become a ruin-heap forever, never to be rebuilt. No devoted thing ¹¹shall cling to your hand, so that I may turn from My anger and be ¹²merciful. Indeed, I shall be compassionate and multiply you just as I promised your fathers, ¹³provided you obey Me by keeping all My commandments that I hereby command you ¹⁴this day, and do what the LORD your God considers right and good.

Individual idol worshipers.

¹⁵If there shall be found among you, in one of your towns that ¹⁶I am giving you, a man or woman who does what I consider evil, ¹⁷transgressing My covenant in going to serve other gods, worshiping them— ¹⁸whether sun, moon, or any of the host of heaven—and you are told about it ¹⁹or hear such a rumor, then you must search and investigate thoroughly. If indeed ²⁰the rumor proves true and factual—this abomination has been done in Israel— then you are to bring ²¹that man or woman out and stone him [to death . . .]

The authority of the priestly Law.

Col. 56 ⁰⁷[. . . You shall go to the priests, Levites] ¹[o]r ju[dges then in office] and inquire of them. They will pro[nounce to you] ²concerning the matter about which [you] ca[me to inquire, and adju]dicate for you. ³You must act according to the law that they proclaim to you, in keeping with the decision ⁴that they render you from the book of the Law. They shall pronounce to you the truth ⁵in the place where I shall choose to establish My name. You must be careful to do ⁶everything they teach you, according to the decision that they render you. ⁷You are to depart from the law that they declare to you neither to the right ⁸nor the left.

Any man who does not obey, but acts rebelliously, ⁹heeding neither the priest who stands there to minister to Me, nor the ¹⁰judge, must die. Thus you shall purge the evil one from Israel. All ¹¹the people will hear of it and be afraid, and none shall again rebel in Israel.

The beginning of the "Law of the King." This Law continues through col. 59. Portions in col. 56 are drawn from Deuteronomy 17 (with modifications), but subsequent columns are a new creation. Though they incorporate many biblical phrases and seek to interpret the relevant biblical laws, cols. 57–59 represent a Jewish analog to Hellenistic tractates on ideal kingship.

¹²When you come to the land that I am about to give you to inherit and indwell, ¹³and you say to yourself, "I shall appoint a king over me like all the nations round about," ¹⁴you may indeed appoint yourself a king—one whom I shall choose. From among your brethren you shall appoint a king. ¹⁵You must not put a foreigner over you, he who is not one of your brethren.

The king is not ¹⁶to multiply horses for himself, nor shall he return the people to Egypt to wage war and thereby ¹⁷increase for himself horses, silver, and gold. I have said to you, "You shall never ¹⁸again return that way." Further, he must not multiply wives for himself, lest ¹⁹they turn his heart from following Me. Again, he must not unduly increase gold and silver for himself.

²⁰When he first takes the throne of his kingdom, this law ²¹must be written out for him in a book while the priests look on [. . .]

Duties and functions of the king with regard to the army, commanders, the royal body guard, the royal council, the queen, and acting as judge.

Col. 57 ¹This is the law [that shall be written for the king as] the priests [look on]. ²On the day when he is crowned [as king] of the children of Israel, [a census shall be taken] of those from ³twenty to sixty years old, according to their divisions. He shall appoint ⁴at their head commanders of thousands, hundreds, fifties, ⁵and tens, throughout all their cities.

He shall select from them one thousand men ⁶from each tribe to stay with him: twelve thousand warriors ⁷who shall never leave him alone, lest he be captured by the nations. All those ⁸chosen must be truthful men, God-fearing, ⁹despising unjust gain, mighty warriors. They shall stay with him always, ¹⁰day and night, in order to protect him from any sort of sin ¹¹and from a foreign nation, lest he be captured.

Twelve ¹²princes of his people shall be with him, and also twelve selected priests and twelve selected ¹³Levites. They are to deliberate with him on matters of justice ¹⁴and Law, and he must not become too proud for them or do anything ¹⁵on counsel other than theirs.

He may not take a wife ¹⁶from any of the nations. Rather, he must take himself a wife from his father's house ¹⁷—that is, from his father's family. He is not to take another wife in addition to her; no, ¹⁸she alone shall be with him as long as she lives. If she dies, then he may take ¹⁹himself another wife from his father's house, that is, his family.

He must not pervert judgment ²⁰or take a bribe to pervert righteous judgment. Nor is he to desire ²¹any field, vineyard, wealth, or house, or any precious thing in Israel, so as to steal [. . .]

The king as war leader: enemy raids and formidable armies, the battle in danger of being lost, division of the booty, rules for combat, and the command to seek God's oracle before battle. The oracle was sought using the Urim and Thummim, two stones

kept in the breastplate of the high priest. By asking yes-or-no questions and drawing one or the other unseen stone out from the pouch, one received God's guidance.

Col. 58 ³At the time that the king hears of any nation or army trying to steal something that belongs ⁴to Israel, he must send for the commanders of thousands and hundreds stationed in the cities ⁵of Israel. They will dispatch one-tenth of the army to go out with him to battle against ⁶their enemies, and with him they shall go.

But if a mighty army comes to the land of Israel, they shall send ⁷with him one-fifth of the warriors. If a king with chariots, cavalry, and a mighty army comes, ⁸they shall send with him one-third of the warriors. Two-thirds must guard ⁹their cities and border, lest an enemy band penetrate to the midst of their land.

¹⁰If, however, the battle is going against him, they must send him half of the army, the men of ¹¹war; but the other half of the army cannot be separated from their cities.

If they defeat ¹²their enemies, crushing them and putting them to the sword, and carry off their plunder, they are to give ¹³the king one-tenth of it. The priests shall receive one part per thousand and the Levites one percent ¹⁴of the total. The rest is to be divided equally between the warriors who fought the battle and their comrades ¹⁵who remained behind in their cities.

If the king goes out to wage war ¹⁶against his enemies and as much as one-fifth of the army accompanies him, warriors, all the valourous ¹⁷heroes, then they must guard themselves against all manner of impurity, indecency, iniquity, and shame.

¹⁸He must not go to battle prior to coming to the high priest to inquire of him about the judgment of the Urim ¹⁹and Thummim. The king will go out to battle and return guided by the priest—the king and all the Israelites ²⁰with him. He must not go out by his own decision prior to inquiring of the judgment of the Urim ²¹and Thummim. Then he shall succeed in all his ways because he went out by the judgment that [. . .]

The curse to fall upon the people and the king if he is disobedient to God.

Col. 59 ²and they will disperse them to many lands and they will [become] a ho[rror], a byword and a mockery, under a heavy yoke ³and in want of every necessity. There they shall serve gods made by human hands from wood, stone, silver, ⁴and gold. Moreover, their cities shall become a wasteland, ruins invoking derisive hissing. Their enemies ⁵shall devastate them time and again, while, in the lands of their foes, they moan ⁶and cry out because of the heavy yoke. They will call, but I will not listen; they will cry out, but I will not answer ⁷them because of their evil deeds. Rather will I hide My face from them, so that they become food, ⁸booty, and plunder. None shall deliver

them for their evil, in which they broke their covenant with Me ⁹and refused My law, becoming utterly guilty.

Afterward they will return ¹⁰to Me with all their heart and all their soul, obeying all the words of this Law. ¹¹Then I will deliver them from the power of their enemies and redeem them from being ground under foot by those who despise them. I will bring them ¹²to the land of their fathers. So, I will redeem them and multiply them, rejoicing over them, ¹³and I will be their God and they My people.

But the king ¹⁴whose heart and eyes whorishly depart from My commandments shall never have a descendant sitting on the throne of ¹⁵his fathers. Indeed, I shall forever cut off his seed from ruling Israel.

¹⁶If, however, he walks in My precepts, observing My commandments, and does ¹⁷what I regard as upright and good, then he shall never fail to have one of his sons sitting on the throne of the kingdom ¹⁸of Israel, forever. I shall be with him, I shall deliver him from his enemies and the power ¹⁹of those who would seek his life. I shall set all his enemies before him so he can rule them ²⁰as he wishes—they shall not rule him. I shall set him at the top, not the bottom; at the head, ²¹not the tail. He will long endure over his kingdom, he and his sons after him.

Portions rightly due the priests and Levites.

Col. 60 ²(To the priests belong: . . .) and all Israelite wave offerings, all the firstborn males of the Israelites' [cattle], all the [skins] ³of those cattle, all the holy offerings that are consecrated to Me, all the holy ⁴fruit offerings set apart for rejoicing, the tax on birds, wild animals, and fish—one part in a thousand of ⁵what people get by hunting or catch in a net—and the tax on booty and plunder.

⁶To the Levites belong: the tithe of the grain, the wine, and the oil that ⁷is consecrated to Me, the shoulder of the animal given for a sacrifice, the tax on ⁸booty and plunder, the tax on the catch of birds, wild animals, and fish—one percent, ⁹and the tithe on wild pigeons and honey, one part in fifty.

Also, the priests are to receive ¹⁰one percent of the catch of wild pigeons; for it is they whom I have chosen of all your tribes ¹¹to stand before Me, to minister and pronounce blessings in My name, each one and his sons always.

Rights of the rustic Levite.

¹²If a Levite comes from any of your towns throughout all Israel, where ¹³he lives, if he comes eagerly to the place where I will choose to establish My name, ¹⁴he may minister just like all his fellow Levites who stand there before Me. They shall get equal shares ¹⁵to eat, not including what each gets through inheritance.

Prohibition of heathen divination.

¹⁶When you come to the land that I am about to give you, you are not to learn to imitate ¹⁷the abhorrent practices of those nations. There must not be found among you any who forces his son or daughter to ¹⁸walk through fire, or who practices divination, or any soothsayer, augur, sorcerer, spellbinder, warlock, ¹⁹medium, or necromancer. Most certainly these are abhorrent to Me, all who practice ²⁰such things; indeed, it is because of these abhorrent practices that I am dispossessing them in favor of you. ²¹You must be blameless with the LORD your God. For these nations, who [. . .]

The false prophet.

Col. 61 ¹(The prophet who presumes) to de[clare something] in [My na]me [that I have n]ot commanded [him to] declare, or who [speaks in the name of ot]her go[ds]— ²that prophet must be put to death.

You may say to yourselves, “How shall we recognize that ³which the LORD has not spoken?” When a prophet speaks in the name of the LORD but the prophecy is not fulfilled ⁴and does not come to pass, that is a prophecy I have not spoken. The prophet spoke rebelliously; do not fear ⁵him.

The false witness and other rules of evidence.

⁶No single witness shall prevail against a man accused of any wrongdoing or sin. A case may be made only on the testimony of two ⁷or three witnesses.

