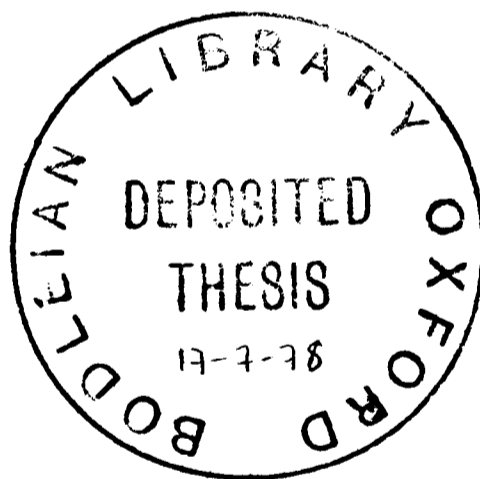


HISTORICAL ALLUSIONS
IN THE PESHARIM
A Systematic Attempt to Determine Their
Credibility and to Identify the Principal
Historical Characters

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A B S T R A C T

As the title indicates, this work has two related objectives. The first is to determine whether the literary conventions of the pesher genre deprive the "historical allusions" of any significance. In other words, do the allusions refer to real events and characters, or are they simply symbols or allegories. The second objective follows closely upon the first. Once the historical nature of the allusions is demonstrated, we proceed to investigate the consequences of that demonstration in one specific area: the identification of the three principal characters: the Wicked Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness and the Liar.

This work is divided into three parts:

Part One: Literary Genre. This section is devoted to the first objective: to determine whether the pesher allusions are in any way historical.

Part Two: Information in the Pesharim. Here we list and interpret the references to the Wicked Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness and the Liar found in the commentaries.

Part Three: Identification of the Characters. This final section is dedicated to the identification of the three principal characters. The information collected from the pesharim is arranged and compared to what we know about possible candidates from outside contemporary sources.

Part One consists of two chapters. The first (The Problems of History in the Pesharim) spells out the problems involved in historical research based on the pesher allusions: has history been subordinated to literary device, and if so, is it possible to determine the extent of this subordination; are the characters individuals, or are they categories, types or titles. There follows upon this exposition of the question, a brief review of the various theories of identification which have been proposed for the Wicked Priest, the Teacher and the Liar.

The second chapter (The Effect of Literary Genre on the Pesharim) answers the questions raised in the previous chapter. After analyzing the content, conventions and finality of the pesharim, we conclude that the allusions must refer to known events and characters. The allusions are too fragmentary and basically uninformative to have any meaning or power to convince, if they did not call to mind people and occasions that were well known to the readers. The fact that the readers necessarily had to be well acquainted with the events involved, if they were to make sense of these allusions, does not allow the author to tamper excessively with the historical narrative. Moreover, the very purpose of the whole exercise would be defeated if the author could both re-interpret the texts and falsify the history. He did not tailor history to fit prophecy, but rather strained the meaning of the prophet's words to fit the events of the sect's history.

The second part begins with a brief introduction which explains the method we shall follow to work out the identity of the principal characters. We then gather all the passages in the pesharim which name them (principally IQpHab, 4QpPss^a, and 4QpNah.) We consider as well those places in the Damascus Document where the Teacher of Righteousness and the Liar are mentioned.

The third part is divided into three chapters. Chapter Five examines the background of the documents: archaeology, paleography, the identity of the Kittim and the Qumran Community, and finally the single, apparently chronological indication to be found in the scrolls: the three hundred and ninety years in the Damascus Document.

We then examine the pesher allusions to the Wicked Priest (Chapter Six) and distinguish between those statements which refer to verifiable facts, and those that merely express the hostility and disapproval of the author. By comparing these statements to information in external contemporary sources (Josephus and the Books of Maccabees) we reach the conclusion that the most likely individual to fit the scroll description of the Wicked Priest is Jonathan Maccabaeus.

The texts referring to the Liar are subjected to the same scrutiny, but the results are less satisfying. There is, however, a strong possibility, but only a possibility, that the Liar and the Wicked Priest are the same individual. In that case, Liar would be another name for Jonathan Maccabaeus.

Finally we analyze the pesher allusions to the Teacher of Righteousness and compare them to what we know from non-Qumran sources (Chapter Seven.) Although there is abundant information about the Teacher's role in the community, his peculiar teaching, and the esteem in which his followers held him, there is little that points towards his personal identity. Similarly, there is too little information in external sources about those individuals who might be the Teacher of Righteousness to allow us more than random guesses.

We can only go so far along truly evidential lines: we can determine a certain period, discover a likely candidate for the Wicked Priest and possibly the Liar, and make certain definite exclusions. Anything beyond this enters the realm of pure conjecture.

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- BASOR: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven, Conn.
- Bibl: Biblica, Rome.
- BiOr: Bibliotheca Orientalis, Leiden.
- BJRL: Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester, Manchester.
- CBQ: The Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Washington D.C.
- CRAIBL: Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. Comptes-Rendus des Séances, Paris.
- ETL: Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, Louvain.
- HTR: The Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, Mass.
- IEJ: Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem.
- JBL: Journal of Biblical Literature, Philadelphia.
- JJS: The Journal of Jewish Studies, Oxford.
- JQR: The Jewish Quarterly Review, Philadelphia.
- JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies, Manchester.
- JTS: The Journal of Theological Studies (New Series) Oxford.
- NCl: La Nouvelle Clio, Brussels.
- NRT: Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Louvain.
- NT: Novum Testamentum, Leiden.
- NTS: New Testament Studies, Cambridge.
- PEQ: Palestine Exploration Quarterly, London.
- RB: Revue Biblique, Paris.
- RHR: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris.
- RoczOr: Rocznik Orientalistyczny, Cracow.

- RQ: Revue de Qumran, Paris
- RSR: Recherches des Science Religieuse, Paris.
- StTh: Studia Theologica, Lund.
- Sym Bib Upp: Symbolae Biblicae Upsallenses, Uppsala.
- ThZ: Theologische Zeitschrift, Basle.
- TLZ: Theologische Literaturzeitung, Berlin.
- TR: Theologische Rundschau, Tübingen.
- VT: Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
- ZAW: Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
- ZDMG: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden.
- ZKTh: Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie, Vienna.
- ZRGG: Zeitschrift für Religions- und Gesitesgeschichte, Cologne.
- ZThK: Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Tübingen.

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PART ONE: LITERARY GENRE

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THE PROBLEMS OF HISTORY IN THE PESHARIM

However sketchy and conjectural our present knowledge of Qumran history may be, it would be almost non-existent were it not for the allusions and references found in the scripture-interpretation scrolls known as the pesharim (1). These allusions are the primary source of historical information about the Qumran community. Archaeology and palaeography can provide indirect indications of the period and background in which that community was founded, but only the scrolls can give us direct information (2).

Before beginning a systematic attempt to resolve the problems of peshar history, we shall try to spell out just what these problems are. After as clear and comprehensive a statement of the problems as possible, we shall review the solutions and observations scholars have proposed to resolve these difficulties. Hence this chapter will be divided into two sections:

I. The Problems

II. Proposed Solutions

Since their discovery, virtually every scholar has attempted to identify the individuals, groups, events and background that are being referred to in the pesharim. To some extent we will follow this well-traveled road; there is no other way to reconstruct the history of the

(1) Cf VERMES, G., Post-Biblical Jewish Studies (1975) Leiden, p 47.

(2) "Obviously the identity of the Teacher of Righteousness or the Evil Priest cannot be determined from archaeological evidence. The answer to these questions can be arrived at only on the basis of an interpretation of the texts and by correlating them with the data of external history. But archaeology does provide a chronological framework and thereby prescribes certain limits to the possible hypotheses." DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, pp 111-112.

Qumran community. What we hope to accomplish that might be termed original, is an examination of the source of these allusions - the pesharim - with an eye to determining whether they are recounting history, and what credence can be attributed to their cryptic utterances. In other words, what information do the pesharim provide, and how reliable is it.

In Qumran historical studies this question of the reliability of the pesharim as a source of historical information - albeit less than clear and straightforward - has either been tacitly assumed (3), or vehemently denied. Those who deny the possibility of deriving any sort of historical information from the pesharim claim that these texts are allegories, symbols, parables or something similar; in any event, the pesharim allusions are so far removed from historical narrative that it is useless to attempt any identification of the characters or reconstruction of the events (4).

I. THE PROBLEMS

A. Historical Allusions

Strictly speaking there is no proper historiography in the Dead Sea Scrolls (5). All the historical information found in these texts is

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- (3) "All the other suggestions retain a prima facie plausibility if one admits the underlying assumption, namely, that the texts constitute a homogeneous block of material. The effect of this presupposition is evident in the authors' indiscriminate use of material from all texts to build up their cases, and in their belief that certain distinctive terms and phrases have a univocal value in all the documents." MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) p 216.
- (4) "What we have to realize is that the commentators were merely fitting a stock set of masks ("the Righteous Man", "the Wicked Man", "the Foreign Invader") upon a stock set of characters ("the Teacher of Righteousness", "the Wicked Priest", "the Kittim") differently identified at different epochs." GASTER, T.H., The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect (1957) London, p 37; cf also ROBERTS, B.J., "Bible Exegesis and Fulfilment in Qumran," in Words and Meanings (1968) Cambridge, pp 195-207; BUCHANAN, G.W., RQ (6/1967-69) pp 553-558.
- (5) cf SANDERS, J.A., BA (37/1974) p 113.

incidental, one might almost say accidental. It consists of allusions, descriptions, and identifications that crop up in non-historical contexts. The author is writing doctrinal, polemic, ascetic or apologetic texts in which the allusions are examples or proofs. Since these texts are not primarily intended to convey information, all sorts of elements we would expect to find in a straightforward historical narrative are missing: there are no names or dates; even sequence and clarity seem of only marginal concern to the authors of the scrolls. Consequently we are faced with a paradox: while there is no exclusively historiographical material in the Qumran scrolls, at the same time there is really no scroll that is absolutely without historical significance; every text give some indication - however oblique - of the background from which it came.

We can distinguish two types of historical material in the scrolls:

1. Historical Surveys
2. References to single events or characters

1. The Historical Survey

a. Nature

The panoramic survey is an overview of the whole historical process as the scroll writer perceived it; it is an explanation of the events surrounding the origin and subsequent life of the community. If we distinguish three periods in the community's history - its origins, its current history, and the end of days - we can say that the historical survey is more interested in the first and last of these. There are, however, scattered references to the intervening period: the current history of the community.

These passages are more an exposition of theological themes, than the recording of events. The author is more concerned with elaborating the religious dimension of the community's understanding of history than in describing the origin and subsequent development of the community.

b. Contents of the Survey

We can summarize the contents of the survey as follows: the first visitation of God inaugurated the age of wickedness; that age will

end with the second visitation. During this age of wickedness/wrath, those who follow the Teacher of Righteousness will form a community that will be saved at the final visitation. Those who reject the Teacher and his teachings will be condemned at the end of days.

c. Location

This general pattern of history appears in toto or in part throughout the scrolls: CD I.1-VI.20; VII.4-6; VII.9-IX.1; XII.23-XIII.1; XV.5-7; XVI.2-4; XIX.1-XX.34; IQM I.5; XI.6-9; XI.13; XII.1-2; XIII.8-9, 13-17; XIV.7-9; IQH III.28-29; V.13, 20-22; VI.7-9, 29-30; IQpHab II.5-10; V.3-6, 7-8; VII.1-5, 7-8, 10-12, 13-14; VIII.1-3; IQS I.16-18, 21-24; II.19; II.25-III.12; IV.18-26; VIII.5-10; IX.9-11; IQS^b I.1-3; V.20-25; 4QFlor 11-12; 4QpPss^a II.7-9; 4QpIs^a; 4QpIs^b; 4QpIs^c.

d. Usefulness

The material in this particular sort of historical narrative is often less helpful than we might at first believe. For it is in the survey that we are most likely to find the distortions caused by pre-conceived theories or theological bias. For this reason we shall concentrate on the second sort of historical information: the reference to the single event or character.

2. Reference to single event or character

This second sort of historical element is an allusion to an individual or incident outside the context of a historical scheme. It can be a reference to something trivial or ordinary and have no special theological significance; generally it refers to the current history of the sect. Here too we can distinguish various types:

- a) something is said about an unidentified individual;
- b) a subject is identified;
- c) an identified individual is involved in an incident.

a. Something is said about an unidentified subject:

"I thank you, O Lord, for you have fastened your eye upon me. You have saved me from the zeal of lying interpreters, and from the

congregation of those who seek smooth things. You have redeemed the soul of the poor one whom they planned to destroy by spilling his blood because he served you." IQH II.31-33

These allusions are found primarily in the Hymns (IQH). To interpret these texts in a historical light, one must assume that the Teacher of Righteousness was the author or the subject of at least some of the texts. Generally scholars who follow this line of reasoning identify the Teacher as the subject of the following portions: IQH II. 1-19, 31-39; III.1-18; IV.5-V.4; V.5-19; V.20-VII.5; VIII.4-40 (6). Other scholars deny the validity of this sort of hypothetical reconstruction (7).

The material in these hymns is more thematic (exposition) than narrative. The author describes the hostility and persecution of his enemies: II.1-19, 31-38; III.1-18; IV.5-21, 34-38; V.5-19; V.20-VI.24; VIII.14-15. He speaks of the loyalty of his followers and the benefits they receive from his teaching: II.1-17; IV.21-33; VI.29-VII.5; VIII.4-13, 16-23. There is mention of an unsuccessful attempt on the life of the author: II.17-19 and 31-38; there may be a less direct mention of this attempt in VI.22-24. The wicked will be punished for their misinterpretation of the Law and their persecution of the righteous: III.1-18; IV.13-21; V.19-22; VII.10-13. The righteous will ultimately triumph and be saved: IV. 21-26, 34-38; VI.4-18; VI.29-VII.5; VIII.4-13.

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- (6) BARDTKE, H., RB (63/1956) pp 232f; CARMIGNAC, J.J., Le Docteur de Justice et Jésus Christ (1957) Paris, p 121; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, p 86; Semitica (7/1957) pp 10ff; GRUNDMANN, W., RQ (2/1960) p 238; HUPPENBAUER, H.W., Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten (1959) Zurich, p 66; HYATT, J.P., NTS (2/1955-56) p 277; MICHAUD, H., Bulletin trimestriel de la Faculté libre de Théologie protestante de Paris (19/1956) pp 67-77; MILIK, J.T., Ten Years p 40; MOLIN, G., Die Söhne des Lichtes (1954) Vienna-Munich, pp 103-104; MOWINCKEL, S., JEL (75/1956) p 276; RABINOWITZ, I., JEL (71/1952) p 25; SCHUBERT, K., ZKTh (74/1952) p 23; SCHULZ, S., ZThK (56/1959) p 173; SEGAL, M.H., JEL (70/1951) p 135; SUTCLIFFE, E.F., The Monks of Qumran (1960) London, p 60; TOURNAY, R.J., RB (57/1950) p 618; VAN DER PLOEG, J., Funde in der Wüste Juda (1959) Cologne, pp 77-79; YADIN, Y., The Message of the Scrolls (1957) London, pp 108-109. There are more titles in BURROWS, M., More Light, oo 324ff.
- (7) LICHT, J., Megillat Hahodayoth mimegilloth midbar Yehuda, (1957) Jerusalem, pp 22-26; GASTER, T.H., The Dead Sea Scriptures, p 113; HCLM-NIELSEN, S., Hodayot. Psalms from Qumran (1960) Aarhus, passim.

Because God has protected him in many dangers, the author is confident that God will save him: II.31-38; IV.34-38; V.5-19; VI.4-18; VI.24-29; VII.6-10; VII.13-25; VIII.4-13. At one point the author was betrayed by some of his friends and followers who told secrets about his revelation to the "children of mischief." (V.20-26.)

These texts tell us nothing concrete about the identity of their author: there is no mention of his origins, family, office, the specific events of his life, or any historical or political indication which would allow us to assign him even an approximate date. Not a single proper name is mentioned. Consequently all the historical conclusions and insights derived from the hymns - and often they are extremely detailed - remain hypothetical (8). What the hymns do give us is a wealth of information about the religious feelings and insights of their author. We are told nothing about his adversaries, his followers, or what concrete forms their conflict took. Perhaps the single exception is the allegation that the author's opponents attempted to kill him, but God frustrated their plan (IQH II.17-19, 31-38).

Using the hymns as a basis for historical reconstruction presents us with one enormous initial difficulty: not only must we engage in a fair amount of hypothetical reconstruction in an effort to determine what is being predicated about the Teacher of Righteousness - but the very fact that the Teacher is the subject of these reconstructions is itself hypothetical.

b. Identification of a subject

The identity of a subject is clarified or equated to someone else. There is no mention of a specific incident: "And the stave is the Interpreter of the Law." CD VI.7.