If a malicious witness comes forward against a man to accuse ⁸him of a crime, then both men in the dispute must stand before Me—that is, before the priests, Levites, and ⁹judges who are then in office. The judges shall conduct an inquiry. If it turns out that the witness has falsely accused ¹⁰his comrade, then you shall do to him what he had schemed to do to his comrade. Thus you will purge the evil one from your midst. ¹¹The rest shall hear of it and be afraid to do that sort of thing among you again. You are not ¹²to take pity on him: it shall be life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot.

Rules for going to war.

When ¹³you go out to battle against your enemies and you see cavalry and chariotry and an army mightier than yours, do not be afraid ¹⁴of them. For I am with you, He who brought you up from the land of Egypt. When you draw near to battle, ¹⁵the priest shall come forward and speak to the army, saying to them, “Hear, O Israel! You are drawing near [. . .]”

Col. 62 ¹[. . . “What man is there who has betrothed a wife but not yet married her? Let him go back to] ²his house, [lest he die in battle and another man marry her.” The] jud[ges shall further] ³speak to the troops and say, “What man is there who is fearful and fainthearted? Let him return to ⁴his

house, lest he make the hearts of his comrades melt like his own." When the judges finish ⁵speaking to the army, commanders are to be commissioned over the troops.

When "you approach a city for battle, offer it terms of peace. If it accedes ⁷to the terms and opens its gates to you, then all the people found therein shall ⁸serve you in forced labor. But if it does not accept the terms and offers battle against you, ⁹you shall besiege it. Then, when I give it into your power, you are to put all its men to the sword while taking ¹⁰the women, children, cattle, and all that is in the city, all its booty, as plunder ¹¹for yourselves. You shall enjoy the booty that I will give you from your enemies. In such fashion you shall treat ¹²the cities that are very far away, those not among the cities of these nations.

¹³But in the cities of the peoples that I am giving you for an inheritance, you shall let live ¹⁴nothing that breathes. No, you shall utterly exterminate the Hittites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, ¹⁵the Hivites, the Jebusites, the Girgashites, and the Perizzites as I have commanded you, lest they ¹⁶teach you to do all the abhorrent practices that they have done for their gods [. . .]

Expiation for an unknown murderer and the nearest town's responsibility for the victim.

Col. 63 ¹(The elders of the town nearest the body shall take a heifer) that has never been worked, [which has never been yoked. The elders] of that town [shall bring] ²the heifer [down] to a valley with running water, one neither sown nor plowed, and there break the heifer's neck.

³Then the priests, the sons of Levi, shall come forward (for I have chosen them to minister to Me and to bless in My name, ⁴and by their decision shall every dispute and assault be settled) and all the elders of that town nearest the dead person's body ⁵shall wash their hands over the head of the heifer whose neck was broken in the valley. They shall affirm, "Our hands ⁶did not shed this blood, nor did our eyes see it shed. Exonerate Your people Israel, whom You have redeemed, ⁷O LORD, and let not the guilt of innocent blood remain among Your people Israel." Then they shall be exonerated for the blood.

In this manner you shall purge ⁸bloodguilt from Israel; you must do what the LORD your God considers upright and good.

The beautiful woman taken captive in war. The stipulations about touching pure things and eating peace offerings in ll. 14–15 are extrabiblical additions to Deuteronomy 21:13.

¹⁰When you go out to battle against your enemies and I give them into your power, and you take captives ¹¹and see among the captives a beautiful woman whom you desire and want to marry, ¹²bring her to your house. Shave her head, cut her nails, and remove ¹³the garments she wore as a captive. She

shall remain in your house and mourn her father and mother for ¹⁴a month. After that you can go to her and become her husband, and she your wife. Yet she must not touch your pure things for ¹⁵seven years, nor eat peace offerings until seven years have passed; afterward, she may eat [. . .]

The rebellious (presumably teenage) child.

Col. 64 ²If a man has a stubbornly rebellious child, who does not obey his father or mother, ³and does not listen when they discipline him, let his father and mother take hold of him and bring him to ⁴the elders of his city at the gate of the place where he lives. Let them say to the elders of the city, "This child of ours is stubbornly ⁵rebellious, does not obey us, and is a drunken glutton." Then all the men of his city shall stone him ⁶to death. So shall you purge the evil one from your midst, and all the children of Israel will hear and be afraid.

The crimes requiring the most shameful death. This portion greatly modifies the text of Deuteronomy 21:22–23.

⁷If a man is a traitor against his people and gives them up to a foreign nation, so doing evil to his people, ⁸you are to hang him on a tree until dead. On the testimony of two or three witnesses ⁹he will be put to death, and they themselves shall hang him on the tree.

If a man is convicted of a capital crime and flees ¹⁰to the nations, cursing his people and the children of Israel, you are to hang him, also, upon a tree ¹¹until dead.

But you must not let their bodies remain on the tree overnight; you shall most certainly bury them that very day. Indeed, ¹²anyone hung on a tree is accursed of God and men, but you are not to defile the land that I am ¹³about to give you as an inheritance.

Lost livestock. Note the continuing emphasis in the scroll on the community members' responsibility to one another.

You are not to see your neighbor's ox, sheep, or donkey ¹⁴going astray and ignore it. Most certainly you must return it to your neighbor. But if your neighbor is not near ¹⁵you, or you do not know who he is, then take the animal to your house, where it shall remain until claimed [. . .]

Prohibition on taking a hen with her young. It was permissible to take the eggs after chasing away the hen, but to kill the hen as well was wrong.

Col. 65 ²I[f] you happ[en] upon a bird's [nest], in a tree or on the ground, ³with fledglings or eggs inside and the hen sitting upon them, ⁴you must not

take both the hen and the young. Most certainly you will chase the hen away; then you may take ⁵the young, that it may go well for you and you may live a long time.

Command to build a parapet with any new house.

When you build a new house, "you must build a parapet on the roof, so that you do not bring bloodguilt upon your house if someone should fall from the roof.

The questionable virgin. After the wedding night it was traditional to expose the bloodied bedsheet as proof that the bride had been a virgin. The bride's family was to keep the sheet as insurance against false accusations.

⁷If any man takes a wife and consummates the marriage, but then spurns the woman and makes charges against her, ⁸so giving her a bad reputation, saying "I married this woman, but when I had intercourse ⁹with her I did not find her a virgin," then the young woman's father or mother shall bring ¹⁰the evidence of her virginity to the elders at the gate. The young woman's father shall say ¹¹to the elders, "I gave my daughter to this man as a wife, but now he spurns her, and he has made ¹²charges against her, claiming 'I did not find your daughter a virgin.' Yet this is the evidence of ¹³my daughter's virginity." Then the sheet shall be spread before the elders of that city.

Afterward the elders ¹⁴of that city are to take that man and discipline him, as well as fining him one hundred shekels of silver, which ¹⁵shall be given to the young woman's father. For the man brought a bad reputation upon a virgin of Israel; and [. . .]

Laws governing different situations of rape. These laws are drawn from Deuteronomy 22:24–29 and Exodus 22:15, but the phrase in l. 9, "one who by statute is a possible marriage partner for him," does not occur in the Bible. This addition actually changes the meaning of the biblical text and points to the existence of a body of laws regarding marriage, of which those in 66:11–17 are a selection.

Col. 66 ⁰⁷[If it should happen that a young woman,] ⁰⁸[a virgin betrothed for marriage to one man, is encountered by another man in the city and he rapes her,] ⁰⁹[then they shall both be brought to the gate] of that city ¹⁰and stoned until dead: the woman, on the grounds that she did not cry out for help ¹¹in the city, and the man, on the grounds that he violated his neighbor's woman. So you will purge ¹²the evil one from your midst.

But if the man encountered the woman in a distant field out of sight ¹³of the city, and he overpowered her and raped her, then only the man who raped her shall be put to death. "To the woman you shall do nothing, for she

has committed no sin worthy of death; this case is like that of a man ⁷attacked by his neighbor who kills in self-defense. For he encountered her in a field; the betrothed woman cried out for help, ⁸but there was none to save her.

If a man seduces a ⁹virgin who is not betrothed (one who by statute is a possible marriage partner for him) and he has intercourse with her ¹⁰and is discovered, then the man must give the woman's father fifty shekels of silver, and she ¹¹will become his wife. Since he has violated her, he cannot divorce her as long as he lives.

Prohibitions against illicit and incestuous marriages. The ban on niece marriage does not appear in the Bible and is probably an attack on Pharisaic practice; it is condemned in the Damascus Document as well. Rabbinic literature praises niece marriage, and this form of endogamy probably goes back to the ancestors of the rabbinic movement, the Pharisees.

No man is to marry ¹²his father's ex-wife, for that would violate his father's rights. No man is to marry ¹³his brother's ex-wife, for that would violate his brother's rights, even if the brother shares only the same father or only the same mother. Surely that would be unclean.

¹⁴No man may marry his stepsister, whether his stepfather's daughter or his stepmother's daughter; that is abhorrent. No man may ¹⁵marry his aunt, whether paternal or maternal; that is immoral. No man ¹⁶is to marry ¹⁷his brother's daughter or his sister's daughter; that is abhorrent. No man may marry [. . .]

—M.O.W.

III

EPILOGUE

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Collections of Photographs

- Eisenman, R. H., and J. M. Robinson. *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 2 vols. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991.
- Tov, E., with the collaboration of S. J. Pfann. *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert*. Leiden: Brill, 1993.
- Trever, J. C. *Scrolls from Qumran Cave 1*. Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research and Shrine of the Book, 1974.

Textual Editions

- Allegro, J. M. *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.
- . *The Treasure of the Copper Scroll*. 2d rev. ed. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964.
- . "An Unpublished Fragment of Essene Halakah (4QOrdinances)." *Journal of Semitic Studies* 6 (1961): 71–73.
- Allegro, J. M. With the collaboration of A. A. Anderson. *Qumrân Cave 4, I (4Q158–4Q186)*. DJD 5. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.
- Attridge, H. W., et al. *Qumran Cave 4, VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*. DJD 13. Oxford: Clarendon, 1994.
- Avigad, N., and Y. Yadin. *A Genesis Apocryphon*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1956.
- Baillet, M. *Qumrân Grotte 4, III (4Q482–4Q520)*. DJD 7. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.
- Baillet, M., J. T. Milik, and R. de Vaux. *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumrân: Exploration de la falaise, Les Grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, à 10Q, Le Rouleau de cuivre*. DJD 3. Oxford: Clarendon, 1962.
- Barthélemy, D., and J. T. Milik. *Qumran Cave I*. DJD 1. Oxford: Clarendon, 1955.
- Baumgarten, J. M. "4QHalakah' 5, the Law of Hadash, and the Pentecontad Calendar." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 27 (1976): 36–46.
- . "The 4Q Zadokite Fragments on Skin Disease." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 61 (1990): 153–58.
- . "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees." In *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*. STDJ 15. Edited by George J. Brooke. Leiden/New York: Brill, 1994. Pp. 3–10.
- . "The Red Cow Purification Rites in Qumran Texts." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 46 (1995): 112–19.
- Beyer, K. *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984.
- . *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer: Ergänzungsband*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.