These clarifications of identity are brief references or indications more in the nature of clues. They clarify who or what is meant by a par-

(8) MICHAUD, H., Bulletin trimestriel de la Faculté libre de Théologie protestante de Paris (19/1956) pp 67-77; CARMIGNAC, J.J., RQ (2/1969-1960) pp 205-222; cf also JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 264-266.

ticular epithet or statement. Often, as in the example cited above, they equate one sobriquet to another, not necessarily clarifying anything. These identifications can be found throughout the scrolls.

c. An identified subject is involved in an incident

"Interpreted this concerns the Wicked Priest who pursued the Teacher of Righteousness that he might confuse him with his fury of venom, to the house of exile. And at the time appointed for rest, for the day of Atonement, he appeared before them to confuse them and to cause them to stumble on the day of fasting, their Sabbath of repose." IQpHab XI.4-8

The allusions in which a subject is named are found primarily in the pesharim (9). Some of these texts are verse interpretations of the prophets: IQpHabakkuk, 4QpNahum, 4QpPsalm^a, 4QpHosea, 4QpMicah, 4QpIsaiah^{a,b,c,d}; others are collections of scriptural phrases from different sources, united by a common theme: 4QFlorilegium and 4QTestimonia.

It is above all this sort of historical reference that can assist our investigation. These passages are not concerned with the theological positions of the individuals or groups mentioned, or with determining how they fit into God's over-all plan; rather their intent is to show that the prophets had already spoken about them and their careers. Consequently and paradoxically the most historically reliable sections of the scrolls are not those concerned with recording history, but rather with demonstrating that it had been foretold.

It has been objected that too much attention has been given to the allusions in the pesharim (10). But in the last analysis they are the only really historical material we possess. Ideas, language, palaeography

(9) Scattered references can be found in CD: I.1-II.1; IV.2-4; 19-20; VI.5; VII.13-14; VII.18-21; VIII.12-13; XIX.34; XX.22-23.

(10) "In the historian's desire to locate historical references, these pitiful scraps have burgeoned into fantastic importance."
SANDERS, J.A., BA (37/1974) p 131.

and archaeology undoubtedly provide a fertile field in which to search for indirect historical indications, but nothing would be as convincing or as satisfying as a reliable identification of the characters named in the scrolls. However risky this exercise may prove to be, it cannot be avoided. It is the primary means of deriving historical information from these texts (11).

B. The Pesharim

None of the scrolls is absolutely without historical significance; each text presents us with historical indications, however indirect they may be. We must exercise discretion in choosing the texts we will study and consider as the "incidental/accidental" historiography of Qunram. The historical background of the community could be reconstructed from almost any point of reference - the situations reflected in scroll legislation, the language or theological peculiarities of the texts, the very palaeography of the scrolls; we shall limit ourselves to those allusions described above as references to single characters or events, which are presumably historical and are found in the pesharim.

1. Why only the Pesharim? There are several reasons for this choice:

a) The incidental, unconnected items of information in the pesharim would indicate that they are not the product of an ideology. In the historical survey there is evidence of a theological plan being illustrated, no such evidence appears in the peshar allusions.

b) Any attempt to reconstruct and identify the fragments of historical information in the scrolls presupposes a certain homogeneity: that the texts are speaking about the same individuals, and that they are speaking

(11) "The scholar could prudently rest contented with the limits of the century and a quarter that archaeology, palaeography, and all the theories based on internal evidence provide. But the subject is of such interest and importance that it urges the student to attempt the risky task of placing events and personalities more exactly." VERMES, G., The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (2nd ed 1975) Harmondsworth, p 58.

about them in the same way. This means that if a sobriquet/epithet (Teacher of Righteousness, Wicked Priest, or some similar term) refers to a historical individual in one text, it will not denote a type, office, or symbolic personage in another. Similarly, if an event described literally in one place refers to something which actually happened, the same sort of description will not then be employed as an allegory or figure in another passage.

Although the identity of language and reference could perhaps be shown in all the scrolls, it would be an excessively long task with no guarantee of anything but the most uncertain results; for this reason we shall limit our attention to the pesharim. They are all the same sort of literary work, and whatever the use of the various pseudonyms may be, it is the same from one pesharim to another (12).

c) The identification of the characters is the path followed by the majority of scholars. If the characters can be identified there is a nucleus around which to construct the history of the community. The bulk of the information we will use for identifying the characters can be found in the pesharim.

2. The Damascus Document

Historical indications appear in the prologue to the Damascus Document: the individuals whose identity we shall later seek to establish are mentioned in CD I.1-II.1. The Damascus Document differs from the pesharim in its literary genre, and its purpose. An evaluation of the reliability of these references would lead us along very different lines. We shall, however, consider individual elements from the CD prologue in the body of this work.

(12) "Tous les peshârîm appartiennent au même genre littéraire et sont rédigés dans le même style; les mêmes formules et les mêmes sobriquets reparaissent dans les uns et les autres. On peut donc envisager qu'ils aient tous le même auteur." CARMIGNAC, J.J., Les Textes de Qumrân traduits et annotés, vol II (1963) Paris, p 47.

As the title of this work indicates, we will examine the literary genre of the peshar with a very specific objective: to determine how the genre affects the historicity of the information contained in the peshar. Once we have reached a conclusion in this regard, we shall then examine the main area of historical conjecture - the identification of the characters - in an effort to determine who they were.

C. Evaluation of Historical References

Historical research based upon the peshar allusions must deal with a fundamental question: how reliable are these references? Most research concentrates on their cryptic nature; efforts are made to explain or expand the statements in the Habakkuk Commentary or the Damascus Document. But a more fundamental question is whether these allusions, once interpreted and understood, can be relied upon. Are they speaking about historical characters and events, and are they speaking truthfully about these characters and events?

There are many factors which undermine the historical reliability of these allusions. Since there is no intentional historiography in the scrolls, the documents which contain the references have a finality other than conveying information: the pesharim are apologetic, didactic, polemical, apocalyptic or exegetical - but only incidentally historiographical.

It is conceivable that these texts are allegories, figures, or symbols and that the characters and events have been edited, rearranged, falsified or even created out of whole cloth to fit pre-existing schemes or to match prophetic texts (13). In short, fact may be entirely subordinate to literary device.

(13) "As with all other Qumran officials, the Teacher of Righteousness was no individual in our sense but a functionary who filled a role presaged by Scriptures. Anonymity, in this context, was the result of complete surrender to the control of Scripture, and is basic to our understanding of the scrolls. By the same token the enemies of the Community were, to them, not historical people or peoples, but the personifications of their biblical prototypes...just as personalities were swallowed up in biblical identification, so were events and happenings." ROBERTS, B.J., "Bible Exegesis and Fulfilment in Qumran" in Words and Meanings (1968) Cambridge, pp 198-199.

The allusions may be commonplaces: the statements made about the Teacher, the Wicked Priest and the Liar may be without any historical basis.

Another difficulty is that the characters may not be real at all. The Teacher, the Priest and the Liar may not refer to individuals but rather categories - the good, the wise, the wicked, the treacherous, etc. It has been suggested that they are a stock set of masks applied to a stock set of characters, and refer to different people in different epochs (cf note 4 page 3).

Even if we accept the hypothesis that the characters are historical individuals, and that the events did occur, and that the literary genre has not distorted the information out of all usefulness, there are still other problems which beset us.

D. Identification of the Characters

Was the author close enough to the events about which he wrote to avoid confusion in his own mind? or had so much time passed that the characters were no longer distinct, and that the writer unwittingly confused the identity and activity of different individuals?

The Wicked Priest may not always be the same individual. There may be two or more that have been confused by the author. The same doubts surround the identity of the Liar. Is "Liar" just another name for the Wicked Priest? Even if they are separate individuals, it may be that the author has confused them. Is the Teacher of Righteousness a single individual, a series of people, an office, or an ideal? Why is he never mentioned by that title outside of the scrolls?

We must also consider whether there is sufficient information to provide us with reliable clues to the identity of these characters. If we had an idea of who they were, the further step of determining what events are being mentioned would not be difficult. It could well be, however, that these individuals are ultimately unidentifiable; the conflicting theories of identification range so widely that this eventuality is certainly not to be discounted.

II. PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

Before attempting to answer these questions we shall pass in brief review the theories that have been suggested or proposed to interpret the historical references in the pesharim. This exposition of the Status Quaestionis will be divided into two sections that correspond to the two problems we have set ourselves:

- A. The effect of literary genre on the historical credibility of the pesharim;
- B. The identification of the principal characters.

A. Effect of Literary Genre

Although the literary genre "pesher" has been the subject of considerable study (14), its credibility as a source of historical information has received scant attention. For the most part scholars have concentrated on fitting the pesher into the framework of traditional Jewish exegesis.

Initially there was a good deal of discussion about whether the

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- (14) BETZ, O., Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte (1960) Tübingen, pp 73-83; BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) pp 54-76; BRUCE, F.F., "Pesher" in Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971) Jerusalem; Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (1966) London, pp 7-19; CARMIGNAC, J.J., RQ (4/1963-64) pp 497-522; Les Textes de Qumrân traduits et annotés vol II (1963) Paris, pp 46-49; ELLIGER, K., Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer (1953) Tübingen, pp 150-164; GAERTNER, B., Studia Theologica (8/1954) pp 1-24; HORTON, F.L., Jr., RQ (7/1969-71) pp 505-514; OSSWALD, E., ZAW (68/1956) pp 243-256; RABINOWITZ, I., RQ (8/1972-75) pp 219-232; ROTH, C., VT (10/1960) pp 51-57; SILBERMAN, L.H., RQ (3/1961-62) pp 323-364; VERMES, G., La Bible et l'Orient (1955) Paris, pp 95-102; "Interpretation, History of," in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume (1976) Nashville, pp 438-443.

pesher was a midrash (15), a commentary, or something else (16). The distinction between midrash and commentary assumed here is that the commentary attempts to discover the straightforward meaning of the biblical text, whereas the midrash uncovers a hidden meaning fairly removed from the surface appearance of the prophets' words. Whatever the pesher may be, it certainly is not a commentary in that sense of the word. Attempts to identify common elements in Jewish exegesis in the pesharim have produced various suggested parallels (17). And over the years the position of pesher as a part of Jewish exegetical tradition has been securely established (18).

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- (15) "I am convinced that the exegesis of this ancient commentary (IQpHab) is midrashic in character ... A commentary, even when allegorical as in many old conservative commentaries upon the Song of Songs, is founded upon the literal self-evident sense of the text; a midrash, on the other hand, though it may sometimes expound the literal sense of the passage, devotes itself primarily to the derivation of hidden meanings, the exposition of 'the mysteries of the words of God's servants the prophets.' If this distinction is to be given pre-eminence, DSH must be judged a midrash." BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) p 76.
- (16) "HK steht in der Methode der Auslegung dem Buche Daniel näher als der rabbinischen Literatur. 'Essentially midrashic in character' ist seine Exegese noch nicht. Nicht nur nach der literarischen Form, sondern auch nach der Art der Auslegung ist HK eher als Kommentar zu bezeichnen, freilich als erbaulicher Kommentar, der den Text auf die Gegenwart anwendet zu Nutz und Frommen der Gemeinde." ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 164.
- (17) Cf SILBERMAN, L.H., RQ (3/1961-62) pp 323-364; CARMIGNAC, J.J., RQ (4/1963-64) pp 497-522; RABINOWITZ, I., RQ (8/1972-75) pp 219-232.
- (18) "Aus den angeführten Parallelen geht hervor, dass der Verfasser des Habakuk-Kommentars, der sich wohl auf die Lehre des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit stützt, mit seinem hermeneutischen Prinzip nicht allein steht, sondern sich mitten in einer Traditionskette befindet, die sich in der apokalyptischen und urchristlichen, aber auch in der rabbinischen Literatur nachweisen lässt." OSSWALD, E., ZAW (68/1956) p 255.

"The Qumran Interpreters took over from pre-sectarian Judaism a body of exegetical tradition already fully developed and in advance of the purely literal significance of Scripture." (19)

Recently Rabinowitz has written an article (20) to show that the peshar is not simply an interpretation - what do the scriptures mean? - but a "presage" - what do the scriptures augur for the future.

Recognizing that much of the material in the peshar refers to characters who have already appeared, or events which have already happened, Rabinowitz goes on to say that these events are cited along with their prophetic prediction to add credibility to those prophecies which concern the as yet unfulfilled future. This has a bearing on the historical reliability of the pesharim: if the events referred to had not occurred, they would certainly not add to the credibility of the predictions.

B. The Identification of the Principal Characters

This aspect of Qumran historical research has proved an irresistible challenge to virtually all who have studied the scrolls. In the first ten years that followed the discovery, a wealth of hypotheses and theories were proposed to explain and identify the cryptic allusions in the Qumran documents. Many of these have since been shown to be untenable, and those which enjoyed the most probability still present persistent difficulties, given the casual and fragmentary nature of historical information in the scrolls. Consequently the amount written on scroll history has decreased considerably in recent years.

(19) VERMES, G., Post-Biblical Jewish Studies (1975) Leiden, p 46; cf also JJS (26/1975) pp 11-12; La Bible et l'Orient (1955) Paris, pp 99-102.

(20) RABINOWITZ, I., RQ (8/1972-75) pp 219-232.

The theories of identification proposed for the characters and events can be divided into roughly five categories according to the period chosen as the historical setting for the narrative. The first category assigns the events to the period of Seleucid domination in Palestine, between 197 and 152 B.C. The second places the early events of Qumran history in the time of the Maccabee brothers, from 166 to 134 B.C. The third and fourth categories propose the era of the Hasmonaean dynasty as the background: one group assigns the events to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.), and the other to the high priesthood of his son, Hyrcanus II (67-40 B.C.). Finally G.R.Driver and C.Roth have devised an elaborate interpretation of Qumran history based on the hypothesis that the community was composed of Zealots, and that the Habakkuk Commentary refers to incidents that occurred during the Jewish Revolt of 66-74 A.D.

1. The Seleucid Theory (197-152 B.C.)

The chief and most consistent exponent of this theory was H.H.Rowley. As early as 1951 (21) he set out the main lines of his reconstruction of scroll history; it remained substantially the same over the years (22). Others have supported, defended, or slightly modified his conclusions (23).

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- (21) ROWLEY, H.H., Expository Times (63/1951-52) pp 378-384.
- (22) ROWLEY, H.H., The Zadokite Documents and the Dead Sea Scrolls (1952) Oxford; BJRL (49/1966-67) pp 203-232; Jewish Apocalyptic and the Dead Sea Scrolls (1957) London; ETL (28/1952) pp 257-276; BJRL (35/1952-1953) pp 111-154; PEQ (88/1956) pp 92-109; JBL (75/1956) pp 188-193.
- (23) BARDTKE, H., Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer (1953) Berlin; vol II, Die Sekte von Qumran (1958); vol III, Die Handschriftenfunde in der Wüste Juda (1961); TR (33/1968) pp 97-119; 185-236; TLZ (99/1970) pp 1-20; BLACK, M., The Essene Problem (1961) London; BURROWS, M., BASOR (122/1951) pp 4-6; DHORME, E., CRAIBL (1951) pp 199-200; GRIEG, J.C.G., NTS (2/1955-56) pp 119-126; LAMBERT, G., NRT (74/1952) pp 259-283; MICHEL, A., Le Maître de Justice d'après les documents de la Mer Morte, La littérature apocryphe et rabbinique (1954) Avignon; RABINOWITZ, I., JBL (71/1952) pp 19-32; VT (8/1958) pp 391-404; REICKE, B., StTh (2/1948) pp 45-70; Reicke later changed his mind about this theory: Sym Bib Upp (14/1952) Uppsala; SCHONFIELD, H., Secrets of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1956) London; SEELIGMAN, I.L., BiOr (6/1949) pp 1-8; STAUFFER, E., TLZ (76/1951) pp 667-674; ZRGG (8/1956) pp 250-253; TRINQUET, J., VT (1/1951) pp 287-292.

Rowley identified the Qumran community with the Essenes (24). He admitted that there were difficulties with this identification arising from the contradictions between classical information about the Essenes, and what we read in the scrolls. The most important of these difficulties is that both Philo and Josephus tell us that the Essenes were pacifists and unconcerned with war (25). This is in strong contrast with the impression created by the War Scroll (IQM). Even in the classical sources, however, there are counter-indications about Essene pacifism. Josephus tells us that an Essene, John, was a general in the Jewish army during the first revolt (26); moreover the Essenes were tortured by the Romans (27). This would hardly have happened had they been pacifists and posed no threat to the Romans. Rowley resolves this difficulty by suggesting that their early and original pacifism evolved during the course of their history and that by the first century A.D. they were far more warlike (28).

His theory is based on two assumptions:

- a) archaeology shows that the Qumran community was founded in the first half of the second century B.C.;
- b) the Teacher of Righteousness and the Kittim are contemporary.

The dates contained in the Damascus Document, although they are only approximate, indicate that all the characters and events of the early history of the community are to be placed in the years of the Seleucid domination of Palestine. If this is accepted as the general background only the Seleucids can be the Kittim.

He identifies the Teacher of Righteousness with Onias III, the last legitimate High Priest. Out of loyalty to the legitimate Zadokite line

(24) ROWLEY, H.H., BJRL (49/1966-67) pp 203-232.

(25) JOSEPHUS, War II, 125, and PHILO, Quod omnis probus liber sit, xii, 78.

(26) JOSEPHUS, War II, 567.