- Brooke, G. J. *Exegesis at Qumran*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985.
- Broshi, M., and A. Yardeni, "On Temple Servants and False Prophets," *Tarbiz* 42 (1992): 50–52 (Hebrew).
- Burrows, M. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, Volume II Fascicle 2: Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline*. New Haven: The American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951.
- Charlesworth, J. H., et al. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1994.
- Cook, E. M. "Remarks on the Testament of Kohath from Qumran Cave 4." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 205–19.
- Cross, F. M. "Fragments of the Prayer of Nabonidus." *Israel Exploration Journal* 34 (1984): 260–64.
- Dimant, D. "An Apocryphon of Jeremiah from Cave 4 (4Q385B = 4Q385 16)." In *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*. STDJ 15. Edited by George J. Brooke. Leiden/New York: Brill, 1994. Pp. 11–30.
- . "New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha—4Q390." In *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991*. Edited by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Pp. 405–48.
- Dimant, D., and J. Strugnell. "4Q Second Ezekiel." *Revue de Qumran* 13 (1988): 45–58.
- . "The Merkabah Vision in Second Ezekiel (4Q385 4)." *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1991): 331–48.
- Eisenman, R. H., and M. O. Wise. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*. London: Element, 1992.
- Elgvin, T. "Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4." In M. Wise, et al., eds., *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994. Pp. 179–96.
- . "The Genesis Section of 4Q422 (4QParaGenExod)." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994): 180–96.
- Eshel, E. "4Q477: The Rebukes by the Overseer." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45 (1994): 111–22.
- Eshel, E., and H. Eshel. "4Q471 Fragment 1 and Ma'amadot in the War Scroll." In *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991*. Edited by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Pp. 611–20.
- Eshel, E., H. Eshel, and A. Yardeni. "A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and His Kingdom." *Israel Exploration Journal* 42 (1992): 199–229.
- Eshel, E., and M. Kister. "A Polemical Qumran Fragment." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 277–81.
- Evans, C. A. "A Note on the 'First-Born Son' of 4Q369." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995): 185–201.
- Falk, D. "4Q393: A Communal Confession." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45 (1994): 184–207.
- Fitzmyer, J. A. "The Aramaic 'Elect of God' Text from Qumran Cave 4." *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*. Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1974. Pp. 127–60.
- . "4Q246: The 'Son of God' Document from Qumran." *Biblica* (1993): 153–74.
- . *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1*. 2d ed. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971.
- Fitzmyer, J. A., and D. J. Harrington. *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts*. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1978.
- García-Martínez, F. "11QTemple": A Preliminary Publication." In *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991*. Edited by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Pp. 363–91.

- . "4QMess ar and the Book of Noah." *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Pp. 1–44.
- Greenfield, J. C., and E. Qimron. "The Genesis Apocryphon Col. XII." *Studies in Qumran Aramaic: Abr-Nahrain Supplement 3* (1992): 70–77.
- Larson, E. "4Q470 and the Angelic Rehabilitation of King Zedekiah." *Dead Sea Discoveries 1* (1994): 210–28.
- Larson, E., L. H. Schiffman, and J. Strugnell. "4Q470, Preliminary Publication of a Fragment Mentioning Zedekiah." *Revue de Qumran 16* (1994): 335–50.
- Lefkovits, J. K. "The Copper Scroll—3Q15, A New Reading, Translation and Commentary." Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1993.
- Licht, J. *Megillat Ha-Serakhim*. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1965.
- Luria, B. Z. *Megillat Ha-Nehoshet Mimidbar Yehudah*. Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, 1963.
- Milik, J. T. *The Books of Enoch*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- . "Écrits préesséniens de Qumrân: d'Hénoch à Amram." In M. Delcor, ed., *Qumrân: sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*. Paris-Gembloux: Leuven University Press, 1978. Pp. 91–106.
- . "Milki-sedeq et Milki-resha dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens." *Journal of Jewish Studies 23* (1972): 95–144.
- . "Les modèles araméens du livre d'Esther dans la grotte 4 de Qumrân." *Revue de Qumran 15* (1992): 321–406.
- . "'Prière de Nabonide' et autres écrits d'un cycle de Daniel: Fragments araméens de Qumrân 4." *Revue Biblique 63* (1956): 407–15.
- Newsom, C. A. "4Q370: An Admonition Based on the Flood." *Revue de Qumran 13* (1988): 23–44.
- . "4Q374: A Discourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition." In D. Dimant and U. Rappaport, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Pp. 40–52.
- . "The 'Psalms of Joshua' from Qumran Cave 4." *Journal of Jewish Studies 39* (1988): 56–73.
- . *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985.
- Nitzan, B. "4QBerakhot (4Q286–290): A Preliminary Report." In *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*. STDJ 15. Edited by George J. Brooke. Leiden/New York: Brill, 1994. Pp. 53–71.
- Penney, D. L., and M. O. Wise. "By the Power of Beelzebub: An Aramaic Incantation Formula from Qumran." *Journal of Biblical Literature 113* (1994): 627–50.
- Ploeg, J. P. M. van der. "Fragments d'un manuscrit de psaumes de Qumrân (11QP^b)." *Revue Biblique 74* (1967): 408–12.
- . "Les Manuscrits de la Grotte XI de Qumrân." *Revue de Qumran 12* (1985–87): 3–16.
- . "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11QP^a)." In G. Jeremias et al., eds., *Tradition und Glaube: Das frühe Christentum in seiner Umwelt: Festgabe für Karl Georg Kühn zum 65. Geburtstag*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971. Pp. 128–39.
- Ploeg, J. P. M. van der, and A. S. van der Woude. *Le targum de Job de la Grotte XI de Qumrân*. Leiden: Brill, 1971.
- Puech, E. "Fragment d'une apocalypse en arameen (4Q246 = pseudo-Dan^d) et le 'Royaume de Dieu.'" *Revue Biblique 99* (1992): 98–131.
- . "Fragments d'un apocryphe de Lévi et le personnage eschatologique. 4QTestLévi^{c-d}(?) et 4QA^{ja}." In *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991*. Edited by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Pp. 449–501.
- . "4Q Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)." *Revue de Qumran 15* (1992): 475–522.

- . "Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes." *Revue de Qumran* 13 (1988): 59–88.
- . "Notes sur le manuscrit de 11QMelkisedeq." *Revue de Qumran* 12 (1987): 483–513.
- . "La pierre de Sion et l'autel des holocaustes d'après un manuscrit hébreu de la grotte 4 (4Q522)." *Revue Biblique* 99 (1992): 676–96.
- . "Le Testament de Qahat en arameen de la grotte 4 (4QTQah)." *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991): 23–54.
- Qimron, E. "Times for Praising God: A Fragment of a Scroll from Qumran (4Q409)." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 80 (1990): 341–47.
- . "The Text of CDC." In M. Broshi, ed., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994. Pp. 9–49.
- Qimron, E., and J. Strugnell. *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*. DJD 10. Oxford, 1994.
- Sanders, J. A. *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs)*. DJD 4. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.
- Schiffman, L. H. "4Q Mysteries: A Preliminary Translation." *Eleventh World Congress of Jewish Studies, Div. A*. Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1994. Pp. 199–206.
- . "4QMysteries: A Preliminary Edition and Translation." In Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff, eds., *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995. Pp. 207–55.
- Schuller, E. M. "4Q372 1: A Text About Joseph." *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1989–90): 349–76.
- . "A Hymn from a Cave Four *Hodayot* Manuscript: 4Q427 7 i + ii." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112 (1993): 605–28.
- . *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986.
- . "A Preliminary Study of 4Q373 and Some Related (?) Fragments." In *Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March 1991*. Edited by J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Pp. 515–30.
- Smith, M. "4Q462 (Narrative), Fragment 1: A Preliminary Edition." *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991): 55–77.
- Starcky, J. "Psaumes apocryphes de la grotte 4 de Qumrân (4QPs^fVII-X)." *Revue Biblique* 73 (1966): 353–71.
- Stuedel, A. *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^a)*. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- Stone, M. E., and E. Eshel. "An Exposition on the Patriarchs (4Q464) and Two Other Documents (4Q464^a and 4Q464^b)." *Le Muséon* 105 (1992): 243–64.
- Stone, M. E., and J. C. Greenfield. "The First Manuscript of the Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran (4QLevi^a aram)." *Le Muséon* 107 (1994): 257–81.
- . "The Prayer of Levi." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 112 (1993): 247–66.
- . "The Second Manuscript of the Aramaic Levi Document from Qumran (4QLevi^b aram)." Forthcoming.
- Strugnell, J. "Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works." In L. Schiffman, ed., *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990. Pp. 187–220.
- . "MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition." In E. Ulrich and J. Vanderkam, eds., *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) p. 72.
- Sukenik, E. L. *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University*. Edited by N. Avigad and Y. Yadin. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955.
- Talmon, S., and I. Knohl. "A Calendrical Scroll from a Qumran Cave: Mishmarot B' 4Q321." In *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish, and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and*

- Literature in Honor of Jacob Milgrom*. Edited by D. N. Freedman et al. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995. Pp. 267–301.
- Tov, E. "The Exodus Section of 4Q422." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994): 197–209.
- Treuer, J. C. "Completion of the Publication of Some Fragments from Qumran Cave I." *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1965): 323–44.
- Vander Kam, J., et al. *Qumran Cave 4, XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2*. DJD 19. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.
- Wacholder, B. Z., and M. G. Abegg. "The Fragmentary Remains of 11QTorah (Temple Scroll)." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 62 (1991): 1–116.
- . *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls. Fascicles One-Three*. Washington, DC: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1991–95.
- Wilmot, D. J. "The Copper Scroll: An Economic Document from First-Century Palestine." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, n.d.
- Wise, M. O. "An Annalistic Calendar from Qumran." In Wise, M., et al., eds., *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994. Pp. 389–408.
- . "To Know the Times and the Seasons: A Study of the Aramaic Chronograph 4Q559." Forthcoming in *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigraphs*.
- . "Observations on New Calendrical Texts from Qumran." In *Thunder in Gemini: And Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine*. JSPS 15. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994. Pp. 222–39.
- . "*Primo Annales Fuere*: An Annalistic Calendar from Qumran." In *Thunder in Gemini: And Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine*. JSPS 15. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994. Pp. 186–221.
- . "Second Thoughts on *duq* and the Qumran Synchronistic Calendars." In *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder*. Edited by John Reeves and John Kampen. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994. Pp. 98–120.
- . "Thunder in Gemini: An Aramaic Brontologion (4Q318) from Qumran." In *Thunder in Gemini: And Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine*. JSPS 15. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994. Pp. 13–50.
- Wolters, A. "The Copper Scroll." Forthcoming.
- Woude, A. S. van der. "Ein neuer Segensspruch aus Qumran (11QBer)." In *Bibel und Qumran: Beiträge zur Erforschung der Beziehungen zwischen Bibel und Qumranwissenschaft: Hans Bardtke zum 22.8.1966*. Edited by Siegfried Wagner. Leipzig: Evangelische Haupt-Bibelgesellschaft zu Berlin, 1968. Pp. 253–58.
- . "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI," *Oudtestamentische Studiën* 14 (1965): 354–73.
- Yadin, Y. *The Temple Scroll*. 3 vols. and supplementary plates. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983.