(27) JOSEPHUS, War, 152.

(28) MILIK, J.T., Ten Years, pp 94-97.

of High Priests, the men of Qumran called themselves the Sons of Zadok. The Wicked Priest is Menelaus, who was responsible for Onias' death in 171 B.C. Rowley carefully examined all the other allusions in IQpHab and CD which bear out this theory and concludes that the crisis being described occurred during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164 B.C.) (29).

Another supporter of this theory, E. Stauffer, has produced an ingenious argument to confirm the Seleucid identity of the Kittim (30). He claims that the word $\square\eta\eta\eta$ (their beasts) in IQpHab III.10, refers to the famous war elephants of the Seleucid army. If this word really does mean "elephant," they are the only possible invaders that fit this description; only the Seleucids used elephants in war. He gives four reasons for this conclusion:

a) Begriffsgeschichtlich: the Septuagint translates this word in Habakkuk as $\theta\eta\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$, which is the same word used for elephants in I Maccabees XI.56 and II Maccabees XV.20f;

b) Kontextexegetisch: we read in IQpHab III.10, that the Kittim and their beasts "trample" ($\eta\psi\eta\tau'$) the earth; surely this verb is a more appropriate description of elephants than pack animals;

c) Sachgeschichtlich: only the Seleucid army employed elephants during this period;

d) Formgeschichtlich: the Seleucids are often described as "riders and their beasts," (I Maccabees VI.30ff; II Maccabees XXV.20); "riders and their elephants," (I Maccabees I.17; II Maccabees XL.4; XIII.2; and War I, 41-46.)

Stauffer suggests that the Teacher of Righteousness was Jose ben Joezer (31).

(29) ROWLEY, H.H., BJRL (49/1966-67) pp 203-232.

(30) STAUFFER, E., TLZ (75/1951) pp 667-674.

(31) STAUFFER, E., ZRGG (8/1956) pp 250-253.

Many other authors follow the general lines of this theory (32) with slight modifications. Greig (33) thinks that the Teacher was Mattathias, the father of the Maccabee brothers, and that the Day of Atonement incident (IQpHab XI.4-8) is the event referred to in II Maccabees V.24-27 (34). Rabinowitz (35) agrees on the whole with Rowley's dating of the events in the scrolls, but argues against the identification of Onias III as the Teacher of Righteousness. He claims that the Teacher in the Damascus Document was actually three individuals: **מורה צדק** refers to Nehemiah; **מורה הצדק** indicates a future guide who will appear at the end of days; and **מורה היחיד** is the contemporary teacher who has just died, i.e. Judas Maccabaeus. In the pesharim, the title "Teacher of Righteousness," refers to two people:

a) Judas Maccabaeus in IQpHab VIII.1-3; IX.8-12; XI.2-8; 4QpPsalm^a II.23-24; III.14-15.

b) Judas' father, Mattathias in IQpHab II.1-3; II.6-10; V.8-12; VII.3-5; and IQpMicah I.5.

The most serious objection to these hypotheses is the identification of the Seleucids as the Kittim. In spite of Stauffer's elaborate and almost convincing apology, it remains true that the IQpHab description of the Kittim fits the Romans so well that all other theories of identification pale beside it.

If the Kittim are the Romans, and if the archaeological indications about the settlement of Qumran are reliable (i.e. that the site was

(32) cf footnote 23 on p 16.

(33) GREIG, J.C.G., NTS (2/1955-56) pp 119-126.

(34) Antiochus sent the Mysian commander Appolonius to Jerusalem, who gained entry into the city by posing as a man of peace; he waited until the holy day of the Sabbath "then finding the Jews at rest from work, he commanded his men to parade in arms, put to the sword all who came to see what was going on, and rushing into the city with armed men killed great numbers. Judas Maccabaeus, however, with about nine others got away."

(35) RABINOWITZ, I., VT (8/1958) pp 391-404.

occupied in the second century B.C.) then we can only conclude that as much as a century may have passed between the events that gave birth to the community and the invasion of the Kittim. We shall see later that this does not necessarily present serious difficulties: the scroll authors leap backwards and forwards in time with abandon; if a particular word or phrase in the scriptural text suggests an individual or an event they introduce it into their commentary completely disregarding sequence and chronology.

2. The Maccabaeen Theory (161-135 B.C.)

This interpretation of scroll history was first proposed by G.Vermes (36). Many other authors agree with Vermes' choice of a historical setting (37). They hold that the Qumran community was Essene and that the ministry of the Teacher of Righteousness took place during the period dominated by the two Maccabee brothers, Jonathan and Simon (i.e. 161 to 135 B.C.) Vermes believes that the Wicked Priest was the younger brother, Jonathan. The Qumran community derived from a sect known as the Hasidim (I Maccabees II.42). This sect was in existence during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. More or less the time we arrive at following the indications of the Damascus Document (390 years). These Hasidim were opponents of the forced Hellenization of Antiochus Epiphanes and his puppets, the high priests, Jason and Menelaus. They support the Hasidim gave to the Maccabees

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- (36) VERMES, G., Les manuscrits du Désert de Juda (1953) Paris; RSR (41/1953) pp 5-29; The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (2nd ed 1975) Harmondsworth; The Dead Sea Scrolls (1977) London.
- (37) CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library; New Directions in Biblical Archaeology, ed D.N.Freedman and J.C.Greenfield, Garden City, New York (1969); Christian Century (72/1955) pp 944-945; DE VAUX, R., Archaeology; HENGEL, M., Judentum und Hellenismus (1969) Tübingen, pp 407ff; JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer; MILIK, J.T., Ten Years; MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) pp 215-244; SCHREIDEN, J., Les énigmes des manuscrits de la Mer Morte (1961) Wetterne; SCHUBERT, K., Die Gemeinde vom Toten Meer. Ihre Entstehung und ihre Lehren (1958) Munich-Basel; TLZ (77/1952) pp 329-336; SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) pp 131-147; JQR (ns 3) pp 304-307; STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung; SUTCLIFFE, E.F. The Monks of Qumran as Depicted in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1960) London; WINTER, P., Hibbert Journal (58/1959-60) pp 53-60.

was never wholehearted, and as soon as Alcimus, an Aaronite, was made High Priest, they switched their allegiance to him. They soon became disenchanted with Alcimus (I Maccabees VII.13-16). These Hasidim constituted the first nucleus of the Teacher of Righteousness' disciples. They contained a priestly element and were loyal to the legitimate Zadokite dynasty which had been deprived of the high priesthood by Antiochus Epiphanes.

According to the indications in CD I.10-11, the Teacher of Righteousness appeared twenty years after the founding of the sect, i.e. circa 155 B.C. At that time there was no high priest; the office had been vacant since the death of Alcimus in 159 B.C. In 152-3 Jonathan, the ruler of the nation, accepted the appointment to High Priest from Alexander Balas, the usurper of the Syrian throne. This act was totally objectionable to the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers: Jonathan had no legitimate claim to the High Priesthood. Jonathan was the Wicked Priest who persecuted the sect because of its opposition to his assumption of the high priestly office and title. The allusion to the Wicked Priest's punishment at the hand of foreigners (IQpHab VIII.16-IX.2) refers to Jonathan's murder by Tryphon in 142 B.C. (I Maccabees XIII.23). The Last Priests of Jerusalem (IQpHab IX.3) refer to Jonathan's successors. The Wrathful Lion mentioned in 4QpNah is Alexander Jannaeus, and the Kittim are the Roman legions which invaded and conquered the Middle East in 69 and 63 B.C. It was the Kittim who took the wealth of the Last Priests of Jerusalem.

Milik too, is of the opinion that the Qumran community was Essene (38). The discrepancies between the description of the Essenes in classical sources and what the scrolls tell us is due to the fact that there were various life-styles among them: a celibate and monastic existence, along with a married and familial style of life. Outsiders confused these various types in their descriptions of the Essenes. Milik also distinguishes four phases in the evolution of Essenism.

a) The first phase is Essenism of the strict observance: this phase

(38) MILIK, J.T., Ten Years, p 56.

corresponds to the first period of occupation of Qumran called I^a by De Vaux. The community lived under the direction of the Teacher of Righteousness. The Wicked Priest is Jonathan.

b) The second phase is "Essénisme à nuance pharisienne." This phase corresponds to the second period of occupation, I^b. It is more flourishing than the previous period; there is a new influx of members - probably Pharisees fleeing the persecutions of John Hyrcanus (135-104 B.C.). John Hyrcanus is the only person who fits the epithet, "Spouter of Lies," found in the contemporary Damascus Document. The term is a disparaging reference to his gift of prophecy. The authors of the pesharim are writing about a century later, and they confuse the two opponents of the sect: Jonathan, the Wicked Priest, and John Hyrcanus, the Spouter of Lies. The Wrathful Lion is Alexander Jannaeus.

c) The third phase of Qumran/Essene history is the reign of Herod. This is the least clear of the various phases. Qumran was abandoned for the whole of Herod's reign.

d) The fourth phase is Essenism with a Zealot tendency. This is the final stage of the Essene evolution, beginning after the death of Herod. The Essenes are affected with the anti-Roman spirit which pervades the country. This phase of Essene history, and indeed the whole of Essene history terminates with the ill-fated revolt of 66 to 74, when the scrolls were hidden in the caves, and the community occupation of Qumran comes to an end (39).

Cross also believes that the Qumran community was Essene, and the conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest

(39) "The Roman attack, then, brought a brutal stop to the Essene community's life, at least at Qumrân. After 70 they may have vegetated for some time, but in any case the tragic result of the second revolt, whose ideology in some respects was the same as theirs, put an end to any hope of the reorganization of sectarian life at Qumrân." MILIK, J.T., Ten Years, p 97.

described in the Habakkuk Commentary took place during the Maccabaeen era (40). The origin of the Essene movement is to be found in a rivalry between priestly houses. The Essenes supported the legitimate Zadokites; when Antiochus Epiphanes replaced the legitimate Zadokite High Priest Onias III with the usurper Menelaus, they became active. They were the successors and heirs of the Hasidim. The twenty years groping, mentioned in CD, corresponds to the period during which the Hasidim were allied to the Maccabees. When Jonathan became High Priest in 152, the Hasidim were certainly opposed, but they were not yet certain whether this change was permanent. In I Maccabees XIV.30ff we read that Jonathan's successor claimed the right to the High Priestly office for himself and his descendants forever. At this point the Hasidic party probably broke into two sections: the Pharisees - priests and laymen who tolerated the Hasmonaean usurpation of the High Priesthood, and the Essenes - mainly Zadokite priests and some laymen who could not tolerate this turn of events.

On the whole, Cross' reconstruction of the sect history follows pretty much the lines of Vermes' theory. There is one major exception, however, Cross identifies the Wicked Priest with the last Maccabaeen leader, Simon, rather than his brother Jonathan. His primary reason for this identification is a passage in 4QTest (41). The fourth section of this scroll certainly applies to the Wicked Priest; its appropriateness for Simon and his two sons, Judah and Mattathias, is for Cross too obvious to require comment.

(40) CROSS, F.M., Jr., Ancient Library, pp 80-119; "The Early History of the Qumran Community," in New Directions in Biblical Archaeology ed. D.N.Freeman and J.C.Greenfield (1969) Garden City, N.Y., pp 70-89.

(41) "'Cursed be the man who rebuilds this city! On his firstborn may he lay its foundation, and set its gate on his youngest son.' (Josh.VI.26) Behold an accursed man, a man of Satan, has arisen to become a fowler's net to his people and a cause of destruction to all his neighbors. And there arose ... both being instruments of violence. They have rebuilt ... a wall and towers to make of it a stronghold of evil ... in Israel, and a horror in Ephraim and in Judah...they have committed an abomination in the land, and a great blasphemy among the sons of ... like water upon the ramparts of the Daughter of Zion and within Jerusalem." 4QTest 22-30.

Similarly Stegemann situates the historical allusions in the Maccabaeian era (42). The Wicked Priest was the Maccabee brother Jonathan. The Teacher of Righteousness was the legitimate Zadokite High Priest who had been in office prior to Jonathan's usurpation in 152. When this legitimate High Priest was deposed, he fled to the Hasidim. Some of them accepted his leadership and teachings: they became the Essenes. Those who did not accept the Teacher of Righteousness followed the Man of Lies and formed the party that was eventually known as the Pharisees. The expressions "Ephraim," "House of Peleg," and "House of Absalom," are all references to the Pharisees. The Wrathful Lion is Alexander Jannaeus, and his followers are referred to as Manasseh.

Murphy-O'Connor (RB (81/1974) pp 215-244) dates the origin of the community to this period. The community was not a reaction to creeping Hellenism, but the result of reflection upon the exile. It was an ultra-conservative branch of Babylonian Jewry returned to Palestine. The Teacher was the unnamed predecessor of Jonathan Maccabaeus, who was himself the Wicked Priest. The Liar was the leader of an apostate community.

One difficulty with the Maccabaeian interpretation of the historical allusions in the scrolls is that it postulates that IQpHab is writing about events and people who were widely separated in time. The Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest are engaged in conflict between 161 and 135 B.C., whereas the Kittim, who occupy no less a place of importance in the Habakkuk commentary, came upon the scene only a century later in 63 B.C. Rowley and Driver both claim that this sort of jumping around in the pesher makes the whole work incomprehensible. To some extent Cross answers this objection. He claims that the juxtaposition of the early history of the sect with the mention of the Romans, does not prejudice the question of the Teacher's ministry; it only illustrates the fact that the commentaries contain traditions of exegesis developed over a considerable period of time, and written down much later.

(42) STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung, pp 198-252.

Another difficulty is the identification of the Teacher of Righteousness. Opponents of the Maccabaeen theory claim that it is highly improbable that someone as important as the Teacher of Righteousness, responsible for so impressive a spiritual movement should not be mentioned in any other source outside the scrolls (43).

3. The Earlier Hasmonaean Theory (Reign of Alexander Jannaeus)

Certain authors choose the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.) as the setting for the early history of the Qumran community (44).

(43) "Is it conceivable, it is asked, that a figure of the stature of the Teacher should have left no trace in the literature relating to the time? The answer to this objection is that such writings are to all intents and purposes restricted to the Books of Maccabees, sources politically biased in favour of their heroes and virtually oblivious of the very existence of opposition movements. Josephus himself relies largely on I Maccabees and cannot therefore be regarded as an independent witness. But even were this not so, and he had additional material at his disposition, his silence vis-à-vis the Teacher of Righteousness would still not call for particular comment since he also makes no mention of the founders of the Pharisees and Sadducees. And incidentally, not a few historians hold that he has nothing to say either of Jesus of Nazareth." VERMES, G., The Dead Sea Scrolls (1977) London, p 154.

(44) ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) pp 89-95; The Dead Sea Scrolls (1956) London; The Dead Sea Scrolls: A Re-appraisal (1964) Harmondsworth; BARTHELEMY, D., RB (59/1952) pp 207-218; BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) pp 54-76; BASOR (126/1952) pp 10-20; BRUCE, F.F., ALUOS (1/1958-59) pp 5-24; Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls (1961) London-Grand Rapids; DELCOR, J., Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte. Essai sur le Midrash d'Habacuc (1951) Paris; RB (58/1951) pp 521-548; RHR (142/1952) pp 129-146; DE VAUX, R., RB (57/1950) pp 417-429; MOLIN, G., Die Söhne des Lichtes (1954) Vienna-Munich; ThZ (8/1952) pp 340-357; SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) pp 131-147; VAN DER PLOEG, J., BiOr (11/1954) pp 145-160; "L'usage du parfait et de l'imparfait comme moyen de datation dans le commentaire d'Habacuc," in Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte, Colloque de Strasbourg 25-27 mai 1955 (1957) Paris, pp 25-35, 131; The Excavations at Qumran. A Survey of the Judaean Brotherhood and Its Ideas (1958-1959) London-Toronto-New York.

Delcor (45) presents this theory in the following fashion: he established the general limits of the period (termini a quo and termini ad quem) through archaeology and palaeography, and then proceeds to examine literary parallels and the historical allusions to determine: when the Habakkuk Commentary was written; who were its authors; and what were they referring to. Most authors agree that the Psalms of Solomon were written between 69 and 47 B.C., and that the foreign conqueror mentioned in them was Pompey; the Psalms of Solomon also contain allusions to Alexander Jannaeus' persecution of the Pharisees. Undoubtedly a similarity of concern and ideas exists between the Psalms of Solomon and the scrolls. He concludes that they both came from the same group. The Psalms, however, were composed circa 63 B.C., and the Habakkuk Commentary sometime around 80 B.C. According to Delcor, the same relationship of themes can be found between the Habakkuk Commentary and the Parables of Enoch; the Parables however not only come from the same background as the Habakkuk Commentary, they date to the same period: the reign of Alexander Jannaeus.

The most striking allusion in the commentary which fits the period is certainly IQpHab IV.11-12. This passage speaks about the Kittim rulers succeeding each other on the counsel of the House of Guilt. The Kittim are very likely the Seleucid Greeks, and this continual change of rulers is most appropriate for the years following 100 B.C., when the Seleucid dynasty was subject to constant stress and change (46). The phrase "counsel of the House of Guilt," probably refers to the intrigues of Seleucid dynastic factions. There are other allusions in the Habakkuk pesher which fit the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (47).