Translations

- Carmignac, J., and P. Guilbert, eds. *Les Textes de Qumran*. Vol. 1. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1961.
- Charles, R. H. "Translation of Aramaic and Greek Fragments of an Original Source of the Testament of Levi and the Book of Jubilees." *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913. 2:364–67.
- Cothenet, E. "Le Document de Damas." In J. Carmignac, ed., *Les Textes de Qumran*. Paris, 1963. Pp. 131–204.

- Dupont-Sommer, A. *The Essene Writings from Qumran*. Translated by G. Vermes. Reprint, Gloucester, MA.: Peter Smith, 1973.
- García-Martínez, F. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*. Translated by W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: Brill, 1994.
- Gaster, T. H. *The Dead Sea Scriptures*, 3d ed. Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1976.
- Maier, J. *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer*. 2 vols. Munich: Reinhardt, 1995.
- Rabin, Ch. *The Zadokite Documents*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1954.
- Vermes, G. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. Rev. and ext. 4th ed. London: Penguin, 1995.

Other Studies

- Abegg, M. G., Jr. "4Q471: A Case of Mistaken Identity?" In *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder*. Edited by John Reeves and John Kampen. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994. Pp. 135–47.
- . "Messianic Hope and 4Q285—A Reassessment." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 113 (1994): 81–91.
- Alexander, P. S. "A Note on the Syntax of 4Q448." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 301–302.
- Allison, D. C. "4Q403 fragm. 1, col. I, 38–46 and the Revelation to John." *Revue de Qumran* 12 (1985–87): 409–14.
- Avigad, N. "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents." In *Scripta Hierosolymitana IV: Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Chaim Rabin and Yigael Yadin. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958. Pp. 56–87.
- Baumgarten, J. M. "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 268–76.
- . "4Q503 (Daily Prayers) and the Lunar Calendar." *Revue de Qumran* 12 (1985–87): 399–407.
- . "Halakhic Polemics in New Fragments from Qumran Cave 4." In *Biblical Archaeology Today*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1984. Pp. 390–99.
- Beckwith, R. "The Modern Attempt to Reconcile the Qumran Calendar with the True Solar Year." *Revue de Qumran* 7 (1969–71): 379–96.
- Bernstein, M. J. "4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 45 (1994): 1–27.
- Bockmuehl, M. "A 'Slain Messiah' in 4Q Serekh Milhamah (4Q285)?" *Tyndale Bulletin* 43 (1992): 155–69.
- Brooke, G. J. "The Deuteronomic Character of 4Q252." In *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder*. Edited by John Reeves and John Kampen. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994. Pp. 121–35.
- . "The Genre of 4Q252: From Poetry to Peshet." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994): 160–79.
- . "Psalms 105 and 106 at Qumran." *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1990): 267–92.
- . "The Wisdom of Matthew's Beatitudes (4QBeat and Mt 5:3–12)." *Scripture Bulletin* 19 (1989): 35–41.
- Carmignac, J. "Les horoscopes de Qumran." *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1964–66): 199–206.
- . *La Règle de la Guerre*. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1958.
- Chazon, E. "Prayers from Qumran and Their Historical Implications." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994): 265–84.
- Clemens, D. "A Study of 4Q370." Seminar paper, University of Chicago, 1989.
- Collins, J. J. *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature*. Anchor Bible Reference Library. New York: Doubleday, 1995.

- . "The Works of the Messiah." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994): 98–112.
- Collins, J. J., and D. Dimant. "A Thrice-Told Hymn: A Response to Eileen Schuller." *Jewish Quarterly Review* 85 (1994): 151–55.
- Cook, E. M. *Solving the Mysteries of the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Light on the Bible*. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1994.
- . "4Q246." *Bulletin of Biblical Research* 5 (1995): 43–66.
- Cross, F. M. "The Development of the Jewish Scripts." In *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*. Edited by George Ernest Wright. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965. Pp. 133–202.
- Davies, P. R. *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History*. Biblica and Orient 32. Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977.
- . "'Age of Wickedness' or 'End of Days?': Qumran Scholarship in Prospect." *Hebrew Studies* 34 (1993): 7–19.
- Delcor, M. "Recherches sur un horoscope en langue hébraïque provenant de Qumran." *Revue de Qumran* 5 (1964–66): 521–42.
- De Vaux, R. *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Rev. ed. London: The British Academy, 1973.
- Dimant, D. "The 'Peshar on the Periods' (4Q180 and 4Q181)." *Israel Oriental Studies* 9 (1979): 77–102.
- . "Qumran Sectarian Literature." In *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*. Edited by Michael E. Stone. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984. Pp. 483–550.
- Donceel-Voûte, P. "'Coenaculum'—La salle à l'étage du locus 30 à Khirbet Qumran sur la Mer Morte." *Banquets d'Orient, Res Orientales vol. IV*. Leuven: Peeters, 1992. Pp. 61–84.
- Dupont-Sommer, A. "Deux documents horoscopiques esséniens découverts à Qoumrân, près de la Mer Morte." *CRAIBL* (1965): 239–46.
- Elliger, K. *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Töten Meer*. Tübingen: Mohr, 1953.
- Fine, J. "Aramaic E: 4Q563." Seminar paper, University of Chicago, 1994.
- Francis, F. "Humility and Angelic Worship in Col. 2:18." *Studia Theologica* 16 (1963): 109–34.
- García-Martínez, F. "4QPseudo Daniel Aramaic and the Pseudo-Danielic Literature." *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Pp. 137–61.
- Glessmer, U. "Investigation of the Otot-text (4Q319) and Questions about Methodology." In M. Wise, et al., eds., *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994. Pp. 429–40.
- . "Der 364-Tage Kalender und die Sabbatstruktur seiner Schaltungen in ihrer Bedeutung für den Kult." In *Ernten, was man sät: Festschrift für Klaus Koch zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*. Edited by Dwight R. Daniels. Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1991. Pp. 379–98.
- Golb, Norman. *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* New York: Scribners, 1994.
- Gordis, R. "A Document in Code from Qumran—Some Observations." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 11 (1966): 37–39.
- Gordon, R. P. "The Interpretation of 'Lebanon' and 4Q285." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 92–94.
- Hendel, R. S. "4Q252 and the Flood Chronology of Genesis 7–8: A Text-Critical Solution." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 2 (1995): 72–79.
- Hollander, H. W., and M. de Jonge. *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 1985.
- Holm-Nielsen, S. *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget, 1960.
- Horgan, M. P. *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*. CBQMS 8. Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association, 1979.

- Huggins, R. V. "A Canonical 'Book of Periods' at Qumran." *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1992): 421–36.
- Hultgard, A. *L'eschatologie des Testaments des Douze Patriarches*. Uppsala: Alquist & Wiksell, 1982.
- Jacobson, H. "4Q252, Addenda." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 118–20.
- Kister, M., and E. Qimron. "Observations on 4QSecond Ezekiel." *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1992): 595–602.
- Kittel, B. P. *The Hymns of Qumran*. Edited by Douglas Knight. SBL Dissertation Series 50. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981.
- Klein, D. "4Q562: An Aramaic Text from Qumran." Seminar paper, University of Chicago, 1994.
- Klinghardt, M. "The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations." In M. Wise, et al., eds., *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994. Pp. 251–70.
- Knibb, M. A. "A Note on 4Q372 and 4Q390." In *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Edited by F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst, and C. J. Labuschagne. Leiden: Brill, 1992. Pp. 164–78.
- Kugel, J. L. "Levi's Elevation to the Priesthood in Second Temple Writings." *Harvard Theological Review* 86 (1993): 1–64.
- Kugler, R. *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi*. SBLEJL 9. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996.
- Lange, A. *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*. STDJ 18. Leiden: Brill, 1995.
- Licht, J. *Megillat Ha-Hodayot*. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1957 (Hebrew).
- . "Thighs as a Sign of Election." *Tarbiz* 35 (1965/66): 18–26 (Hebrew).
- Lim, T. H. "The Chronology of the Flood Story in a Qumran Text (4Q252)." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 288–98.
- . "Notes on 4Q252 fr. 1, cols i–ii." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 121–26.
- Liver, J. "The Half-Shekel Offering in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature." *Harvard Theological Review* 56 (1963): 173–98.
- Maier, J. *The Temple Scroll*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985.
- McCarter, P. K. "The Copper Scroll as an Accumulation of Religious Offerings." In M. Wise, et al., eds., *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994. Pp. 133–48.
- Milik, J. T. "The Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of the Book of Enoch." *Biblica* 32 (1951): 393–400.
- . Review of *The Manual of Discipline* by P. Wernberg-Moller. *Revue Biblique* 67 (1960): 410–16.
- Nebe, G. W. "Das hebraische Testament Naphtali (4Q215)." *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 30 (1994): 315–22.
- Nitzan, B. "Benedictions and Instructions from Qumran for the Eschatological Community (11QBer, 4Q285)." *Revue de Qumran* 16 (1993): 77–90.
- . "Hymns from Qumran—4Q510–4Q511." In *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*. Edited by D. Dimant and U. Rappaport. Leiden/Jerusalem: Brill/Magnes, 1992. Pp. 53–62.
- . *Megillat Peshar Habakkuk mi-megillot midbar Yehudah (1QpHab)*. Jerusalem: Mosad Bialik, 1986 (Hebrew).
- Pardee, D. "A Restudy of the Commentary on Psalm 37 from Qumran Cave 4." *Revue de Qumran* 8 (1973): 163–94.
- Patrich, J. "Khirbet Qumran in Light of New Archaeological Explorations in the Qumran Caves." In M. Wise, et al., eds., *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet*

- Qumran Site*. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722. New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994. Pp. 73–96.
- Pixner, B. "Unravelling the Copper Scroll Code: A Study of the Topography of 3Q15." *Revue de Qumran* 11 (1983): 323–58.
- Puech, E. "4Q525 et les péripécopes des Béatitudes en Ben Sira et Matthieu." *Revue Biblique* 98 (1991): 80–106.
- . "Préséance sacerdotale et Messie—Roi dans la Règle de la Congrégation (1QS*a* ii 11–22)." *Revue de Qumran* 16 (1994): 351–66.
- . "Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 39 (1988): 38–55.
- Puech, E., and F. García-Martínez. "Remarques sur la colonne XXXVIII de 11 Q tg Job." *Revue de Qumran* 9 (1978): 401–7.
- Qimron, E. "Observations on the Reading of 'A Text About Joseph.'" *Revue de Qumran* 15 (1991–92): 603–4.
- . "On the List of False Prophets from Qumran." *Tarbiz* 63 (1994): 273–75 (Hebrew).
- . "A Review Article of *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices: A Critical Edition* by Carol Newsom." *Harvard Theological Review* 79 (1986): 349–71.
- . "Towards a New Edition of the Genesis Apocryphon." *Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha* 10 (1992): 11–18.
- Richardson, H. N. "Some Notes on 1QS*a*." *Journal of Biblical Literature* 76 (1957): 108–22.
- Sachau, C. E., ed. *The Chronology of Ancient Nations: An English Version of the Arabic Text of the Athar-ul-Bakiya of Albiruni*. London: Wm. H. Allen, 1879.
- Schiffman, L. H. *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989.
- . "Miqsat Ma'aseh Ha-Torah and the Temple Scroll." *Revue de Qumran* 14 (1991): 435–58.
- . "New Halakhic Texts from Qumran." *Hebrew Studies* 34 (1993): 21–33.
- . "Pharisaic and Sadducean Halakhah in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls." *Dead Sea Discoveries* 1 (1994): 285–99.
- . *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*. New York: Jewish Publication Society, 1994.
- . *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code*. Brown Judaica Studies 33. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1983.
- Schuller, E. M. "Prayer, Hymnic and Liturgical Texts from Qumran." In *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edited by Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994. Pp. 153–71.
- . "Some Observations on Blessings of God in Texts from Qumran." In *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins*. Edited by Harold W. Attridge, John J. Collins, and Thomas H. Tobin, S. J. Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1990. Pp. 133–43.
- Smith, M. H. "Ascent to the Heavens and Deification in 4QM*a*." In *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*. Edited by Lawrence H. Schiffman. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990. Pp. 181–88.
- Stone, M. "The Genealogy of Bilhah." *Dead Sea Discoveries* (1996): 20–36.
- Stone, M., and J. Greenfield. "Remarks on the Aramaic Testament of Levi." *Revue Biblique* 86 (1979): 214–30.
- Strugnell, J. "Notes en marge du volume v des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan.'" *Revue de Qumran* 7 (1970): 163–276.

- Talmon, S. "Yom Hakippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll." *Biblica* 32 (1951): 549-63.
- Tcherikover, V. *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*. New York: Atheneum, 1982.
- VanderKam, J. "The Granddaughters and Grandsons of Noah." *Revue de Qumran* 16 (1994): 457-62.
- Vermes, G. "The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research Seminar on the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285)." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 85-90.
- . "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 42 (1991): 250-55.
- . "Qumran Forum Miscellanea I." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 43 (1992): 299-305.
- . "The So-Called King Jonathan Fragment (4Q448)." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44 (1993): 294-300.
- Weinert, F. D. "4Q159: Legislation for an Essene Community Outside of Qumran?" *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5 (1974): 179-207.
- Weinfeld, M. *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986.
- Wernberg-Møller, P. *The Manual of Discipline*. Leiden: Brill, 1957.
- Wise, M. O. *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11*. Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1990.
- . "A New Manuscript Join in the 'Festival of Wood Offering' (Temple Scroll XXIII)." *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 47 (1988): 113-21.
- . "That Which Has Been Is That Which Shall Be: 4Q Florilegium and the miqdash adam." *Thunder in Gemini*. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1994. Pp. 152-85.
- Wolters, A. "The Fifth Cache of the Copper Scroll: 'The Plastered Cistern of Manos.'" *Revue de Qumran* 13 (1988): 167-76.
- . "Literary Analysis and the Copper Scroll." In Z. J. Kapera, ed., *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Josef Tadeusz Milik*. Krakow: Enigma Press, 1992. Pp. 239-52.
- . "Textual Notes on the Copper Scroll." Forthcoming.
- Yadin, Y. "A Note on 4Q159 (Ordinances)." *Israel Expedition Journal* 18 (1968): 250-52.
- . *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*. Translated by Ch. Rabin. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
- Yardeni, A. "Remarks on the Priestly Blessing on Two Ancient Amulets from Jerusalem." *Vetus Testamentum* 41 (1991): 176-85.

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

Geniza CIA.....	1	+Q174.....	23	4Q264.....	5
Geniza CID B.....	1	4Q175.....	24	4Q264a.....	5
1QapGen.....	2	+Q176.....	25	+Q265.....	45
1QH.....	3	4Q177.....	26	4Q266.....	1
1QM (1Q33).....	8	4Q179.....	27	4Q267.....	1
1QpHab.....	4	+Q180.....	28	4Q268.....	1
1QS.....	5	+Q181.....	28	4Q269.....	1
1QSa (1Q28a).....	6	+Q183.....	29	4Q270.....	1
1Q Sb (1Q28b).....	7	+Q184.....	30	4Q271.....	1
1Q16.....	22	+Q185.....	31	4Q272.....	1
1Q21.....	34	+Q186.....	32	4Q274.....	46
1Q22.....	9	4Q203.....	33	4Q275.....	47
1Q23.....	33	+Q213.....	34	4Q276.....	48
1Q26.....	88	4Q214.....	34	4Q277.....	48
1Q27.....	10	+Q215.....	35	4Q278.....	49
1Q29.....	11	4Q225.....	36	4Q279.....	50
1Q32.....	12	+Q226.....	37	4Q280.....	51
1Q34.....	13	4Q227.....	38	4Q284.....	52
1Q34bis.....	13	4Q242.....	39	4Q284a.....	53
1Q35.....	3	+Q243.....	40	4Q285.....	54
2Q22.....	74	+Q244.....	40	4Q286.....	51
2Q24.....	12	4Q245.....	40	4Q287.....	51
2Q26.....	33	+Q246.....	41	4Q288.....	51
3Q15.....	14	4Q248.....	42	4Q289.....	51
4Q88.....	15, 127	4Q251.....	43	4Q298.....	55
4Q158.....	16	+Q252.....	44	4Q299.....	10
4Q159.....	17	+Q253.....	44	4Q300.....	10
4Q160.....	18	4Q254.....	44	4Q301.....	10
4Q161.....	19	4Q254a.....	44	4Q302a.....	56
4Q162.....	19	+Q255.....	5	4Q317.....	57
4Q163.....	19	4Q256.....	5	4Q318.....	58
4Q164.....	19	4Q257.....	5	4Q319.....	59
4Q165.....	19	+Q258.....	5	4Q320.....	60
4Q166.....	20	+Q259.....	5	4Q321.....	60
4Q167.....	20	+Q260.....	5	4Q321a.....	60
4Q169.....	21	4Q261.....	5	+Q322.....	61
4Q171.....	22	4Q262.....	5	4Q323.....	61
4Q173.....	22	4Q263.....	5	4Q324.....	61

Note: references in this index are to text numbers.

4Q324a.....	61	4Q413.....	88	4Q529.....	111
4Q324b.....	61	4Q414.....	89	4Q530.....	33
4Q325.....	62	4Q415.....	88	4Q531.....	33
4Q326.....	63	4Q416.....	88	4Q532.....	33
4Q327.....	64	4Q417.....	88	4Q534.....	112
4Q328.....	65	4Q418.....	88	4Q535.....	112
4Q329.....	66	4Q419.....	88	4Q536.....	112
4Q329a.....	67	4Q420.....	88	4Q537.....	113
4Q330.....	68	4Q421.....	88	4Q538.....	114
4Q334.....	69	4Q422.....	90	4Q539.....	115
4Q339.....	70	4Q423.....	88	4Q540.....	34
4Q364.....	71	4Q424.....	91	4Q541.....	34
4Q365.....	71	4Q427.....	3	4Q542.....	116
4Q369.....	72	4Q428.....	3	4Q543.....	117
4Q370.....	73	4Q429.....	3	4Q544.....	117
4Q371.....	74	4Q430.....	3	4Q545.....	117
4Q372.....	74	4Q431.....	3	4Q546.....	117
4Q373.....	74	4Q432.....	3	4Q547.....	117
4Q374.....	75	4Q434.....	92	4Q548.....	117
4Q375.....	76	4Q436.....	92	4Q549.....	118
4Q376.....	11	4Q437.....	92	4Q550a.....	119
4Q377.....	77	4Q439.....	92	4Q550b.....	119
4Q378.....	78	4Q443.....	93	4Q550c.....	119
4Q379.....	78	4Q444.....	94	4Q550d.....	119
4Q380.....	79	4Q448.....	95, 127	4Q550e.....	119
4Q381.....	79	4Q462.....	96	4Q550f.....	119
4Q382.....	80	4Q464.....	97	4Q552.....	120
4Q384.....	81	4Q470.....	98	4Q553.....	120
4Q385.....	81	4Q471.....	99	4Q554.....	12
4Q386.....	81	4Q473.....	100	4Q555.....	12
4Q387.....	81	4Q477.....	101	4Q559.....	121
4Q388.....	81	4Q491.....	8	4Q560.....	122
4Q389.....	81	4Q492.....	8	4Q561.....	123
4Q390.....	81	4Q493.....	8	4Q562.....	124
4Q392.....	82	4Q494.....	8	4Q563.....	125
4Q393.....	83	4Q495.....	8	4QHodayot-like.....	126
4Q394.....	64, 84	4Q496.....	8	5Q11.....	5
4Q395.....	84	4Q501.....	102	5Q15.....	12
4Q396.....	84	4Q502.....	103	6Q8.....	33
4Q397.....	84	4Q503.....	104	11Q5.....	127
4Q398.....	84	4Q504.....	105	11Q6.....	127
4Q399.....	84	4Q505.....	105	11Q10.....	128
4Q400.....	85	4Q506.....	105	11Q11.....	129
4Q401.....	85	4Q507.....	13	11Q13.....	130
4Q402.....	85	4Q508.....	13	11Q14.....	54
4Q403.....	85	4Q509.....	13	11Q17.....	85
4Q404.....	85	4Q510.....	106	11Q18.....	12
4Q405.....	85	4Q511.....	106	11Q19.....	131
4Q406.....	85	4Q512.....	107	11Q20.....	131
4Q407.....	85	4Q513.....	17	Masada Sabbath Songs.....	85
4Q408.....	86	4Q514.....	17	Words of Levi (Geniza Frag- ments).....	34
4Q409.....	87	4Q521.....	108	Words of Levi (Mt. Athos Greek text).....	34
4Q410.....	88	4Q522.....	109		
4Q412.....	88	4Q525.....	110		