(45) DELCOR, M., Les manuscrits de la Mer Morte. Essai sur le Midrash d'Habacuc (1951) Paris pp 49-70.

(46) JOSEPHUS, Antiquities XIII 384-386.

(47) IQpHab VI.10-12; IV.1-8; II.10 - III.1.

There are even indications that Alexander Jannaeus himself was the Wicked Priest. Alexander was famous for his drunkenness, (cf Antiquities XIII 380 and IQpHab XI.12-15); he was notorious for his debauchery and immorality (Antiquities XIII 380-383; War I 89 and IQpHab XII.9); his greed and hoarding of wealth were proverbial.

In IQpHab VIII.8-9, we are told that the Wicked Priest was called by a faithful name in the beginning. That name was Jonathan, the friend of David, and the exemplar of a faithful friend. Jonathan was Alexander's Jewish name, as we know from his coins; no other Hasmonaean High Priest bore that name. Further on (48) we read that the Wicked Priest's heart became proud and he forsook God. This rebellion refers to the fact that Alexander Jannaeus was the first of the Hasmonaean leaders to style himself king. He was not a descendant of David, but a usurper, and because of this transgression his dynasty was referred to as the "House of Absalom," who had also tried to usurp the throne of David his father.

The somewhat cryptic event that took place on the Day of Atonement (IQpHab XI.4-8) finds a parallel in the description of the Feast of Tabernacles in Antiquities XIII.372-373. Both accounts are too detailed for there to be any confusion between them, but there is certainly evidence of similar conduct. Perhaps the incident recorded by Josephus was a repetition of what had happened to the sectaries on the Day of Atonement.

In IQpHab IX.9-12, we read that the Wicked Priest was delivered into the hands of his enemies and humiliated because of the iniquity he had committed against the Teacher. This could be a reference to the defeat of Alexander Jannaeus at the hands of Obodas the Nabataean king (49).

(48) IQpHab VIII.9-10.

(49) JOSEPHUS, Antiquities XIV, 375.

"Interpreted this concerns the condemned house upon whom God will pronounce judgement in the midst of the peoples. He will bring him thence for judgement, and will declare him guilty in the midst of them, and will chastise him with fire of brimstone." IQpHab X.3-5

This may refer to another event described by Josephus: Alexander in an attempt to reconcile himself with his enemies among the Jewish people, asked them what they wanted of him; they replied: "Your death!"

Many other passages in the scrolls indicate the reign of Jannaeus as the probable setting in which the Habakkuk commentary was written (50).

The authors were probably Essenes. The classical descriptions of the Essenes were all written much later, and it is not surprising that there should be discrepancies. The Essenes were very likely an off-shoot of the Pharisees, who in turn derived from the Hasidim. The Essenes were a sort of hyper-pharisees, with whom they shared kindred ideas.

4. The Later Hasmonaean Theory (Hyrceanus II)

This theory identifies the Wicked Priest with Hyrcanus II and places the conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest in his reign (63-40 B.C.) (51). The earliest proponent and defender of this theory, as well as the most comprehensive is undoubtedly André

(50) For example IQpHab X.5-13; X.1.

(51) BROWNLEE, W.H., BASOR (126/1952) pp 10-20; CARCOPINO, J., CRAIBL (1950) p 199; CARMIGNAC, J., RSR (31/1957) p 159; RQ (3/1961-62) pp 505-538; CAVAIGNAC, E., RHR (138/1950) pp 152-159; DHORME, E., CRAIBL (1950) p 198; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires; VT (1/1951) pp 200-215; Nouveaux aperçus; Eretz-Israel (8/1967) pp 25-36; ELLIGER, K., Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer (1953) Tübingen; GOOSSENS, R., NC1 (1-2/1949-50) pp 336-353; NC1 (4/1952) pp 137-170; Flambeau (35/1952) pp 145-154; NC1 (5/1953) pp 190-234; KAHLE, P., TLZ (75/1950) pp 537-542; VT (1/1951) pp 38-48; TLZ (77/1952) pp 401-412.

Dupont-Sommer. As early as 1950 (52) he put forward the main lines of his theory which was to vary but little over the subsequent years.

The key to Dupont-Sommer's interpretation of scroll history is the identification of the Kittim as the Romans, and the consequent dating of the Habakkuk Commentary either very shortly before or after the conquest of Pompey in 63 B.C. Certainly he is not alone in this identification: most scholars consider the Kittim the Romans. All those theories, however, which select a pre-Pompey date presuppose that the commentary was referring to a sequence of events which took place over a prolonged period of time, at widely separated intervals. While this is not unlikely, Dupont-Sommer rejects it as a possibility.

Valor in battle, the appetite for domination, brutality in war, cunning diplomacy, the cult of military standards, the use of trophies and the merciless annual tribute exacted from the conquered peoples, all of these things indicate the Romans. Of itself, the word "Kittim" could refer to either the Romans or the Seleucids. "In the description of the Kittim all the features exactly fit the Romans, and moreover, certain features apply only to them, and notably exclude the Seleucids." (53) In addition 4QpNahum makes an obvious distinction between the Seleucids and the Kittim (54). In conjunction with this identification of the Kittim, Dupont-Sommer identifies the "chief of the Kings of Yavan," (CD VIII. 11-13) as Pompey (55). The title "king of the Kittim," causes him no difficulty (56); "In my opinion the word 'Kittim,' in all writings from Qumran known today, applies to the Romans." (57)

(52) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte (1950) Paris.

(53) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., The Dead Sea Scrolls p 29.

(54) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., The Essene Writings from Qumran (1961) Oxford.

(55) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Semitica (5/1955) pp 41-57.

(56) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., RHR (148/1955) p 30 note 1.

(57) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., The Essene Writings from Qumran (1961) Oxford, p 350.

Dupont-Sommer was the first scholar to identify the authors of the scrolls as members of the Essene movement; he did this very convincingly in Aperçus préliminaires.

Initially he identified the Wicked Priest as Aristobulus II, but then he shifted to Aristobulus' brother, Hyrcanus II. He makes no definite identification of the Teacher of Righteousness but at one point suggests Onias the Just; he does not, however insist upon this (58).

He finds a confirmation of his theories in 4QpNahum (59). The Habakkuk Commentary is a pamphlet against Hyrcanus II; Ephraim and Manasseh are the two sons of Alexander Jannaeus: Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II.

Dupont-Sommer derives somewhat fanciful conclusions from the Habakkuk Commentary: that the Teacher of Righteousness was martyred; that the Day of Atonement event refers to Pompey's capture of Jerusalem; that the Teacher, already dead, miraculously appeared on this occasion, and finally the full-blown messianic character that he ascribes to the Teacher. These defects do not particularly vitiate his dating of scroll history or his choice of background.

5. The Zealot Theory (First Century A.D.)

Cecil Roth and Sir Godfrey Driver consider the Zealots the authors of the scrolls, and Qumran a Zealot settlement (60).

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- (58) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., VT (1/1951) pp 200-215.
- (59) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Journal des Savants (Oct-Dec 1963) pp 201-227.
- (60) ROTH, C., The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1958) Oxford; Evidences (70/1958) pp 13-18; PEQ (90/1958) pp 104-121; Jewish Life (26/1958-59) pp 45-49; RQ (1/1958-59) pp 417-422; JTS (10/1959) pp 87-93; PEQ (91/1959) pp 122-129; Judaism (8/1959) pp 33-40; JSS (4/1959) pp 332-355; RQ (2/1959-60) pp 81-84; 261-265; VT (10/1960) pp 51-68; Eretz-Israel (6/1960) pp 13-15; VT (11/1961) pp 452-455; JSS (7/1962) pp 63-80; IEJ (12/1962) pp 33-46; VT (13/1963) pp 91-95; HTR (57/1964) pp 60-61; RQ (5/1964-1965) pp 81-87; The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Historical Approach (1965) New York; DRIVER, G.R., The Hebrew Scrolls from the Neighbourhood of Jericho and the Dead Sea (1951) Oxford; The Judaean Scrolls (1965) Oxford; ALUOS (6/1966-68) pp 23-48.

Roth arrives at his identification of the Qumran community with the Zealots in the following fashion: nothing in the code of the Qumran sect is at variance with what we know of the Sicarii-Zealot religious observances; on the other hand, we can say positively that it is impossible to identify the community with the Pharisees, the Sadducees or the Essenes. Unless there existed another sect of which we have no record, the Qumran sect must have been Zealot. The fact that a fragment of the Angelic Liturgy was found at Masada is incontrovertible proof that the same people occupied Khirbet Qumran and Masada. Particularly since the Angelic Liturgy is not just any work, but the most objectionable sort of sectarian literature: it is a heterodox liturgy based on a heterodox calendar. Were we to accept Yadin's explanation of this phenomenon, we would have to assume that there were two different sects at Masada in 73 A.D.; each of which venerated a Teacher of Righteousness, who was attacked in Jerusalem on or about the Day of Atonement, and that both Teachers had a close associate named Absalom. There would have been different synagogues, with different liturgies and different calendars. The conclusion is inescapable: the two sects were one. It is clear that the Habakkuk Commentary was written at a time when the Kittim were overrunning Palestine. Both the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest are contemporaries of the Kittim/Romans, for the Kittim are surely the Romans and not the Greeks (61). We must find, therefore, circumstances between 65 B.C. and 70 A.D. in which,

a) the Roman menace to Palestine is acute, although they are not yet in control of the whole country;

b) political authority is in the hands of the priest; they could persecute or kill their opponents. The Wicked Priest cannot be a Hasmonaean because no pious Jew would refer to them as 'priests.

Only one period fits these conditions: the revolt that took place between 66 and 70 A.D.

Using Josephus' War as his source of information, Roth reconstructs events in the following manner: the Teacher of Righteousness was Menahem ben Juda, the leader of the Zealots (or just as possibly his nephew, Eleazar

(61) Cf ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) pp 89-95.

ben Jair.) The Wicked Priest was Eleazar ben Hananiah, the son of the former High Priest, Hananiah, and himself the captain of the Temple. Menahem's death occurred shortly after the capitulation of the royal palace on the sixth of Gorpiaeus (August-September). In IQpHab XI.3-8, we read of a clash between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest on the Day of Atonement. The IQpHab passage is ambiguous about whether the Teacher of Righteousness was killed on this occasion, but it seems to be implied (62). Zeitlin has reckoned that the sixth of Gorpiaeus was the third of Tishri (63). The event described by Josephus and that found in IQpHab XI.3-8 are one and the same.

Driver's version of the Zealot-identity theory (64) follows pretty much the same lines as Roth. He too sees a key to the solution of the historical problems in the identification of the Kittim, who are clearly the Romans. One of the foundations of the Kittim/Roman hypothesis is the worship of standards. This refers to the sacrifice to the standards in the Temple in 70 A.D., the first mention of any such practice. Moreover, the apocalyptic war, according to IQM lasts seven years, as did the Revolt of 66-73. For Driver the identity of the Qumran Covenanters with the Zadokites-Boethusians-Zealots-Sicarii, "can be regarded as reasonably certain." (65)

The Habakkuk Commentary XI.3-8, reports a central fact of the sect's history, the clash between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness on the Day of Atonement. The clash almost certainly ends with the death of the Teacher of Righteousness. We read also that the House of Absalom did not support the Teacher, but the House of Judah was saved. All of these events refer to the history of the Zealots in 66 A.D. The Wicked Priest is Eleazar, the captain of the Temple; the Rightful Teacher

(62) Cf 4QpPss^a.

(63) ZEITLIN, S., JQR (1922) pp 97-99.

(64) DRIVER, G.R., The Judaean Scrolls (1965) Oxford.

(65) DRIVER, G.R., The Judaean Scrolls (1965) Oxford, p 266.

is Menahem the leader of the Zealots; the House of Absalom refers to Absalom, Menahem's lieutenant, and the House of Judah refers to those who fled with Eleazar ben Jair, Menahem's nephew, and a descendant of Judah the Galilean. The Man of Lies is John of Giscala, and the Wrathful Lion is Simon bar Giora, who were leaders of rival groups opposed to Menahem's group.

This theory of Roth and Driver has been criticized by many scholars. The primary objection to it is the violence done to archaeological and palaeographical evidence by putting the events at so late a date, and the gratuitous assumption that the inhabitants of Qumran, before Herod's reign, and those who dwelt there in the first century A.D. were different groups (66).

(66) DE VAUX, R., NTS (13/1966) pp 89-104.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EFFECT OF LITERARY GENRE ON HISTORICAL CREDIBILITY

In the previous chapter we made a list of several questions which must be answered before we can attempt a reconstruction of Qumran history. In this chapter we will consider those problems which could be summed up in the general question: what effect do the literary conventions of the pesher have on historical credibility.

a) Has fact been subordinated to literary device? It is possible that the statements about the Teacher of Righteousness, the Wicked Priest, the Liar and the others, are commonplaces, stereotype praise or vilification, the rhetorical clichés of polemical writing as opposed to the factual description of historical narrative.

b) We must determine if the characters represent individuals or categories: the good, the wicked, the treacherous. Further we must ask ourselves if the events refer to things that actually happened or are merely a way of describing theoretical conflict.

c) If the events and the characters happen to have some basis in reality, is it possible that the accounts have been edited, rearranged, falsified, or even created out of whole cloth to fit into preconceived schemes or simply match the prophetic words? Is it possible to determine to what extent the texts distort reality?

I. THE NATURE OF THE PESHER

Pesher is an ambiguous word. It denotes a certain type of non-literal scripture interpretation and designates the Qumran scrolls

that typify that interpretation (1). The pesher scrolls consist of prophetic texts broken up with commentaries: IQpHab, IQpMic, 4QpNah, 4QpPss^a, 4QpIs^{a,b,c,d}, and 4QpHosea. The pesher style of interpretation - besides the above texts - can be found in other scrolls which are not primarily exegetical.

Our interest is confined to the "pesher scrolls" for the reason that they are almost the exclusive source of any historical information we have about the community. Moreover our interest in these texts is purely historical. We are concerned with the literary genre and theological presuppositions of the pesher, only to the extent that these have a bearing on their historical credibility. Our goal is to determine if, and to what extent literary device, or theological bias may distort the information contained in the pesher.

a) Which are the pesher-scrolls?

b) What are the literary conventions of the pesher genre that could affect their historical credibility?

c) To what extent do these literary conventions distort the historical information to be found in the pesher?

A. The Pesher Scrolls

Several Qumran scrolls are known as pesharim (2), but many of them are very fragmentary and do not present enough coherent text

(1) "Interpretation" is not necessarily the right word to describe the use pesher-authors make of the scriptures. We do not really know if they believed that the pesher was an exposition of the text, or if the scriptures merely served as a point of departure. We use the word "interpretation" for the sake of convenience.

(2) Cf SANDERS, J.A., JJS (24/1973) pp 74-83.

to help us in our pursuit (3). We will concentrate our attention on those pesharim that contain historical allusions to the figuratively named characters whose identity we hope to establish, and that are sufficiently long and intelligible to be used as the basis for speculation. They are: the commentary on Habakkuk I and II (IQpHab) (4); the Commentary on Nahum II.12-14, III.1-12 (4QpNah) (5); and the Commentary on Psalms XXXVII.7-26, 28-40 and XLV.1-2 (4QpPss^a) (6).

B. Pesher Exegesis (7)

Vermes identifies six classes of exegesis at Qumran, of which the pesher is but one (8). He further distinguishes two types of pesher, according to their structure: the separate: each verse is interpreted

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- (3) 4QpIs^a (DJD V, pl IV-V, pp 11-15); 4QpIs^{b,c,d} (DJD V, pl VI-IX, pp 15-28); 4QpIs^e (DJD V, pl IX, pp 28-30); 4QpHos^b (DJD V, pl X, pp 32-36, formerly 4QpHos^a); 4QpHos^a (DJD V, pl X, pp 31-32); 4QpMic? (DJD V, pl XVII, pp 49-50); 4QpPss^b (DJD V, pl XVIII - commentaries on psalms 127, 128 and 118(?)); 4Q172 (DJD V, pl XVIII, pp 50-51: apparently pesharim on unidentified biblical texts.)
- (4) BURROWS, M., et al., The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery I (1950), 2:2 (1951), Scrolls from Qumran Cave I (AIAR and Shrine of the Book 1972).
- (5) DJD V, pls XII-XIV, pp 37-42.
- (6) This was formerly called 4QpPs 37. Cf ALLEGRO, J.M., DJD V, pp 42-49; STEGEMANN, H., RQ (14/1963) pp 235-270; RQ (26/1967) pp 193-210, for column I, lines 20-27.
- (7) For extensive bibliographical indications on the subject of Qumran exegesis, cf BRAUN, H., Qumran und das Neue Testament (1966) Tübingen, p 301.
- (8) a) the pesher; b) midrashic paraphrases of large units (IQGenAp); c) midrashic interpretation of smaller units (CD VI.11-13); d) collection of proof texts (4QTest); e) collection of legal texts arranged according to subject (CD IV.20-V.2); f) collection of doctrinal texts arranged according to theme (4QFlor). Cf VERMES, G., "Interpretation, History of, B. At Qumran and in the Targums," in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Supplementary Volume (1976) Nashville, pp 437-440.

on its own; and the linked: one verse is linked to another. There is only one rare example of this latter type: 4QpIs^b.