INDEX OF REFERENCES

I. Hebrew Bible

Genesis

1.....	4Q392 1.....	356
1-4.....	4Q422 i.....	391
1:16.....	1Q5b 4:27.....	149
1:27.....	CD 4:21.....	55
2:24.....	4Q416 2 iii 21-iv 1.....	385
3:6.....	4Q423 2 1.....	388
3:18.....	4Q423 2 3.....	388
4:12.....	4Q423 2 3.....	388
5:28-29.....	1QapGen 3-6.....	76
6-9.....	4Q243-245 4-5.....	267
6-9.....	4Q370.....	330
6-9.....	4Q422 ii.....	392
6:1-2, 4.....	1Q23 Frag. 9+ 14+ 15 2-5.....	247
6:1-2, 4.....	1QapGen 3-6.....	77
6:1-2, 4.....	4Q180 1 7-8.....	238
6:3-8:18.....	4Q252 1 ii 1-ii 5a.....	275
6:4.....	4Q531 2 1-8.....	247
6:15.....	4Q254a 1 7-9.....	278
7:9.....	CD 5:1.....	55
8:4.....	1QapGen 11:12.....	77
8:7-8.....	4Q254a 1 1-6.....	278
9:4.....	1QapGen 12:17.....	77
9:24-25.....	4Q254 1.....	277
9:24-27.....	4Q252 1 ii 5b-7.....	275
11.....	4Q243-245 6-9.....	267
11:7.....	4Q464 3 i.....	402
11:31-12:4.....	4Q252 1 ii 8-13.....	276
12.....	4Q243-245 10-11.....	267
12:1-7.....	1QapGen 20:6-9.....	78
13:6-7.....	1QapGen 22:5-14.....	81
14.....	1QapGen 22:23-23:26.....	82
15.....	4Q158 14.....	204
15:2-3.....	4Q225 2 i 3-4.....	262
15:1-4.....	1QapGen 23:27-34.....	84
15:5-6.....	4Q225 2 i 5-8a.....	262
15:13.....	4Q243-245 12.....	267
15:13.....	4Q464 3 2 3-4.....	402
15:14.....	4Q243-245 13-14.....	267
18-19.....	4Q180 2-4 ii 1-10.....	239
18:16-33.....	4Q252 1 iii 1-6a.....	276
21:1-3.....	4Q225 2 i 8b-9.....	262
22:2-4.....	4Q225 2 i 9-14.....	262
22:7-12.....	4Q225 2 ii 1-14.....	263
22:10-12.....	4Q252 1 iii 6b-9.....	276
22:12.....	4Q464 6.....	402
25:18-19.....	4Q364 1 1-2.....	325
28:6.....	4Q364 3 ii 7-8.....	326
28:10.....	4Q464 7.....	402
30:7-8.....	4Q215 1 i 9-10.....	261
30:14.....	4Q364 4b, e i 8.....	326
32:24-32.....	4Q158 1-2.....	200
32:30, 32.....	4Q158 1-2.....	200
34.....	Levi (Cambridge) A-B.....	252
36:12.....	4Q252 1 iv 1-3a.....	276
37:26-27.....	4Q538 1-2.....	430
48:11.....	4Q254 2.....	277
49:2-4.....	4Q252 1 iv 3b-7.....	276
49:10.....	4Q252 1 v 1-7.....	277
49:15-17.....	4Q254 5.....	277
49:20-21.....	4Q252 1 vi.....	277
49:24-25.....	4Q254 6.....	278
49:25-26.....	4Q252 1 iii 12-14.....	276

Exodus

1-11.....	4Q422 10.....	392
3:1-12.....	4Q226 1.....	263
3:12.....	4Q158 4.....	201
4:22.....	4Q504 3:6.....	411
4:27-28.....	4Q158 1-2.....	200
4:28.....	4Q158 1-2.....	200
6:20.....	4Q545 4-7.....	434

Note: references in this index are to page numbers.

9:9-10	4Q365 3 1-2	326	18:6	4Q387 5	354
14:10	4Q365 5 1	326	18:6	4Q477 2 ii 8	406
14:12-20	4Q365 6a i 1-9	326	18:6-19	4Q251 12	273
15-16	4Q243-245 13-14	267	18:12-13	4Q545 4-7	434
15:17	4Q174 3:3	227	18:13	CD 5:9	55
17:14	4Q252 1 iv 1-3a	276	19:8	4Q513 2 ii 1-6	207
19:4	4Q504 6 6-7	414	19:9-10	4Q284a	291
20:6	CD 20:21-22	60	19:17	CD 9:8	67
20:12-17	4Q158 7-8	202	19:17	4Q477	406
20:19-21	4Q158 6	201	19:18	CD 9:2	66
20:22-26	4Q158 7-8	202	19:19	4Q418 103 ii 7	388
21:1-10	4Q158 7-8	202	19:19	4QMMT B 76-77	363
21:19, 28-29	4Q251 4	272	19:19	4QMMT B 77-82	363
21:32-22:13	4Q158 10-12	203	19:19	4Q418 103 ii	388
22:15	11Q19 66:07-11	491	19:23-24	4QMMT B 62-64	362
22:29	4Q251 5	272	19:23-25	4Q251 6 7-9	273
22:29-30	4Q251 7	273	20:11, 17, 19	4Q251 12	273
23:7	1QS 5:15	133	20:25	4Q512 xiv	419
24:4-6	4Q158 4	201	21:7	4QMMT B 77-82	363
24:18	4Q364 15 1-3	326	21:7-9, 14	4Q251 11	273
25:1-2	4Q364 15 5	326	22:8	4Q251 7	273
34:7	4Q560 1:4	443	21:17-23	4QMMT B 49-51	361
30:11-16	4Q159 1 ii 6-12	205	21:17-23	4QMMT B 52-54	361
30:11-16	4Q513 1-2 i 2-3	206	22:10-16	4QMMT B 24-27	360
34:10-16	11Q19 2:1-15	459	22:16	1QS 5:14-15	132
			22:27-28	4QMMT B 36	361
			22:27-28	4QMMT B 37-38	361

Leviticus

7:11-18	4QMMT B 9-13	360	23:22	4Q284a	291
7:24	4Q251 7	273	23:28	CD 11:18	69
11:25, 39	4QMMT B 22-23	360	23:42-24:2	4Q365 23 1-3	327
11:32	4Q266 1 ii 10-13	64	25:9	11Q13 2:25	457
11:34-38	4QMMT B 55-58	362	25:13	11Q13 2:2	456
12	4Q266 9 ii 5-6	63	25:14	4Q271 1 i 5	63
12:2-5	4Q265 7 ii 11-17	280	25:47-55	4Q159 2-4 1-3	206
13-14	4Q272 1 i	62	26:31	4Q266 8 v 3-4	73
13-14	4Q266 9	62	27:11	4Q251 9 1-2a	273
13:33	4Q266 9 9	62	27:21	4Q251 10	273
13:45	4Q274 1 i 3	281	27:28	4Q251 9 2b-3	273
14:2-9	4QMMT B 64-72	362	27:31	4Q270 9 ii 10	64
15	4Q274	281	27:32	4QMMT B 62-64	362
15:1-18	4Q266 9 14-16	62			
15:1-18	4Q272 1 ii 7	62			
15:13	4Q514 1 i 1-11	207			
15:18	4Q284 1	290			
15:18	4Q284 2 i	290			
15:19	4Q284 2 ii	290			
15:19	4Q284 3	290			
15:19-24	4Q278	285			
15:19-30	4Q266 9 ii 1-4	62			
15:31	4Q512 69	420			
16	4Q375 1 ii 3-6	337			
16:16, 21	4Q159 1 ii 1-2	205			
17:3-9	4QMMT B 27-35	360			

Numbers

4:47-49	4Q365 28 1-3	327
6:25	4Q374 2 ii 8	336
6:26	1QSb 3:1	148
7:1	4Q365 28 5	327
10:9	1QM 10:6-8	160
14:40-45	4Q471 2	404
16	4Q423 5 2	389
18:15, 17	4Q251 6 2-6	273
18:20	4Q418 81 3	387
18:20	4Q418 81 1-7	387
19	4Q276-277	284

19:2-10	4QMMT B 13-17	360	21:15-16	4QMMT C 4	363
19:12, 19	4Q512 xii	419	21:22-23	11Q19 64:7-13	490
19:14	4Q284 4	290	21:23	4Q169 3-4 i 6-9	218
19:16-19	4QMMT B 72-74	362	22:5	4Q159 2-4 6-7	206
21:18	CD 6:3-4	56	22:13-21	4Q159 2-4 8-10	206
24	4Q378 26	340	22:24-29	11Q19 66:07-11	491
24:15-17	4Q175 1:9-13	230	23:1	4Q251 12	273
24:17	CD 7:19-21	58	23:1-4	4QMMT B 39-49	361
24:17	1Q5b 5:27	150	23:24	CD 16:6	66
24:17-19	1QM 11:6-7	160	23:25-26	4Q159 1 ii 3-5	205
25:14	Tribes, Portion 4:12	335	25:19	4Q252 1 iv 1-3a	276
27:11	4Q365 36 1-3	328	27-28	4Q521 7+5 ii 4-6	421
27:21	4Q376 3:1-3	179	27:2-13	4Q280; 286-290	286
28-29	11Q19 13:10-14:01	460	27:9-19	1Q22 2:1-5	173
30:9	CD 16:10	66	27:18	4Q271 1 i 9	63
30:17	CD 7:8-9 (19:5)	57	28	4Q248 1 2-4	271
32:42	3Q15 9:17	196	28-29	4Q378 3 i	340
36:1-2	4Q365 36 3-6	328	28:15	1Q22 1:9-11	173
36:6	4QMMT B 75-76	362	29:18-19	1QS 2:13-14	128
36:6	4QMMT B 77-82	363	30:1-2	4QMMT C13-16	363
Deuteronomy			30:19	4Q521 7+5 ii	421
1:3	1Q22 1:1-4	173	31:2	4Q226 3	264
1:9-18	1Q22 2:5-11	174	31:3	4Q226 4	264
1:17	4Q364 21a-k 1-2	326	31:7	1Q22 1:11-12	173
3:27	4Q226 3	264	31:29	4QMMT C12	363
4:25-28	1Q22 1:5-9	173	32:11	4Q504 6 7-8	414
5:12	CD 10:16-17	68	32:24	4Q418 127 3	390
5:28-29	4Q175:1:1-4	230	32:28	CD 5:17	56
5:30-31	4Q158 7-8	202	32:33	CD 8:9-10 (19:22)	58
6:10-11	1Q22 2:1-5	173	33:8-11	4Q174 1:12	226
6:11	4Q393 3 8-9	357	33:8-11	4Q175 1:14-20	230
7:8	CD 8:15 (19:28)	59	33:12	4Q174 1:16-17	226
7:9	CD 7:6 (19:1-2)	57	33:20-21	4Q174 2:3-4	227
7:9	4Q393 3 1-2	357	Joshua		
7:25	4Q266 1 ii 8-10	64	1:10-18	4Q378 3 ii	340
7:25-26	11Q19 2:1-15	459	3:1-2	4Q226 6	264
7:26	4QMMT C 5-7	363	6:26	4Q175 1:22-23	231
8:7-9	4Q378 11	341	6:26	4Q379 22 9	342
9:5	CD 8:14-15 (19:27)	59	13:3	4Q522 1 i 7	422
10:16	4Q434 1 ii 4	395	13:3	4Q522 1 i 8	422
11:17	1Q22 2:5-11	174	15:24	4Q522 1 i 10	422
11:26-28	4Q473 1 2	405	15:28	4Q522 1 i 10	422
14:21	4Q251 7	273	15:35	4Q522 1 i 11	422
15:2	11Q13 2:2-3	456	15:44	4Q522 1 i 11	422
17:8-13	4Q159 2-4 3-6	206	15:51	4Q522 1 i 15	422
17:17	CD 5:2	55	15:57	4Q522 1 i 12	422
17:17	4QMMT C 4	363	15:61	3Q15 4:13	193
18:18-19	4Q175 1:5-8	230	21:21	4Q522 1 i 12	422
18:18-22	4Q375	336	23:10	11Q11 2:11	454
20:2-4	1QM 10:2-5	159	Judges		
21:1-9	4Q251 13	274	1:30	4Q522 1 i 13	422
21:13	11Q19 63:14-15	490			

8:11.....	3Q15 9:17.....	196	18:7.....	4Q381 24 10.....	343
1 Samuel			26:12.....	1QH 10:29-30.....	93
3:14-17.....	4Q160 1 1-7.....	208	34:7.....	4Q434 1 ii 12.....	395
8:6.....	4Q389 4.....	355	37:6.....	4Q171 1-2 i 12-16.....	220
16:1-13.....	11Q5 28:3-11.....	448	37:7.....	4Q171 1-2 i 17-ii 1.....	220
19:22.....	4Q522 1 i 13.....	422	37:8-9a.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 1-4.....	221
2 Samuel			37:9b.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 4-5.....	221
7:10-11a.....	4Q174 2:19-3:2.....	227	37:10.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 5-8.....	221
7:11b.....	4Q174 3:7.....	227	37:11.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 8-11.....	221
7:11c-14a.....	4Q174 3:10-11.....	227	37:12-13.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 12-15.....	221
1 Kings			37:14-15.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 15-19.....	221
13:11-34.....	4Q339 1:3.....	324	37:15.....	4Q437 2 i 3.....	397
18.....	4Q382 1.....	348	37:16.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 21-23.....	222
2 Kings			37:17.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 23-24.....	222
2.....	4Q382 9.....	348	37:18.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 24-25.....	222
21:1-18.....	4Q381 33 8-11; 45 1-6.....	346	37:19a.....	4Q171 1-2 ii 25-iii 2.....	222
23:6.....	3Q15 11:9-11.....	197	37:19b-20a.....	4Q171 1-2 iii 2-5.....	222
1 Chronicles			37:20b.....	4Q171 1-2 iii 5a-6.....	222
7:24.....	4Q522 1 i 14.....	422	37:20c.....	4Q171 1-2 iii 7-8.....	222
24:7-18.....	4Q320-321a.....	310	37:21-22.....	4Q171 1-2 iii 8-13.....	222
2 Chronicles			37:23-24.....	4Q171 1-2 iii 14-17.....	222
28:18.....	4Q522 1 i 12.....	422	37:25-26.....	4Q171 1-2 iii 17-19.....	223
33:10-13.....	4Q381 33 8-11; 45 1-6.....	346	37:28.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 1-2.....	223
Ezra			37:29.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 2.....	223
8:33.....	3Q15 7:9.....	194	37:30-31.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 3-5.....	223
Nehemiah			37:32-33.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 7-10.....	223
10:6.....	3Q15 7:9.....	194	37:34.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 10-12.....	223
Job			37:35-36.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 13-15.....	223
42:9-12.....	11Q10 38:1-10.....	453	37:37.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 16-17.....	223
Psalms			37:38.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 17-19.....	224
1:1a.....	4Q174 3:14.....	228	37:39-40.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 19-21.....	224
5:2-3a.....	4Q174 5:2.....	228	40:3.....	4Q160 3-5 2-3.....	208
6:1-4.....	4Q177 12+13 i 7-8.....	234	45:heading.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 23-24.....	224
7:7-8.....	11Q13 2:10-11.....	456	45:1a.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 23-24.....	224
11:1-2.....	4Q177 5+6 7-8.....	235	45:1b.....	4Q171 1-2 iv 24-26.....	224
12:1.....	4Q177 5+6 12.....	235	51:17.....	4Q436 1 i 1.....	396
12:6.....	4Q177 10+ 1.....	235	60:6-7a.....	4Q171 13 3-6.....	224
13:1-2.....	4Q177 10+ 8-9.....	235	63:6.....	4Q437 2 i 16.....	397
13:4.....	4Q177 10+ 11-12.....	236	68:12.....	1Q16 3 3-5.....	224
16:3.....	4Q177 1+ 2.....	236	68:25-26.....	1Q16 8 2-3.....	224
17:1.....	4Q177 1+ 4.....	236	68:29.....	1Q16 9 1-2.....	225
17:2.....	4Q177 1+ 6.....	236	68:30.....	1Q16 9 2-4.....	225
18:2.....	4Q381 24 7.....	343	82:1.....	11Q13 2:10.....	456
18:6.....	4Q381 24 7-10.....	343	82:2.....	11Q13 2:11.....	456
			86:16.....	4Q381 15 2.....	344
			86:17.....	4Q381 15 2-3.....	344
			89:6.....	4Q381 15 6-7.....	344
			89:10.....	4Q381 15 4-5.....	344
			89:11.....	4Q381 15 5.....	344
			89:13.....	4Q381 15 5-6.....	344
			106:30-31.....	4QMMT C 31.....	364
			106:37.....	4Q243-245 18.....	267
			106:40.....	4Q243-245 18.....	267

106:41	.....4Q243-245 18-19	.....267	37:30	.....4Q177 5+6 2	.....234
127:2	.....4Q173 1 2-5	.....224	38:19	.....11Q5 19:2	.....450
127:3	.....4Q173 1 7	.....224	40:1-5	.....4Q176 1+2 i 4-9	.....232
135:7	.....11Q5 26:14-15	.....451	40:3	.....1QS 8:14	.....138
146:7-8	.....4Q521 2+4 ii 8	.....421	40:3	.....1QS 9:19-20	.....140
Proverbs					
1:1-6	.....4Q525 1 1-3	.....423	40:6-8	.....4Q185 1-2 i 4-13	.....242
7:12	.....4Q184 1 11-17	.....241	40:11	.....4Q165 1-2	.....214
7:27	.....4Q184 1 8-11	.....241	40:12	.....4Q511 30 4-5	.....416
8:22-31	.....4Q415 9	.....382	41:8-9	.....4Q176 1+2 i 9-11	.....232
14:17	.....4Q477 2 ii 4	.....406	42:16	.....4Q434 1 ii 9	.....395
15:8	.....CD 11:20-21	.....69	43:1-2	.....4Q176 3 1-3	.....232
16:14-20	.....4Q417 1	.....382	43:4-6	.....4Q176 4+5 1-4	.....232
28:22	.....4Q477 2 ii 4, 7	.....406	49:2	.....4Q437 2 i 8-9	.....397
Isaiah					
2:22	.....1QS 5:17	.....133	49:7	.....4Q176 1+2 ii 0-1	.....232
5:5-6	.....4Q162 1:1-6	.....211	49:13-17	.....4Q176 1+2 ii 1-6	.....232
5:10	.....4Q162 1:7-2:2	.....211	50:11	.....CD 5:13	.....55
5:11-14	.....4Q162 2:2-6	.....211	51:22-23	.....4Q176 6+7 1-2	.....232
5:20	.....4Q471 2 8	.....404	52:1-3	.....4Q176 8-11 2-4	.....232
5:24-25	.....4Q162 2:7-10	.....211	52:7	.....11Q13 2:15-16	.....457
7:17	.....CD 7:11-12	.....57	52:7	.....11Q13 2:23	.....457
7:17	.....CD 13:23-14:1	.....71	54:1-2	.....4Q265 2 4-5	.....279
8:11	.....4Q174 3:15-16	.....228	54:1-8	.....11Q5 22:1-15	.....450
10:2	.....CD 6:16-17	.....57	54:4-10	.....4Q176 8-11 5-12	.....233
10:17-19	.....4Q163 6-7 ii 2-9	.....212	54:11	.....4Q164 1-3	.....231
10:20-22	.....4Q163 6-7 ii 10-17	.....212	54:12a	.....4Q164 3-6	.....213
10:22-23	.....4Q161 2+3+4 1-9	.....209	54:12b	.....4Q164 6-8	.....214
10:24-27	.....4Q161 2+3+4 9-14	.....209	54:16	.....CD 6:8	.....56
10:28-32	.....4Q161 5+6 19-23	.....210	59:5	.....CD 5:13-14	.....55
10:33-34	.....4Q161 8+9+10 5-14	.....210	61:1	.....11Q13 2:4	.....456
10:34-11:1	.....4Q285 5 1-3	.....293	61:1	.....4Q521 2+4 ii 12	.....421
11:1-5	.....4Q161 8+9+10 15-29	.....210	61:1-5	.....4Q377 2 ii	.....338
11:2	.....1QSb 5:25	.....150	61:2	.....11Q13 2:9	.....456
11:4	.....1QSb 5:21-22	.....149	61:2	.....11Q13 2:19-20	.....457
11:4	.....1QSb 5:24-25	.....150	61:3	.....11Q13 2:14	.....456
11:5	.....1QSb 5:25-26	.....150	65:22-23	.....4Q174 6:1-3	.....228
14:8	.....4Q163 8-10 1-3	.....212	Jeremiah		
14:26-27	.....4Q163 8-10 4-7	.....212	10:12-13	.....11Q5 26:14-15	.....451
19:14	.....4Q471 2 6	.....404	11:8	.....4Q393 3 3	.....357
22:13	.....4Q177 5+6 15	.....235	18:18	.....4Q177 12+13 i 6	.....234
24:17	.....CD 4:14	.....55	20:13	.....4Q434 1 ii 1	.....395
27:11	.....CD 5:16	.....56	25:12	.....4Q243-245 20-23	.....268
28:16	.....1QS 8:7	.....137	26:23	.....3Q15 11:9-11	.....197
29:17	.....4Q163 21	.....213	28	.....4Q339 1:8	.....324
30:15-18	.....4Q163 23 ii	.....213	29:21, 24	.....4Q339 1:5-6	.....324
30:20-21	.....4Q163 22 1-3	.....213	48:32	.....4Q248 1 9	.....271
30:23	.....4Q163 22 4	.....213	Lamentations		
30:30-32	.....4Q163 25	.....213	1:1	.....4Q179 2 4	.....238
31:8	.....1QM 11:11-12	.....161	Ezekiel		
32:7	.....4Q177 5+6 6	.....235	1	.....4Q385 4	.....351
33:9	.....4Q522 1 i 9	.....422	9:4	.....CD 19:12	.....58
			20:35	.....4Q161 5+6 15-17	.....210