What is the pesher? What are the rules or conventions that govern its composition? Is it a commentary, an explanation, propaganda, a prediction or an augury? Does the author believe that he is really interpreting the scriptures (finding meanings that are actually contained in the texts he comments) or is he conscious that the scripture is but a point of reference for a narrative that exists independently; i.e. the whole thing has already happened, or is imminent; scripture merely reflects it. We want to know how flexible the history-lemma was; to what extent could he manipulate the history to fit the prophecy.

Why was the pesher written? We must consider the finality, audience and purpose of the pesher. If it was written for edification of those who already believed, it would be less obliged to reflect historical truth; the believer will tolerate a certain amount of manipulation of facts; the believer will be more prone to cast the founders and early members of the group in a heroic mold, as well as to paint an excessively black picture of all adversaries.

If on the other hand, the pesher was written to convince outsiders, it must necessarily stick closer to the facts. Otherwise cynical non-believers would dismiss it immediately. It would stand no chance of success. Moreover it would reveal the disingenuousness of the author; the skill and artifice of the pesharim, however, give the lie to any so artless a picture of their author.

In either eventuality, whether they were written for insiders/believers, or for outsiders/non-believers, the elliptical fashion in which both characters and events are described presupposes that they were well known to the audience and needed only a cursory description.

1. Peshar in the Bible

In its Hebrew form, the word peshar is found only once in the Bible:

"Who is like the wise man? and who knows the explanation of a thing." Ecclesiastes VII.1

A cognate of peshar פֶּשֶׁר - פִּתְרוֹן (9) is found several times in chapters XL and XLI of Genesis (10). Peshar quite simply means explanation. Pittaron is a little more complex. In the context it means the interpretation of a dream. From its use in these two chapters of Genesis, Rabinowitz (11) discerns two important aspects: pittaron denotes

"that strictly limited, non-expository kind of interpretation that consists of a determination and disclosure of a dream's presage or prognostic ... (it) may denote not merely the dreamed, though as yet unfulfilled or unrealized presage of some event or circumstance, but the presage thought of as fulfilled or realized, the reality presaged by the dream."

The word is used rather more often in the Aramaic portions of Daniel (12), and BDB describes its lone Hebrew appearance as an Aramaic loan word (13). In Daniel the word means interpretation, decipherment, solution; the interpretation of a dream or a vision (14).

In the Bible, peshar/pittaron and the Aramaic form mean: significance, with all the semantic nuances that word has in English; it is not just a question of "meaning" in the sense of simple definition, but rather "meaning for"; "meaning with implications." (15)

(9) These words "are closely related phonetic variants and synonyms of peshar and p^eshar respectively." RABINOWITZ, I., RQ (8/1972-75) p 220.

(10) Genesis XL, 5,8,12,16,18,22; XLI, 8,11,12,13,15.

(11) RABINOWITZ, I., art.cit., p 221.

(12) Daniel II. 3,4,5,6,7,9,16,24,25,26,30,36,45; IV.3,4,5,15,16,21; V. 7,8,12,15,16,17,26; VII.16.

(13) BDB sub voce Peshar.

(14) BETZ, O., Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte (1960) Tübingen, p 77.

(15) "... l'interprétation des songes, où la signification inintelligible pour le commun des mortels est tirée au clair par celui qui a préalablement reçu le don de l'interprétation..." VERMES, G., in Bible et Orient, pp 97-98.

Obviously the word "pesher" never appears in the New Testament. There is, however, a type of exegesis which closely resembles the pesher: the fulfilment exegesis of Matthew (16).

2. Pesher in the Scrolls

In the scrolls the word pesher is used to connect a passage of scripture with a comment or interpretation (17). It obviously means: "the significance of this scriptural passage is..." The author of the pesher believed that the meanings he derived from the text were there (18). The idea that the biblical text contained various layers and levels of meaning is an old and venerable concept in both Jewish and Christian exegetical tradition. The words used to introduce the scripture text and to link the comment to the text have been the subject of extensive study (19).

The characters and events depicted in the pesharim can be divided into characters and events of the past and present on the one hand, and

(16) Cf BRAUN, H., Qumran und das Neue Testament, pp 301-325.

(17) IQpHab II.5,12; III.4,7; IV.1,5,10,14; V.3,7,9; VI.3,6,10; VII.4,7,10,15; VIII.1,8; IX.4,9; X.3,9,15; XI.4,12; XII.2,7,12; XIII.1. Commentaire de Michée (DJD I, pl XV, pp 77-80) X.2 Commentaire de Sophonie (DJD I, pl XV, p 80) 4. Commentaire des Psaumes (DJD I pl XV, p 80) IC_a 2; IX.1,3. Textes Liturgiques (DJD I pl XXX, pp 132-133) I.6. 4QpIs^a D 6. 4QpIs^b I.2. 4QpIs^c 10. 4QpIs^d I.4,7. 4QpHos^b II.12,15. 4QpNah 6. 4QFlor I.14,19. CD IV.14.

(18) We cannot presume that even the most far-fetched and unlikely meanings were not believed by the pesher-author to be really contained in the prophetic texts. "The sectarian interpreters were convinced that these six classes of exegesis constituted a highly technical and sophisticated system that enabled them to clarify the obscurities of the Bible and to prove 'scientifically' that their laws and beliefs had been divinely ordained. For them, Bible interpretation was an indispensable tool in the construction of a theological or apologetic edifice." VERMES, G., Interpreter's Dictionary, p 440.

(19) RABINOWITZ, I., RQ (8/1972-1975) pp 226-230; HORTON, Jr., F.L., RQ (7/1969-71) pp 505-514; FITZMYER, J., NTS (7/1960-61) pp 297-333.

those expected in the future on the other. Our interest is obviously restricted to the former of these two groupings. The characters who had not yet appeared, or the events which had not yet occurred represent the hopes and expectations of the community, rather than its experience, and as such are the products of the community's theology rather than its history.

II. THE LITERARY CONVENTIONS OF THE PESHER

The pesharim present certain common characteristics and traits which may or may not have a bearing on their historical reliability. Moreover there are certain presuppositions as well as techniques employed which could increase or diminish the credibility of the final result. Our interest in literary form is not simply to analyze and understand the peshar, but rather to examine these literary conventions to determine and assess the historical credibility of the information these texts contain.

A. The words of the prophets refer to the last days

It is a commonplace of Jewish and Christian exegetical tradition that the Scriptures have many levels of meaning. This is a premise shared by the Qumran authors.

"... le principe fundamental, qui est la polyvalence des textes inspirés: Dieu, en parlant, exprime des réalités multiples." (20)

Whatever the prophet may have been saying about his own time, he was also speaking about the last days (21). It is probable that the prophecy is more concerned with the last days - than with the time of the prophet; it is possible that the prophecy had nothing to do with the prophet's time at all and was exclusively concerned with the last days.

(20) CARMIGNAC, J., RQ (4/1963-64) p 519.

(21) BRUCE, F.F., "Peshar" in Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971) Jerusalem; Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (1960) London, p 9; ROTH, C., VT (10/1960) p 52; OSSWALD, E., ZAW (68/1956) pp 248, 256; GAERTNER, B., Studia Theologica (8/1954) p 7; ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 150; BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) p 60.

B. Now is the end of time

This second premise goes hand in hand with the prior one. The author of the pesharim believed that he was living at the end of days. The events of his time were the all important events that had been spoken about so often in the Bible (22).

C. The history of the community is reflected in the prophets

This third presupposition is the logical corollary of the preceding two: since the prophets were speaking about the End of Time, and since the End of Time is now, the prophets are necessarily speaking about the most important characters and events of that final period: the Teacher of Righteousness, the Wicked Priest, and their respective communities. The community of the Teacher was itself a herald and a sign of the end of time (23).

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- (22) "Zur Eschatologie des pHab gehört also nicht nur die Erwartung des Endgerichts, sondern ebenso die Gewissheit, dass jetzt letzte Zeit sei, dass man also in eschatologischer Zeit lebe, Kennzeichen dafür sind: das Auftreten des begnadeten Lehrers; das Dasein einer 'Gemeinde des neuen Bundes'; der Unglaube der Volksgenossen." HUPPENBAUER, H.W., Theologische Zeitschrift (20/1964) p 82; cf also SEELIGMANN, M., "Voraussetzungen der Midraschexegeese," VT Supp (1953) pp 150-181; cf also all the works cited in footnote 21 on p 40.
- (23) "Dogmatic assumptions govern the whole process and prompt an existential interpretation of Scripture. The history and teaching of the community were announced in prophetic writings; the latter must in consequence be explained in the light of the former." VERMES, G., Post-Biblical Jewish Studies (1975) Leiden, p 46; "Of course, the commentator made the biblical text say what he wanted to, but he did so systematically. He found his meaning of the text as he read the text in the light of that which he or his community had experienced in history. And contrariwise, he saw the experience and history of the community in the light of the scripture, so that in subtle ways, the 'raw' events were refashioned by means of the belief that Scripture had predicted events." SILBERMAN, L.H., RQ (3/1961-62) p 334.

This presupposition is the foundation and basis of all historical reconstruction built upon the information found in the pesharim. The description of historical events is cast as the interpretation of prophetic texts. The author's purpose in writing these sections was not to record history in any logical or chronological fashion, but to show that a particular event had been foretold by the prophets. In the apocalyptic writings a similar practice is followed: only the materia prima in which allusions to current history are found is a vision; here it is a scriptural text: Nahum, Psalm 37 or Isaiah.

D. The real meaning of the prophetic text is not immediately clear

These references to the history of the community are not immediately obvious to one who reads the texts of the prophet. They require special interpretation. There are two stages of revelation. The first of these is the message given to the prophet; he did not entirely understand this message - it is even conceivable that he did not understand it at all (24). In the language of the scrolls the message given to the prophet is called the raz (secret). The peshar is the interpretation of the raz. Both raz and peshar are the result of divine revelation: the raz is the first stage of that revelation; but it remains a mystery until the second stage, the peshar is forthcoming. In the biblical commentaries, the first stage of the divine revelation was imparted to the biblical writer, but it remained a mystery until the peshar was given (25). The same concept of two-step revelation can be found in Daniel (26).

E. The Teacher of Righteousness is the instrument of the Second Revelation (the peshar-interpretation)

The second stage of the revelation, the interpretation of the prophet's cryptic message (peshar) was imparted to the Teacher of Righteousness

(24) OSSWALD, E., ZAW (68/1956) p 248.

(25) BRUCE, F.F., "Peshar" in Encyclopaedia Judaica.

(26) BETZ, O., Offenbarung, p 78.

and by him to his disciples (cf IQpHab VII.1-5 and CD I.10-12). It is only with the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness that the meaning (pesher) of the prophets becomes clear. There is a certain amount of speculation about the Teacher being the author of the pesharim. Whatever the case may be, the authors certainly believed that the interpretation they gave came from God through the Teacher of Righteousness; it is his teaching and special interpretation that is found in the pesharim. This in itself argues for a certain homogeneity in pesher interpretation. Roth believes that there was no all-embracing corpus of pesher interpretation, but that there were ad hoc interpretations given to specific texts (27).

F. Not only is the Teacher the instrument of interpretation, he is the subject of the prophecies

This is consistent with the previous presuppositions: that the prophets were speaking about the history of the Qumran community in the last days, etc. The Teacher, who loomed so large in the history of the community, was necessarily a protagonist of that history which he showed was prefigured in the texts of the prophets (28).

G. The mechanics of the pesharim

Since the author is not concerned with recording history, but rather with interpreting prophecy in the light of history, he shows an absolute

(27) "... the surviving pesher literature does not represent what is left of a consistent series of exegetical writing dealing with the whole of the Bible, or even with the whole of the prophetic works. Attention was obviously concentrated upon such passages as seem to reflect or rather foretell, conditions such as those set forth above: or else (and particularly) passages dealing with the 'End of Days'. We are to assume therefore that a pesher existed, or at any rate was communicated verbally, on all or most of the passages of the Bible - about fifteen in all - in which the End of Days was specifically mentioned." ROTH, C., VT (10/1960) p 53.

(28) "All the prophecies, so to speak, were given in code, and no one was able to break the code until the Teacher of Righteousness was given the key. But if, as he taught, the prophecies referred to his own days and the days immediately following, then it is in the context of these latter days that the prophecies appear coherent and relevant." BRUCE, F.F., Biblical Exegesis in the Qumran Texts (1960) London, p 10.

disregard for chronological sequence. The pesharim leap backwards and forwards in time, and from subject to subject. The proximity of one part to another is no guarantee whatsoever that there is any chronological connection (29). This jumping back and forth, however, is not done at whim; there are elements which determine what the author is going to speak about: certain words and ideas are linked with specific individuals and events (30).

The author broke the prophetic text into fragments: sections, verses, or even words, and treated them independently (31). This atomization of

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- (29) "These commentaries are in no way works of connected history, and the method of the authors does not necessarily require any historical connection to be made between the interpretation of one verse and another, or even one word or another." ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) p 93; "... wir haben gesehen, wie sehr die Pescharim von einem Gegenstand zum anderen springen können, ohne dass eine historische Verbindung zwischen den Personen, auf die jeweils die biblische Vorlage gedeutet wird, zu bestehen braucht." JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 131.
- (30) "Fand er in ihr Anspielungen auf den Gerechten, so deutete er sie auf den Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit; berichtete sie von dem bzw. den Bösen, so interpretierte er sie auf dem Frevelpriester bzw. den Lügenmann und seine Anhänger; nannte sie feindliche Mächte, so bezog er sie auf die Kittim=Römer, d.h. auf die herrschende Macht seiner Zeit. Diese Art der Auslegung hat zur Folge, dass nebeneinander Deutungen auf den Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit und auf die Kittim=Römer stehen können, obwohl beide durch Jahrzehnte voneinander getrennt sind. Diese von Elliger treffend als 'atomisierend' bezeichnete Schriftauslegung lässt sich ebenso am 4QpNahum beobachten." JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 138; "The general pattern of interpretation is clear: mention of a righteous man in Scripture is referred automatically to the Teacher, of a persecutor of the righteous to the Wicked Priest, of internal enemies to the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things or the like, of external foes to the Kittim. Thus in IQpHab the mention of the Roman Kittim in no way implies that the events of 11.4-8 took place in Roman times." ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) p 93.
- (31) "The biblical text is atomized so as to bring out its relevance to the situation of the commentator's day; it is in this situation, and not in the text, that logical coherence is to be looked for." BRUCE, F.F., Biblical Exegesis, p 16.

the text can result in a complete disregard for contextual meaning.

The connections between the fragments of the prophetic text and the commentaries that follow are established in various ways, some simple and others elaborately contrived. Most of the devices used to establish connections are mechanical: word-play of one sort or another. Brownlee lists some thirteen of these devices which give an idea of what is going on:

1. Everything the prophet wrote has a veiled eschatological meaning.
2. Since the prophet wrote cryptically, his meaning is often to be ascertained through a forced, or abnormal construction of the biblical text.
3. The prophet's meaning may be detected through the study of the textual or orthographic peculiarities in the transmitted text. Thus the interpretation frequently turns upon the special readings of the text cited.
4. A textual variant, i.e. a different reading from the one cited may also assist interpretation.
5. The application of the features of a verse may be determined by analogous circumstance or by
6. Allegorical propriety.
7. For the full meaning of the prophet, more than one meaning may be attached to his words.
8. In some cases the original prophet so completely veiled his meaning that he can be understood only by an equation of synonyms, attaching to the original word a secondary meaning of one of its synonyms.
9. Sometimes the prophet veiled his message by writing one word instead of another, the interpreter being able to recover the prophet's meaning by a rearrangement of the letters in a word, or by
10. The substitution of similar letters for one or more of the letters in the word in the biblical text.
11. Sometimes the prophet's meaning is to be derived by the division of one word into two or more parts, and by expounding the parts.
12. At times the original prophet concealed his message beneath

abbreviations so that the cryptic meaning of a word is to be evolved through the interpretation of words, or parts of words as abbreviations.

13. Other passages of scripture may illumine the meaning of the original prophet (32)."

Obviously the pesher deliberately neglects the literal sense of the prophecy (33). The author already knew what he wanted to find in the prophetic text: allusions to the history of the community. Gärtner (34) suggests that the author studied the texts to determine the future; but a large part of the material contained in the pesharim was no longer future when the author wrote - it had already taken place. The author was trying to find predictions of the immediate past.

What is immediately obvious from these contortions to which the prophetic text is subjected, is that a very definite result was desired. The commentator knew in advance the interpretation he was seeking; he used all his art and ingenuity in manipulating the text to achieve the meaning he desired. Of the two terms with which he worked (prophecy and history), it was the prophecy that was made to fit the history and not vice-versa. There may have been some minor manipulation of the historical event to fit the prophet's text; but we cannot possibly know what that manipulation may have been. We can, however, be certain that no too extreme a distortion of facts would be compatible with the point of this whole exercise (35).

(32) BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) pp 60-62; cf also SILBERMAN, L.H., RQ (3/1961-62) p 333; ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 128; GAERTNER, B., Studia Theologica (8/1954) p 4.

(33) "Autrement dit, le peshèr néglige délibérément le sens littéral voulu par l'auteur ancien, et il suppose artificiellement que les paroles à 'interpréter' sont des allégories décrivant en termes voilés une réalité différente, qu'il a mission de tirer au clair." CARMIGNAC, J., Les Textes II, p 46.

(34) GAERTNER, B., Studia Theologica, (8/1954) p 7.

(35) "The method used was that of establishing a relationship between the 'events' in the history of the community and the biblical text by means of literary devices that depended for the most part on auditory word-plays... There is no mere external point to point correspondence between biblical text and 'event' but rather a subtle interplay of text and 'event' in which both are in one way or another brought into congruence." SILBERMAN, L.H., RQ (3/1961-62) p 334.

III. THE FINALITY OF THE PESHER

In order to determine how much lee-way the commentator allowed himself with history, we can only seek to understand what his intention was in writing the pesharim. Once the purpose of the pesharim is clear, then we may begin to appreciate what license he could legitimately allow himself.

The pesharim finds a reflection of the personages, events, and circumstances of Qumran history in the texts of the prophets:

"The Qumran sectaries, like all protagonists of an eschatological outlook at the turn of the eras, were convinced that the final age had already begun, and that they themselves were witnessing the last act of the human drama about which the prophets had spoken. As a consequence, they were able to detect in the events of their own time the realization of ancient predictions. The words of Habakkuk or Nahum, for instance, were seen to adumbrate the end of world history in general, and the sect's destiny in particular, but to make such hints fully intelligible the interpreter had to correlate the prophetic announcements with fulfillments."(36)

The pesharim is a transposition of events from one historical context to another (37).

What did the pesharim-author hope to achieve and for whom was he writing? The purpose of the pesharim (its finality and audience) is more likely to tell us something about its historicity than the modality of its composition. In other words, we are more interested in the why than in the how of the pesharim.

What then, are the possible purposes of this peculiar literary endeavor? Three possibilities have been suggested:

(36) VERMES, G., Interpreter's Dictionary, p 440; cf also BETZ, O., Offenbarung, p 78.

(37) "Un tel procédé injustifiable à nos yeux, paraissait légitime aux yeux de 'l'interprète', car il pensait que les prophètes, en parlant pour l'avenir, avaient surtout parlé pour la période décisive de cet avenir, celle que vivait la Communauté de Qumrân ... Psychologiquement cette exégèse déconcertante s'explique par une double surestimation: celle de la notion de prophétie et celle de l'importance du qumrânisme" CARMIGNAC, J., Les Textes II, p 46.

a) Prediction-augury: by using the prophets as a "sortes virgilianae" the peshar-authors could determine the future; the pesharim were written to guide and advise the leaders of the Qumran community (38).

b) Edification: the pesharim were written to confirm and strengthen the Qumran faithful in their faith; since so many things which have happened were predicted by the prophets, it is clear that all history - and especially that of the Qumran community - is in the hands of God.

c) Apologia: by showing non-believers how even the ancient prophets spoke about the Qumran community, the election of this community and consequently the rightness of its teaching would be manifest.

We could eliminate the first of these: prediction, since many of the events foretold by the prophets had already taken place when the peshar was written (39). We are left with edification and apologia.

Another way of expressing these alternatives would be in terms of their audience. If the pesharim were written for outsiders/non-believers, their purpose was clearly apologetic, to convert. If on the other hand they were written as works of edification: to confirm, inform, instruct the believers.

Unfortunately the pesharim themselves give no clear indication of whom they were written for, or what their finality was. Bruce claims

(38) "More particularly, perhaps, the Peshers were designed for the pietists' leaders ... the writers of these presage-texts intended them to be used in the deliberation of policy by the pietists' leadership. Here ... we have an ancient Jewish counterpart to the omen-taking, the divination from bird-flights, entrails and the like that we constantly encounter in pages of Hellenistic historians." RABINOWITZ, I., RQ (8/1972-1975) p 232; cf also BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) p 59.

(39) "In fact, the peshar is neither 'commentary' nor 'midrash', but the inspired application of the terms of the Biblical prophecies to the 'End of Days' or "Last Days": this in turn was not something associated with the remote future, but a process which in the eyes of the adherents of the Sect had already begun and was well advanced towards its culmination." ROTH, C., VT (10/1960) p 52.

that the commentator was merely writing down what he saw to be in the prophetic text - almost oblivious of any theological or apologetic implications (40). But this is unlikely. No doubt the commentator who was doing such extraordinary things to the prophets never suspected for a moment that he was doing violence to the text. He thought he was deciphering what was there; this does not mean that he performed this deciphering without a goal other than that of clarifying the text of the prophets. There was some practical purpose being served by the pesher.

A. Apologia

Several scholars have discovered a similar sort of prophecy-fulfillment in the Gospels. Traditionally this exegetical technique has been understood as a means to convince and convert the Jews: an apologetic device (41).

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- (40) "But our commentator appears rather to have meant: 'This situation which has begun to develop in my own time is the situation which God had in view when He revealed His purpose to Habakkuk, and thanks to the further revelation given to the Teacher of Righteousness I can clearly recognize the individuals and the epochs to which Habakkuk's prophecy refers.' We may call his method one of reinterpretation but he himself probably did not think of it in that way; to him his pesher was the true and proper interpretation of the prophet's words. And in this interpretation the Teacher of Righteousness was not only the divinely empowered exegete of those words; in some degree his career embodied their fulfillment." BRUCE, F.F., Biblical Exegesis, p 16.
- (41) "All this makes it very likely that the testimony of fulfilled Scripture has its origin in the missionary preaching to the Jews. There it has its most natural context, since the reference to the Scriptures was a necessary condition to this type of preaching. But in so far as the Church took over the O.T., and proposed to reveal the right interpretation of Scripture, it comes to use the testimony of Scripture even in teaching. Already at an early stage it is possible to assume a reciprocity between preaching and teaching. But it is nevertheless the missionary situation, where it is a question of convincing the Jews that Jesus is the fulfillment of the Scriptures, which emphasizes the necessity of the quotation from Scripture with the introductory formula 'that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet...'" GAERTNER, B., Studia Theologica (8/1954) p 24.

It could be reasoned that the same thing was going on in the pesharim.

"Im Pescher wird ein Schriftwort erklärt, indem es mit einem Vorgang der gegenwärtigen Geschichte verbunden wird; Matthäus dagegen erzählt die Geschichte Jesu und beleuchtet einzelne Begebenheiten durch das Wort des Alten Testaments. Dort ist das Zeugnis der Schrift Ausgangspunkt, hier dient es als Kommentar, der die Bedeutung des Christugeschehens unterstreicht und dessen Wahrheit erweist." (42)

The commentator is illustrating the fact that the major characters and events of the sect's history had been foretold by the prophets. He does this to convince non-believers of the sect's legitimacy.

B. Edification

Milik writes that these commentaries were read to the community during their vigils (43). They were written to edify the believers and to strengthen their faith (44). And there are indeed many elements that weigh in favor of considering these texts as destined for members of the community:

- the use of sobriquets presupposes a familiarity with the characters considered in a certain light that does not ring true if the texts were addressed to outsiders: e.g. the Wicked Priest may have been wicked only in the eyes of the community - he may have been a Maccabee, or someone all the rest of Israel thought of as a hero (45).

(42) BETZ, O., Offenbarung, p 78.

(43) "On connaît le Sitz-im-Leben de ces commentaires (le P.H. et le P. de Michée). Pendant les veilles quotidiennes - organisées par les décades des Pieux ou par les groupes plus nombreux, on lisait le texte sacré en le commentant phrase par phrase." MILIK, J.T., RB (59/1952) p 418.

(44) "For whom were the Pesharim written? What were their function? They were written for the men of the community. Their faith that the promised new age was at hand, that the old age was ending would be confirmed if they might consider realized some of the presages of the words bearing on these matters which God had given Israel through His prophets." RABINOWITZ, I., RQ (8/1972-75) pp 231-232.

(45) "... the sobriquets or perpetual epithets used in this literature - the Teacher of Righteousness, the Wicked Priest, the Man of Lies, the Lion of Wrath and so on - were not presumably devised ad hoc by the writer: without doubt, he used and set down the titles or names by which these persons, who obviously loomed large in the eyes of the members of the sect, were normally referred to in the 'monastery' in daily conversation." ROTH, C., VT (10/1960) pp 52-53.

- the elliptical fashion in which events are described presupposes familiarity; they had already been the subject of reflection and discussion. No detailed reference was necessary: the readers knew immediately what the author was speaking about.

- if these texts were really meant to convince adversaries they would be more complete, logical, convincing, argumentative, detailed, connected, coherent, etc., in short all the elements of a convincing argument.

- the general impression that these texts make is that they were written for the already convinced, the believers.

C. Both

Probably the pesharim were intended to fulfill both functions: to edify and confirm the believers in their faith, and to convince non-believers of the legitimacy of the community's claims (46). From our particular point of view (evaluation of historicity) it does not really make too much difference whether these texts were written to convince or to edify. There is a slight edge in favor of the credibility of texts destined for outsiders, but not to the extent that a text written for internal consumption would be unreliable (47).

IV. THE CREDIBILITY OF PESHER HISTORY

The basis of this peculiar sort of history is the belief that God revealed the secrets of the prophets to the Teacher of Righteousness (48). We know

(46) "The sectarian interpreters were convinced that these six classes of exegesis constituted a highly technical and sophisticated system that enabled them to clarify the obscurities of the Bible and to prove 'scientifically' that their laws and beliefs had been divinely ordained. For them, Bible interpretation was an indispensable tool in the construction of a theological or apologetic edifice." VERMES, G., Interpreter's Dictionary, p 440.

(47) "The purposes served by such texts clearly include the following: 1) to predict the emergent future indicated by the unfulfilled presages of the divine words; 2) to affirm the credibility of the unfulfilled presages by identifying the facts of those fulfilled; and in particular so to corroborate that the 'latter days' had set in, or was at least at hand." RABINOWITZ, I., RQ (8/1972-74) p 231.

(48) Cf IQpHab II.8-10 and VII.4-5.

that this revelation was not merely concerned with the interpretation of the Torah, but it included an explanation of history in the light of the prophets. The historical narrative of the scrolls is based on turning the statements of the prophets into explanations of the past, the present and the future. This is the key to Qumran historiography. Events are recounted with an eye to the prophetic texts and not to the accuracy or completeness of the narrative; hence the frequent repetitions of certain facts and the apparent lack of links and explanations.

Certain words are linked to certain characters and events, regardless of context; this produces the seemingly disordered accounts in the pesharim. The author often ignores the intent of the prophecy and emphasizes a word, a phrase, or thought that may be peripheral or unimportant to the prophet, but which coincides with some particular idea the peshar-author wants to put across. This would seem to indicate that these were standard texts, with standard or traditional exegeses referring to particular characters or events.

Since the Qumran author believed that the prophets were making allusions to his own time, we have two terms of an equation to consider: on the one hand the words of the prophets, and on the other, the events of Qumran history. Whatever manipulation there was, and there is evidence of extensive manipulation, it was on the side of the prophetic texts. This history was indisputable: the authors tortured the texts to show that it had been foretold. If both the texts and the history had been rearranged the whole exercise would lose its force and conviction. The impact of this type of writing derives precisely from the fact that the texts were written in the distant past, and that they are shown to refer to facts which have happened recently and which the reader surely knows. The author does not manipulate history to fit the texts, but rather he does violence to the texts to make them fit the history.

Evidence of this manipulation is the jumping back and forth in time, as well as the emphasis on certain catchwords, regardless of context, and their interpretation as references to the characters and events of sect history. The very fact that these "spot references" are enigmatic and

incomplete is an indication that they are referring to an historical event in the modern sense of the word. They are unintelligible unless the reader already knows the event to which the author alludes. If the event, as well as the interpretation are the products of the writer's imagination, it would have been unknowable.

It is clear from all of this that the historical information in the pesharim is fundamentally reliable. The raison d'être of the pesharim requires the truthfulness of the information. Silberman believes that not only was the interpretation of the prophets made to fit historical events, but that the historical events were in some way modified to fit the prophetic texts.

"Of course, the commentator made the biblical text say what he wanted to, but he did so systematically. He found this meaning of the text as he read the text in the light of that which he or his community had experienced in history. And contrariwise, he saw the experience and history of the community in the light of Scripture, so that in subtle ways the 'raw' events were refashioned by means of the belief that Scripture had predicted the events." (49)

This is only possible if we pay particular attention to the word "subtle." A certain amount of historical distortion is inevitable and would not invalidate the peculiar pesharim-genre, but the creation of facts out of whole cloth, or their suppression could not be tolerated.

It is vital to our investigation to distinguish between those elements which are reliable and those which are subject to the distortions of prejudice or polemic. The distinction is not really very difficult; we can divide the historical allusions into two broad categories: fact and opinion.

Fact: this includes all those elements that indicate events are a part of history; i.e. that someone was or was not a priest, a high priest, a foreign invader, a king, etc. These statements are not subject to individual interpretation, they are either true or false.

Opinion: these would be allusions that contain moral judgements,

(49) SILBERMAN, L.H., RQ (3/1961-62) p 334.

opinions of conduct, character or legitimacy. These are statements that would be influenced by the author's bias.

The pesher-author may well be expressing his own distaste and prejudice when he speaks of the drunkenness or greed of the Wicked Priest, but he would not fabricate the events of the priest's life. The fact that he was a high priest was not the sort of information he would make up. If the events or characters could be entirely fabricated, then the pesher would defeat its own purpose. The genre would altogether lose its force.

We can now answer the first of the two questions we are attempting to resolve: Are the scrolls recounting history? Yes. Admittedly the history in the scrolls is of a very peculiar sort: it is not preoccupied with specifics; names, dates, sequence, and clarity are of marginal concern to the authors of these documents. But for all that, we can assume that there is a kernel of history at the core of these many references. Real events in which real individuals took part are described vaguely, enigmatically and elliptically - but they are real; they are not parables or fables.

We must now discover: what is the history the scrolls are recounting? Given the fragmentary nature of the information we possess, we must establish a frame of reference in which to arrange the material. There are two obvious choices possible: the events and the characters. The identification of the individuals is the more comprehensive of these two procedures. The identification, in particular, of the Wicked Priest is "the chronological lynch-pin in any historical reconstruction (50)."

(50) MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) p 216.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Dead Sea Scrolls abound in characters with figurative names. Apart from Moses, the Prophets and a few others (1), the individuals described, praised or condemned in the texts seldom bear their proper names. Not one of the Maccabees, Hasmonaeans, Herodians, Romans, Hasidim, Pharisees, Essenes or Sadducees who were contemporary to the community that produced the documents, is ever specifically identified. This is not to say that they are not mentioned - for probably behind the long list of figurative names stand the familiar figures who peopled Jewish history in the last centuries before the Christian era.

A. Procedure

There is basically a single way to solve the problem of identifying the characters in the scrolls. We must first collect all the scroll references to the individual under consideration, and then see what characters or circumstances in outside history best fit the indications in the documents.

B. Collation of Evidence

Once all the passages have been located, we must try - to the extent that the evidence permits - to put them together and achieve a coherent picture of the individual whose identity we hope to establish. We must then determine:

- a) if the same figurative name always applies to the same individual;
- b) how many different figurative names refer to the same person. In some cases, the text itself makes identifications: e.g. "The sceptre is the prince of the whole congregation." (2) At other times we can deduce

(1) The only proper names that appear in the scrolls and that belong to individuals more or less contemporary to the period in which the scrolls were composed are Antiochus and Demetrius in 4QpNah; Queen Alexandra and Aemilius Scaurus appear in an unpublished calendar. The names of patriarchs, prophets and other biblical personages also appear.

(2) CD VII.20.

that two figurative names refer to the same man by the similarity of what is predicated about them. Admittedly this latter procedure is less certain than the former.

Our principal criterion of analysis will be to study and judge the passages in the context of all the other scroll texts referring to the same characters; in other words, we must avoid taking only those references that serve to establish a preconceived theory, and ignore other loci which render that particular identification impossible.

It will become evident very early on, that attempts to identify the characters in the scrolls can go only so far along truly evidential lines. One finishes with a determined period, a likely candidate, and certain definite exclusions. At this point one must either be satisfied with this state of affairs or enter the realm of conjecture. The very tempting practice of seeking an identity for these elusive figures by conjecture, can only result in informed guessing. Although this may settle the question to the greater or lesser satisfaction of the writer who produces the hypothesis, it can never provide a reliable premise for further study.

C. Comparison with evidence from other sources

The next part of the procedure is to see what data in history recorded outside the scrolls reflect the information contained in our texts. This is an even more delicate operation. Few can resist the temptation of rearranging scroll data to fit a particular theory based on information from these outside sources. The persuasiveness of their results varies considerably (3).