22:21	.....CD 20:3	.....59	1:3	.....4Q169 1-2 1-2	.....216
25:8	.....4Q177 10+ 14	.....236	1:4a	.....4Q169 1-2 3-4	.....217
37	.....4Q385 2	.....350	1:4b	.....4Q169 1-2 4a-5a	.....217
37:23	.....4Q174 3:16-17	.....228	1:4c	.....4Q169 1-2 5-9	.....217
38:22	.....4Q387 4 i	.....354	1:5	.....4Q169 1-2 9-11	.....217
44:15	.....CD 3:21-4:2	.....54	2:11	.....4Q177 1+ 3	.....236
45:11	.....4Q159 1 ii 13-14	.....205	2:11a	.....4Q169 3-4 i 1	.....217
45:11	.....4Q513 1-2 i 4-6	.....206	2:11b	.....4Q169 3-4 i 1-4	.....217
45:11-15	.....4Q266 1 ii 1-7	.....64	2:12a	.....4Q169 3-4 i 4-5	.....217
48:30-35	.....4Q554 1 ii 9-iii 10	.....180	2:12b	.....4Q169 3-4 i 6-8	.....218
Daniel			2:13a	.....4Q169 3-4 i 8-9	.....218
5	.....4Q243-245 1-2	.....267	2:13b	.....4Q169 3-4 i 10-ii 1	.....218
7:23	.....4Q552 2:11-12	.....441	3:1	.....4Q169 3-4 ii 1-2	.....218
9:26	.....11Q13 2:18	.....457	3:2-3	.....4Q169 3-4 ii 3-6	.....218
12:10	.....4Q174 4:3-4a	.....228	3:4	.....4Q169 3-4 ii 7-10	.....219
Hosea			3:5	.....4Q169 3-4 ii 10-iii 1	.....219
2:6	.....4Q166 1:7-13	.....214	3:6-7a	.....4Q169 3-4 iii 1-5	.....219
2:7	.....4Q166 1:15-17	.....214	3:7b	.....4Q169 3-4 iii 5-8	.....219
2:8	.....4Q166 2:1-6	.....214	3:8a	.....4Q169 3-4 iii 8-9	.....219
2:9-10	.....4Q166 2:8-14	.....214	3:8b	.....4Q169 3-4 iii 10-11	.....219
2:11	.....4Q166 2:14-17	.....215	3:9	.....4Q169 3-4 iii 11-iv 1	.....219
2:12	.....4Q434 3 ii 2	.....396	3:10	.....4Q169 3-4 iv 1-4	.....220
2:18	.....4Q434 3 ii 2-3	.....396	3:11a	.....4Q169 3-4 iv 4-6	.....220
3:4	.....CD 20:16	.....60	3:11b	.....4Q169 3-4 iv 6-8	.....220
4:16	.....CD 1:13-14	.....52	Habakkuk		
5:8	.....4Q177 1+ 13	.....237	1:1-2	.....1QpHab 1:1-5	.....115
5:10	.....CD 8:3 (19:15-16)	.....58	1:3a	.....1QpHab 1:5-6	.....116
5:13	.....4Q167 2 1-2	.....215	1:3b	.....1QpHab 1:7-10	.....116
5:14	.....4Q167 2 2-4	.....215	1:4a	.....1QpHab 1:10-12	.....116
5:15	.....4Q167 2 5-7	.....215	1:4b	.....1QpHab 1:13-14	.....116
6:7	.....4Q167 7 1-2	.....215	1:4c	.....1QpHab 1:14-16	.....116
Joel			1:5	.....1QpHab 1:16-2:10	.....116
2:12	.....4Q266 8 v 5	.....73	1:6a	.....1QpHab 2:10-15	.....116
2:13	.....4Q266 8 v 5a	.....73	1:6b	.....1QpHab 2:16-3:2	.....116
Amos			1:7	.....1QpHab 3:2-6	.....117
5:27	.....CD 7:14-15	.....57	1:8-9a	.....1QpHab 3:6-14	.....117
8:11	.....4Q387 2 8-9	.....353	1:9b	.....1QpHab 3:14-17	.....117
9:11	.....CD 7:16	.....57	1:10a	.....1QpHab 3:17-4:3	.....117
9:11	.....4Q174 3:12	.....228	1:10b	.....1QpHab 4:3-9	.....117
Micah			1:11	.....1QpHab 4:9-16	.....117
2:6	.....CD 4:20	.....55	1:12-13a	.....1QpHab 4:16-5:8	.....118
2:10-11	.....4Q177 5+6 11	.....235	1:13b	.....1QpHab 5:8-12	.....118
4:13	.....1QSb 5:26	.....150	1:14-16	.....1QpHab 5:12-6:8	.....118
6:8	.....4Q298 1 iii	.....295	1:17	.....1QpHab 6:8-12	.....118
7:2	.....CD 16:15	.....66	2:1-2	.....1QpHab 6:16-7:5	.....119
7:11	.....CD 4:12	.....55	2:3a	.....1QpHab 7:5-8	.....119
Nahum			2:3b	.....1QpHab 7:9-14	.....119
1:2	.....CD 9:5	.....67	2:4a	.....1QpHab 7:14-17	.....119
			2:4b	.....1QpHab 7:17-8:3	.....119
			2:5-6	.....1QpHab 8:3-13	.....120
			2:7-8a	.....1QpHab 8:13-9:7	.....120
			2:8b	.....1QpHab 9:8-12	.....120
			2:9-11	.....1QpHab 9:12-10:5	.....121

2:12-13	1QpHab 10:5-13	121
2:14	1QpHab 10:14-11:2	121
2:15	1QpHab 11:2-8	121
2:16	1QpHab 11:8-17	122
2:17	1QpHab 11:17-12:10	122
2:18	1QpHab 12:10-14	122
2:19-20	1QpHab 12:14-13:4	122

Zephaniah

1:6	1QS 5:11	132
3:9	4Q464 3 i 9	402

Zechariah

2:8	4Q562 2 2	445
3:9	4Q177 10+ 2	235
4:14	4Q254 4	277
11:7	CD 19:9	58
13:7	CD 19:7-9	58
13:9	4Q176 15 3-5	233

Malachi

1:10	CD 6:13	56
2:10	4Q265 4 1-2	279
3:16	CD 20:19-20	60
3:18	CD 20:20-21	60

II. APOCRYPHA/PSEUDEPIGRAPHA**Sirach**

14:20-15:1	4Q525 2 ii	423
51:13-30	Levi (Cam.) E:3-F:23; 4Q213 2.257	

Jubilees

(title)	4Q384 9 2	350
(title)	CD 16:3	66
4:17-24	4Q227 2	265
4:19	4Q369 1 i	329
4:22	4Q180 1 7-10	238
10:1-14	4Q510-511	414
16:26	1QS 8:5	137
27:13-18	4Q364 3 ii 1-6	325
32:10-15	11Q19 43:2-17	475

1 Enoch

6-11	4Q180 1 7-10	238
------	--------------	-----

Psalms

151	11Q5 28:3-11	448
151B	11Q5 28:13-14	448
154	4Q448 A 7-10	399
154	11Q5 18:1-17	449
155	11Q5 24:3-18	449

Testament of Joseph

16:5	4Q539 1 4	431
------	-----------	-----

III. NEW TESTAMENT**Matthew**

5:3-10	4Q525 2 ii	423
6:33	4Q417 1 i 17-28	383
7:27	4Q424 1 2-4	393
11:2-5	4Q521 2+4 ii 4-14	420
22:30-32	4Q521 7+5 ii	421

Mark

4:39-41	4Q541 7	259
---------	---------	-----

Luke

1:32-33	4Q246 1:9-2:3	269
2:32, 34	4Q541 9 i 2-7	260
7:22	4Q521 2+4 ii 4-14	420

John

8:12	4Q541 24	259
------	----------	-----

1 Corinthians

15:12ff	4Q521 7+5 ii	421
---------	--------------	-----

Romans

3:20, 28	4QMMT C 27	364
----------	------------	-----

Galatians

2:16	4QMMT C 27	364
3:2, 5, 10	4QMMT C 27	364
5:19-21	4Q477 2 ii 4, 7	406

James

3:1-12	1QS 10:21-11:2	142
--------	----------------	-----

Revelation

20:4-6	4Q521 7+5 ii	421
21:12-13	4Q554 1 ii 9-iii 10	180

IV. RABBINIC TEXTS**Midrash Tanhuma (Buber)**

28	4Q464 3 i	402
----	-----------	-----

Seder Olam Rabah

26	4Q389 3	355
----	---------	-----

Mishnah Yebamoth

8:2-3	4QMMT B 39-49	361
-------	---------------	-----

Mishnah Zebahim

11:6-84QMMT B 5-8359

Mishnah Hullin

1:14QMMT B 52-54361

4:1-54QMMT B 37-38361

9:24QMMT B 18-20360

Mishnah Parah

2:14QMMT B 3-5359

2:14QMMT B 8-9360

3:74Q276-277284

3:74QMMT B 13-17360

4:44QMMT B 13-17360

Mishnah Toharoth

4:34QMMT B 58-62362

Mishnah Yadaim

4:64QMMT B 21-22360

4:64QMMT B 72-74362

4:74QMMT B 55-58362