(3) "Wenn so zum Beispiel A. Dupont-Sommer solche Identifizierung konsequent durchführt, geschieht dies nicht auf der Basis eines Beweises für die Notwendigkeit seiner Betrachtungsweise aufgrund des Textebefundes, sondern in der Weise, dass er die entsprechenden Textaussagen in bestimmte, aus anderen Quellen (vor allem Josephus,) mehr oder weniger bekannte historische Zusammenhänge einordnet, und dann von Textaussage zu Textaussage fortschreitend zu zeigen versucht, dass beide Aussagebereiche - Q.texte und andere Quellen - zueinander passen und sich wechselseitig bestens im Sinne seiner Hypothese ergänzen. Der Beweis für die Richtigkeit seiner Hypothese liegt also einzig und allein in der inneren Stimmigkeit seines mosaikartig Angaben unterschiedlicher Herkunft zusammenfügenden Gesamtbildes." STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung, p 42.

We will endeavor to avoid this pitfall. Only those scroll texts which actually name the character under consideration will be used as a basis for identification; moreover we will prefer the uncertainty of inconclusive results to the specious satisfaction of an identification which owes more to the imagination of its author than to the evidence of the texts.

The outside sources that provide information about our period are: Josephus' Jewish Antiquities and The Jewish War; the apocrypha and pseud-epigrapha of the Old Testament - particularly the Books of Maccabees; and finally early Rabbinic literature. Unfortunately the Rabbis' lack of interest in history as such is notorious; consequently we cannot expect to find a great deal of information in their writings. The historical data they provide is marginal to the scope of their work; long periods of history are passed over in silence, and the things that are mentioned seem chosen almost by chance. Moreover, there is a certain amount of historical error and unreliability in Rabbinic sources (4).

One difficulty we shall encounter in comparing the scrolls to non-Qumran sources is the inevitable shift in ideological and chronological perspective. Ideologically, characters and groups described as villains in the scrolls are just as likely to be heroes in other literature, and vice versa. Chronologically - the groups mentioned in Qumran sources, i.e. the community and its opponents, are being described in a period

(4) "The older haggadah never alludes to the Hasmonaeans (it was too near the time of the strife between the Pharisees and the Hasmonaeans to be impartial to the latter). The later haggadah of the Amoraim hardly knew of the Hasmonaeans more than that at a certain period they played a glorious part in the history of Israel, for which they deserve praise and honor. The reference to "John, the High Priest" in Targum Yerushalmi, far from being 'remarkable proof' of the high antiquity of this Aramaic paraphrase of the Pentateuch, as Geiger maintains, is clear evidence of its comparatively recent date." GINZBERG, L., The Legends of the Jews, Jewish Publication Society of America (1925) Philadelphia, vol VI p 156.

prior to their full and definitive form; the Essenes, Pharisees, Sadducees or Zealots had not yet developed the unmistakable identity and characteristics that appear in Josephus and the New Testament. These groups were still in an embryonic stage, hence the ambiguities, equivocations and contradictions.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HABAKKUK PESHER

The Habakkuk Peshier is a scroll of thirteen columns commenting on the text of the first two chapters of the prophecy of Habakkuk (1). In this text we meet: the Wicked Priest (VIII.8; IX.9; XI.4; XII.2,8); the Liar (II.2; V.11); the Spouter of Lies (X.9); and the Teacher of Righteousness (I.13; II.2; V.10; VII.4; VIII.3; IX.9; XI.5).

I. IQpHab I.13

The Teacher of Righteousness appears in the very fragmentary first column of the Habakkuk peshier. The text of the prophet (Habakkuk I.4) reads: "judgement never goes forth, because the wicked surrounds the righteous." Only the last word of the biblical verse is legible at the end of line 12. All of line 13, except the last three words, is missing. The last three words are: He is the Teacher of Righteousness. Undoubtedly the author of the peshier is identifying the "Righteous One" of the biblical text with the Moreh haZedeq. With equal probability, the "wicked" of Habakkuk I.4, was identified with the Wicked Priest, in the lacuna in line 13. Although this first mention of the Teacher of Righteousness provides us with no specific information, it announces the theme that will run like a leitmotiv through the peshier: the Wicked Priest's persecution of the Teacher of Righteousness: the conflict between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness.

II. IQpHab II.1-10

"... those who were unfaithful with the man of lies, because not ... the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God, and it concerns the unfaithful of the New ... they believed not in the Covenant of God (and have profaned) the name of His holiness and likewise it

(1) BURROWS, M., The Dead Sea Scrolls of St Mark's Monastery (1950) New Haven, photographs and transcription, vol I, plates LV to LXI.

"concerns ... the unfaithful at the end of days. They are like the (breakers of the Covenant) who do not believe when they hear all that (is to happen) to the final generation from the mouth of the priest, God put ... to explain the words of His servants the prophets, through whom God foretold all that would happen to His people and ..."

A. The Teacher

In explaining the biblical text referring to the wicked who will surround the righteous, the commentator tells us that the wicked are the unfaithful who:

a) went with the Man of Lies and did not heed the words the Teacher of Righteousness received from the mouth of God;

b) believed in the New Covenant, and then betrayed it and profaned the name of God;

c) at the end of days, do not listen to the voice of the priest who learned from God what was to happen to the final generation.

The question arises: are these three separate groups of traitors? Is the reference to three separate periods of time? i.e.

a) those who were contemporary to the Teacher of Righteousness and did not believe his message;

b) those who came after the Teacher, believed him, but subsequently apostasized; and

c) those at the end of days, who did not believe what the priest told them was to happen to the final generation (2).

If this is the case, we must then determine whether the Teacher of Righteousness in line 2 is the same person as the priest in line 8. If the two groups of traitors who do not listen are separated in time, should we then suppose that the person(s) to whom they did not listen are similarly separate in time and consequently distinct? The scrolls themselves provide an answer to this question. In IQpHab II.8-10, we read that God

(2) Cf DUPONT-SOMMER, A., RHR (137/1950) pp 153-154.

put into the mouth of the priest ... to explain the words of His servants, the prophets, through whom (the prophets) God foretold all that would happen to the last generation. Therefore four things characterize the message of this priest:

- a) it came to him directly from God;
- b) in it God made clear the words of His servants, the prophets;
- c) it concerned all that would happen to the final generation;
- d) it was addressed to the traitors at the end of days, who did not believe it.

Elsewhere in the scrolls, the message of the Teacher of Righteousness is described in virtually the same terms:

a) and b) "Interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known all the mysteries of His servants the prophets." (IQpHab VII.4-5).

c) "and He (God) raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart, and he made known to the latter generations all that God had done to the latter generation, the congregation of traitors ..." (CD I.11-12).

d) That the message of the Teacher of Righteousness is still current and addressed to those who live at the end of days is clear from IQpHab VIII.1-3 and CD XX.27-34.

In other words, even if the groups of traitors are distinct - the message they do not heed is the same, i.e. the revelation granted to the Teacher of Righteousness. The same person is being spoken about in lines 2 and 8. The Teacher of Righteousness was a priest. (Cf 4QpPss^a III.15).

Elliger says that all the traitors are being lumped together - be they those who followed the Man of Lies, those who betrayed the New Covenant, or those unfaithful at the end of days (3). They may even be one and

(3) ELLIGER, K., Studien, pp 170-171.

the same group who are not being distinguished, but rather identified in a progressively more specific fashion: i.e. personally: they are the followers of the Man of Lies; objectively: they are those who do not believe in the New Covenant; temporally: they are the traitors at the end of days (4).

The Teacher of Righteousness exhibits all the traits of a prophet: his instructions come from the mouth of God (5); he has been chosen, sent, and commissioned by God to tell the final generation what was to come upon them. Those who accept his message will be saved (IQpHab VIII.1-3) and those who reject it will perish (CD XX.23-27) (6).

The message of the Teacher of Righteousness was not something entirely new: it was an explanation of what was to be found in the prophets (7). It contained two sorts of information: the proper interpretation of the Law and the revelation of what was to happen at the end of time (8).

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- (4) "Aber es dürfte sich bei den 'Verrättern' überall um ein und denselben Kreis von Menschen handeln, der zuerst persönlich ... dann sachlich ... und schliesslich zeitlich ... näher bestimmt wird." ELLIGER, K., Studien p 171.
- (5) II Chron XXXV.22; XXXVI.12; Jeremiah XXIII.16.
- (6) BETZ, O., Offenbarung, pp 98-99; JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 141.
- (7) Cf JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 141.
- (8) ZDQ is in contrast to KZB (falsehood); one of its meanings is therefore: truth. The texts show that 'MT (truth) is often a synonym for ZDQ (IQS I.26; II.24; IV.2,24; IX.17; IQM XIII.10; IQH IV.40; IQS^b III.24; IQ36 XV.2; CD III.15; XX.29,31 etc.) The special teaching of the Teacher was what he received from the mouth of God. It appears to have consisted of two types of information: a) the particular and esoteric interpretation of the Law that God gave to him (cf CD III.14-16: "His holy Sabbaths and the feasts of His glory, and the testimonies of His righteousness, and the ways of His truth, and the desires of His will which a man must do in order to live.") b) What would happen to the just and the wicked of the last generation (CD I.11ff). "... righteousness could mean either (a) moral uprightness, standards of conduct, and the like; or (b) deliverance, salvation, etc. as in Isaiah XLVI.13; LI. 1,5,6,8 and other Old Testament passages. In view of the general tenor of Qumran theology and its literature, it seems probable that the last-named interpretation is correct." HYATT, J.P., NTS (2/1955-56) p 277 note 2; cf also JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 214-215.

The Teacher of Righteousness was both a priest and a prophet.

B. The Liar

The lacuna in line 2 would have contained the verb that describes the relationship between the Teacher of Righteousness and those who adhered to the Liar. The immediate context provides us with two possibilities to complete the sentence. Line 7 speaks about "hearing" all that is to happen to the final generation from the mouth of the priest. Line 6 uses the word "believe" with the same complement (9). Whichever word originally appeared in the text, the meaning is the same: the associates of the Liar did not accept the teaching that the Teacher of Righteousness received from God.

From this passage it is clear that the Liar was an opponent of the Teacher of Righteousness. The Liar did not accept the Teacher's divinely inspired teachings. Moreover we learn that the Liar was not an isolated figure: he was associated with others ("traitors") who similarly refused to accept the doctrine of the Teacher of Righteousness. The wording of lines 1 and 2: "those who were unfaithful with the Man of Lies," indicates that the Liar was the leader of the traitors. The pesher mentions three groups of traitors: those who were unfaithful with the Liar and did not accept the Teacher's message; those who profaned the name of God's holiness; and those traitors at the end of days who did not accept the eschatological prophecies of the Teacher of Righteousness. If these are not temporal distinctions, but rather progressive specifications (10) we know that the followers of the Liar profaned the name of God's holiness, and did not believe the pronouncements of the Teacher on the fate of the last generation. Even if the three groups of traitors are distinct in time, this can still be a description of the same group over the course of the years. The "men of war who deserted with the Liar" were to continue for forty years after the Teacher's death (CD XX.13-15). This would bring them up to the end of days. The followers of the Liar are sometimes called

(9) ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 167 and JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 79, choose "hear"; others prefer "believe": SJOEBERG, E., Studia Theologica (4/1951-52) pp 120-128; SILBERMAN, L.H., RQ (3/1961-62) p 336.

(10) Cf footnote (9) above.

those who "seek smooth things" (11); another text tells us that these "seekers of smooth things" were still in existence at the end of days (12).

III. IQpHab V. 8-12

"O traitors why do you stare and stay silent when the wicked swallows up one more righteous than he? (Hab I.13b) Interpreted this concerns the House of Absalom and the members of its council who were silent at the time of the chastisement of the Teacher of Righteousness and gave him no help against the Liar who flouted the Law in the midst of their congregation."

A. The Teacher of Righteousness

Who was being chastised? Does "chastisement of the Teacher of Righteousness" mean the chastisement he administers (13) or rather the chastisement inflicted upon him. The biblical text indicates clearly enough that it is the righteous one being swallowed up - therefore the Teacher of Righteousness is being chastised. The word "to swallow up" used in the prophet's text is a parallel to what we find in IQpHab XI.5. There we read that the Wicked Priest followed the Teacher of Righteousness to swallow him up. Undoubtedly this "chastisement" is referring to whatever event is cryptically described in IQpHab XI.4-8 (14). The chastisement inflicted upon the Teacher of Righteousness is further described in the pesher as the time when the Man of Lies flouted the Law in the midst of their whole congregation.

During this moment of crisis, a group styled "the House of Absalom" was silent and did not help the Teacher of Righteousness. In the eyes of the author of the Habakkuk commentary this was treacherous behavior:

(11) CD I.18

(12) 4QpIs^C; 4QpPss^a II.7-9.

(13) LAMBERT, G., NRTh (74/1952) p 293 translates this passage: L'interprétation de leur parti qui se sont tus lors de la réprimande qui fit le Maître de justice ..." cf also BROWNLEE, W.H., BASOR (126/1952) pp 10-20.

(14) See pp 88ff.

the House of Absalom is an obvious parallel to the word "traitors" in the text of the prophet. If the writer of the commentary considered the House of Absalom's indifference treacherous, it follows that they should have assisted the Teacher and did not. In other words, they were former friends, colleagues, or followers of the Teacher of Righteousness. Attempts have been made to identify "Absalom" (15), but apart from this single mention, the texts tell us nothing about the House of Absalom; consequently these attempts are purely speculative.

Brownlee thinks that the "House of Absalom" is a metaphor for traitors, and that there need not have been anyone who actually bore that name (16).

If this "Absalom" is a proper name, this is the one and only place that a proper name is given in the Habakkuk scroll. The general practice of calling characters by figurative names - "Teacher of Righteousness," "Wicked Priest," "Wicked of Ephraim," "Builders of the Wall," etc. would weigh in favor of Brownlee's interpretation they could well be the traitors spoken of in IQpHab II.1-5 and elsewhere (17).

According to Elliger (18) this passage is speaking about a trial in which judgement was passed on the Teacher of Righteousness; the writer connected the word "chastisement" to "judgement" in line 4. This seems

(15) Dupont-Sommer suggests that this Absalom may be the uncle and father-in-law of Aristobulus II (cf Ant XIV, 71) CRAIBL (1950) pp 196-199. D.N.Freedman says this Absalom may be the son of John Hyrcanus I (cf I Macc XI.70 and XIII.11) but he does not consider this identification probable, BASOR (114/1949) pp 11-12. For Delcor see Essai sur le Midrash d'Habacuc (1951) Paris, p 65: House of Absalom = Hasmonaeans.

(16) "The commentator does not give us the real name of a rebel leader. He refers to a party which lived up to the name of Absalom who rebelled against his own father." BROWNLEE, W.H., BASOR (112/1948) pp 8-18; B.REICKE, following up on Brownlee's interpretation, says that the House of Absalom were the Tobiad family, Studia Theologica (48/1949-50) pp 45-70. Cf GOOSSENS, R., NC1 (1-2/1949-50) p 655 note 47, who disagrees with Brownlee.

(17) Cf Traitors in IQpHab VIII.10; IQS VII.18,23; IQH II.10; CD I.12; VIII.5; XIX.17,24.

(18) ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 185.

an arbitrary assumption: in line 4 it is not the Teacher of the righteous being judged, rather they are the judges (19).

B. The Liar

We learn that the Liar flouted the Law in the midst of the congregation and that he chastised or reproved the Teacher of Righteousness. This text is the clearest indication of the fact that the Teacher and the Liar were contemporaries. The contrast between their respective doctrines; the two teachers, themselves, could have lived at different times. This passage, however, removes all ambiguity. The Teacher and the Liar met (20).

If we can identify the scene of this encounter we may shed some light on the identity of the House of Absalom, and the substance of the event described in the peshar. Line 12 tells us where the encounter occurred: □.... י כול בתוך Unfortunately the key word is illegible, we know only that it began with an 'ayin and ended with a mem. Given the meaning of the line, the possible words that could have appeared in the original are limited.

- a) □מים / people (21)
- b) □צתם / council (22)
- c) □דתם / congregation (23)

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- (19) Dupont-Sommer, in line with his messianic interpretation of the role of the Teacher, believes that IQpHab V.4 is stating that the elect (in this case the Teacher) will be the agent of the final judgement.
 - (20) STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung, p 47.
 - (21) Cf MICHEL, A., Le Maître de Justice, p 11, p 20 note 11; BROWNLEE, W. H., BASOR (112/1948) p 11; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., RHR (137/1950) p 144; LAND, F. A. W. van't and VAN DER WOUDE, A. S., De Habakuk-Rol van 'Ain Fašha. Tekst en Vertaling (1954) Assen; SILBERMAN, L. H., RQ (3/1961-62) p 342.
 - (22) ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 35; TALMON, S., VT (1/1951) p 35.
 - (23) HABERMANN, A. M., 'Edah we-"eduth. Three Scrolls from the Judaeen Desert. The Legacy of a Community, (1952) Jerusalem; TALMON, S., VT (1/1951) p 35; MAIER, J., Die Texte vom Toten Meer (1960) Munich, vol II, p 145.

In fact, only two of these readings are possible: $\square \eta \zeta \gamma$ and $\square \eta \gamma$. $\square \eta \zeta$ is unlikely for two reasons: there is no definite article as usage would require; moreover a serif from the bottom of the preceding letter is visible; this would rule out yodh as a possibility for the missing letter (24).

Jeremias prefers the reading $\square \eta \gamma$ (25); he thinks it is more consistent with other passages that speak about the Liar (26). Either reading however, gives us much the same information: the flouting of the law took place in some sort of community (27).

The text, therefore, tells us that the Liar flouted the Law in the midst of their whole congregation/council. The presence of the third person plural suffix at the end of the noun ("their" instead of "his") permits the following interpretations:

- a) The congregation/council was the community of the Teacher of Righteousness to which the House of Absalom, or the Liar, or both belonged;
- b) The congregation/council was the community of the Liar, to which the House of Absalom, the Teacher or both belong;
- c) It was a third community to which the Liar, the Teacher and the House of Absalom all belonged.

(24) "Brownlee übersetzt 'all peop(les)', liest also 'MYM. Dagegen spricht zunächst das Fehlen des Artikels, es sei den, dass man Ausfall des HEH durch Schreiberversehen anzunehmen hätte. Aber auch der graphische Befund unterstützt jene Lesung nicht. Im Gegenteil, weder der auf dem linken Bruchrand zu sehende obere noch erst recht der untere Punkt hart am Schluss-MEM lassen ein YODH zu. Diese beiden Punkte verbindet am ehesten die gewinkelte Line des linken Fusses eines TAW; auch an ein BETH, CAPH, NUN könnte man denken." ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 35.

(25) "Möglich ist dan die Ergänzung '(ZT)M wie Elliger und Talmon sie vorschlagen, aber der Rest vor der Lücke lässt ein Z nicht wahrscheinlich erscheinen, da der obere Ansatz eines ZADHE schräger ist ... So ergänzt man wohl am besten mit Habermann "DTM." JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 84.

(26) IQpHab X.10; CD I.12; II.1; VIII.13; XIX.26.

(27) 'ZH and 'DH are both used in the scrolls to denote a community: 'ZH: IQpHab IV.11; V.10; IX.10; XII.4; and IQS passim.

Jeremias (28) believes that the event took place inside the Teacher's community, and that as a result of this contrast the Liar departed from the community and founded his own congregation. In his next appearance in the Habakkuk Commentary, the Man of Lies is the leader of his own community.

According to Stegemann (29) the whole affair occurred within the community of the Liar, of which the Teacher of Righteousness was a member. After this rupture, the Teacher founded his own community.

The most likely solution of these difficulties is the third. The correction or chastisement of the Teacher of Righteousness took place in a common community to which the Teacher, the Man of Lies, and the group known as the House of Absalom all belonged. We know from CD I.7-10, that a group or collective identity preceded the emergence of the Teacher of Righteousness and the Liar by some twenty years. Twenty years after the beginning of their common existence (the Hasidim?) the group was rent in two. One part followed the Liar, the other stood by the Teacher of Righteousness. It is the normal dynamic of schism that each of the two sides should consider themselves the true continuation of the original community ("the plant of righteousness") and its opponents as arbitrarily departing from the sana traditio which had previously existed. In other words the Teacher of Righteousness did not separate himself from the Liar's community, nor did the Liar apostasize from the Teacher's community, rather a common group to which they both belonged split - each party considering the other schismatic.

It would not be hard to find a similar development in the period we are considering. We know that both the Essenes and the Pharisees in some way evolved from an earlier group known as the Hasidim. The most likely cause for the fragmentation of the Hasidim was the irregular situation regarding the office of the High Priesthood. When the illegitimate Maccabaeian High Priesthood was firmly established, the Pharisees accepted a

(28) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 87.

(29) STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung, pp 49-51.

fait accompli, and continued to worship and offer sacrifice in the temple. The Essenes, on the other hand, abandoned the temple and its impure practices altogether. The Community was an Essenic community: it celebrated a calendar different from that observed in Jerusalem; it avoided temple sacrifice and service, and was severely censorious of the priesthood of the Jerusalem Temple.

The crucial event alluded to in this passage, the flouting of the Law could easily be the usurpation of the High Priestly office by Jonathan Maccabaeus in 152-3 (cf I Maccabees XIV.30ff).

IV. IQpHab VII.3-5

"And as for that which He said, that he who reads may read it speedily, interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of His servants, the prophets."

This is a repetition of the same concept we encountered in IQpHab II.8-9. More than likely the secrets of the prophets revealed to the Teacher referred to his teaching about the final generation, and not his peculiar interpretation of the Law.

The concept that the sayings of the prophets refer to the end of time is common to both the New Testament (30) and rabbinic literature (31). In the pesharim that are extant, the texts are almost exclusively concerned with reading current history in the words of the prophets. There is no halachic midrash.

(30) I Peter I.10-12.

(31) "R. Hiyya b. Abba said in R. Johanan's name: all the prophets prophesied only in respect of the Messianic era." B. Sanhedrin 99a.

V. IQpHab VIII.1-3

"Interpreted this concerns all those who observe the Law in the House of Judah, whom God will deliver from the house of judgement because of their suffering and because of their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness."

For Dupont-Sommer this is yet another indication of the messianic nature of the founder of the New Covenant: faith in the Teacher of Righteousness saves (32). This would be a parallel to Paul's doctrine about faith in Jesus Christ. Dupont-Sommer is not alone in this interpretation (33).

But the scrolls themselves tell us what faithfulness to the Teacher of Righteousness means: CD XX.30-34 is a parallel to this passage:

"They do not lift up their hand against His holy precepts and the judgements of His righteousness, or the testimonies of His truth, but have learned from the former judgements which the men of the community were judged by; who have not listened to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness and have not despised the precepts of Righteousness when they heard them; they shall rejoice and their hearts shall be strong and they shall prevail and they shall see His salvation, because they took refuge in His holy Name."

Faith in the Teacher of Righteousness means accepting and putting into practice his interpretation of the Law: "all who observe the Law in the House of Judah"; those who do this will be saved from the house of judgement at the end of days (34).

VI. IQpHab VIII.8-13

"Its commentary concerns the Wicked Priest who was called by the name of truth when he first arose. But when he ruled over Israel, his heart became proud and he forsook God, and betrayed the precepts

(32) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., RHR (137/1950) p 162.

(33) BROWNLEE, W. H., BASOR (112/1948) p 13 note 57; BRUCE, F. F., The Teacher of Righteousness in the Qumran Texts (1957) London, p 29.

(34) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 142-145.

for the sake of wealth. He robbed and amassed the riches of the men of violence who rebelled against God and he took the wealth of peoples, heaping upon himself guilty iniquity. The ways of abominations he did amidst every unclean defilement."

A. Called by the name of truth when he first arose

This phrase is less than transparent, and an attempt to determine exactly what the author of the commentary is saying has produced a variety of results.

a) "Truth" is a reference to Yahweh. This phrase applied to the Wicked Priest means he began his career as a true priest of Yahweh, i.e. a good priest (35).

b) The phrase implies simply that the Wicked Priest was at one time considered "faithful" (36).

c) "Truth" refers to the true religion. The Priest was initially a priest of the true religion, an orthodox priest (37).

d) The phrase indicates that the Wicked Priest was a High Priest whose claim to that office was legitimate. He was not one of the many non-Zadokite usurpers to be found in the first and second centuries B.C. (38)

(35) "'il fut appelé du Nom de Verité.' Il s'agit, semble-t-il du nom Yahvé; ce Prêtre se comporta d'abord en vrai 'Prêtre de Yahvé'. - Les adeptes de l'"Alliance nouvelle au pays de Damas" sont eux aussi appelés d'un Nom (CD II.11) 'appelés du Nom' (CD IV.4); 'leurs noms sont du ressort de Son Nom' (CD II.13)." DUPONT-SOMMER, A., RHR (137/1950) p 145; cf also MICHEL, A., Le Maître de Justice, p 197.

(36) VAN DER PLOEG, J., BiOr (8/1951) pp 2-11.

(37) "The 'truth' signifies the true religion; cf col VII.1.10-12. 'The men of truth, the doers of the Torah, who do not slacken their hands from the work of the truth.' The expression is also frequent in this sense in DSD. The phrase 'who was called in the cause of truth at the beginning of his elevation' may be explained by the circumstances in which Jannaeus was raised to the throne and to the high priesthood." SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) p 137. "Attaché à la vraie religion au début de sa carrière, ce Prêtre bon était donc devenu impie en prenant le gouvernail d'Israël." VERMES, G., Les manuscrits du désert de Juda (1953) Tournai, p 94.

(38) MICHEL, A., Le Maître de Justice, p 197.

e) "Truth" refers to God. The phrase indicates that the proper name of the priest was a composite that contained the Divine Name, e.g. Hananiah (39).

f) The phrase means that the Wicked Priest bore someone else's name (40). There are examples of this usage in Genesis 48.6; Ezra 2.61, and I Chronicles 23.14. Cross suggests that the Wicked Priest was Simon Maccabaeus whose name recalled the "beloved Simon II (the Just?) celebrated in Ben Sira, the last of the great Zadokite High Priests (41)." Similarly Delcor identifies the Priest with Alexander Jannaeus and interprets the phrase as a reference to Alexander's original Jewish name - Yannai: reminiscent of Jonathan, the son of Saul, the example of faithfulness and loyalty par excellence (42).

g) Still others interpret this phrase as an indication that the priest in question changed his original Jewish name (name of truth = real name) into a Hellenized name at a later stage in his career (43). This is a very interesting possibility and the first and second centuries abound in individuals who affected such a change. Michel and Rowley apply it to Onias/Menelaus, their candidate for the Wicked Priest. Originally he was known by the distinguished Jewish name, Onias, but later he hellenized this to Menelaus.

h) One interesting suggestion (44) is that the wicked Priest began his tenure known by his rightful title: הכֹּהֵן הַרִאשׁוֹן - the Head Priest (45). Later the Qumran Community began to call him the Wicked Priest, a play on words (הכֹּהֵן הַרִאשׁוֹן → הַרִשׁוֹן) and that this is the change in name that is being indicated.

(39) DEL MEDICO, H.E., L'Enigme des manuscrits de la Mer Morte (1957) Paris, p 350.

(40) CROSS, F.M., The Ancient Library, p 107 note 67a.

(41) ibid.

(42) DELCOR, M., Essai sur le midrash d'Habacuc, p 64.

(43) MICHEL, A., Le Maître de Justice, pp 200ff; ROWLEY, H.H., BJRL (40/1957) p 138; SCHREIDEN, J., Les Enigmes des manuscrits de la Mer Morte (1961) Wetteren, p 51.

(44) ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 200.

(45) Cf BAILEY, J.W., JBL (70/1951) pp 217ff.

i) The Wicked Priest was originally a member of the Qumran Community. This would be the significance of the phrase, "called by the name of truth." Subsequently he split with the community (46).

j) Finally there is the possibility that the phrase means that the Priest began with a good reputation (47). Jeremias asserts that the emphasis in this phrase is not on name which has a very general meaning, but on truth (48). Name often means reputation, and the phrase merely signifies that at the beginning of his career the Wicked Priest gave the impression of being reliable; subsequently this impression proved false (49)

Confronted with so many and so various interpretations of a phrase which is less than clear to begin with, we are obliged to follow two criteria in our attempt to discover what exactly is being said about the Wicked Priest in IQpHab VIII.9. The first is to exercise extreme caution in reading things into this phrase. It may well be, that the author was referring to any one of the many specific biographical details, but the exegete cannot indulge his fantasy in an attempt to identify the priest. If the identification is established, then these more elaborate constructions may well confirm that identification. For this reason, interpretations a, b, c, d, e, h, and i are not especially helpful. Moreover Elliger argues cogently that truth does not have a specific theological meaning (50). Also against the idea that the proper name of the Wicked Priest is being hinted at in this line, is the fact that nowhere else in IQpHab is such purely biographical information supplied.

Secondly, whatever interpretation is given to this phrase, it must fit strictly into its immediate context. In this case, "he was called by the name of truth when he first arose, but when he ruled in Israel his heart became proud, etc." In other words, his "being called by the name of

(46) LAMBERT, G., NRTh (74/1952) pp 284-297.

(47) The phrase may "mean no more than that Simon had a good reputation." CROSS, F.M., The Ancient Library, p 107 note 67a.

(48) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 38.

(49) "... der zwar dem Namen nach wahrhaftig war am Anfang seiner Herrschaft." JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 39.

(50) ELLIGER, K., Studien, pp 197-200.

truth" refers to something which later changed. For this reason it cannot be a reference to something unchangeable such as his right to the high priesthood. Probably the phrase means that the Wicked Priest initially enjoyed a good reputation, but this situation did not last.

B. "but when he ruled over Israel"

This phrase is the textual basis for the supposition that the Wicked Priest was a High Priest. An understanding of the construction $\text{—} \text{ג} \text{ שׁוּ א}$ is crucial to our investigation. It has been suggested that this phrase indicates the functioning in office of a High Priest (51). But the phrase is used throughout the Old Testament with the meaning: rule over (52). Its use is always connected with "having dominion over," and cannot therefore be understood simply as a verb which describes the functioning in office of a priest (53). It is appropriate only to those priests who exercised political as well as religious power, i.e. the High Priests who ruled over Israel (54).

If the Wicked Priest was a high priest - and the use of this particular phrase, "when he ruled over Israel" seems to demonstrate this, we have limited the possible candidates to those men who held the office of High Priesthood in Israel.

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- (51) "Mashal beIsrael ist wahrscheinlich terminus technicus für die Ausübung des hohepriesterlichen Amtes in nachexilischer Zeit." ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 198.
- (52) Genesis 3.16; 4.7; 24.2; 37.8; 45.8,26; Deuteronomy 15.6; Joshua 12.5; Judges 8.22,23; 9.2; 14.3; 15.11; II Samuel 23.3; I Kings 5.1; II Chronicles 7.18; 9.26; 23.20; Isaiah 3.4,12; 19.4; Micah 5.2; Habakkuk 1.14; Jeremiah 22.30; Lamentations 5.8; Joel 2.17; Proverbs 16.32; 17.2; 19.10; 22.7; Psalms 19.14; 105.21; 106.41; Daniel 11.43; Ecclesiastes 9.17.
- (53) Stegemann cites the scroll passages in which MŠL appears and concludes: "Allen diesen Belegen ist gemeinsam dass MŠl hier nirgends die Wahrnehmung kultischer Funktionen, sondern stets politisches Machtausüben bezeichnet." STEGEMANN, Die Entstehung, pp 103-104.
- (54) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 40.

C. "men of violence who rebelled against God"

These "men of violence" are not clearly identified. Elliger notes that the phrase is not preceded by an article and interprets it as "he gathered wealth like robbers who rebel against God (55)." This interpretation makes any attempt to identify them pointless. Even if we reject Elliger's interpretation, the fact that the "men of violence" remain ultimately unidentifiable eliminates the possibility that this phrase might help us in our effort to identify the Wicked Priest.

D. "the ways of abominations ... unclean defilement"

This phrase too is not specific. Jeremias thinks it is simply a way of stating that the Wicked Priest was indeed wicked (56). Elliger is inclined to see references to cultic irregularities here (57).

* * *

What does this passage tell us about the Wicked Priest?

1) The Wicked Priest was called by the name of truth at the beginning of his career: he gave the impression of being upright, but soon revealed his true colors.

2) When he ruled over Israel (i.e. when he was High Priest), he became proud, he abandoned God and transgressed the commandments for the sake of wealth.

3) He robbed the men of violence who rebelled against God, or he robbed and amassed wealth like a bandit who rebels against God.

(55) "Es ist zu beachten dass nicht zufällig vor H₅S kein Artikel steht, dass die Aussage also lautet, dass er 'Gewaltmenschenreichtum', d.h. Reichtum wie Gewaltmenschen sammelt und dass das Perfektum MRDW nicht Plusquamperfectum, sondern perfectum praesens ist." ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 199.

(56) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 41.

(57) ELLIGER, K., Studien, "NDH und TM'H ebenfalls kultisch religiöse termini..." p 200.

4) He took the wealth of peoples, thus heaping guilty iniquity upon himself.

5) He performed abominations in the midst of defilement.

VII. IQpHab VIII.16 - IX.2

"... the priest who rebelled ... commandments ... his chastisement in judgements of wickedness and horrors of evil diseases they afflicted on him, and vengeance on the body of flesh."

This passage does not mention the Wicked Priest by name. Line 16 of Column VIII speaks of a "priest who rebelled;" line 17 has only one legible word: "commandments," and some hold that a whole line - 18 - is missing. Consequently the subject of the statements in lines 1 and 2 of Column IX is not altogether clear. As a result opinions are divided on just who was the victim of the chastisements, sickness (?) and vengeance. The possibilities are two: the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest.

A. The Teacher of Righteousness as the subject

If the phrase $\text{הַיְשׁוּבֵי לְעֵצָה}$ is translated as iniquitous judgements, unjust judgements, the victim of the scourges cannot be the Wicked Priest, who would have richly deserved any punishment that was meted out to him. The subject could only be the Teacher of Righteousness, all of whose sufferings were unmerited. This particular interpretation fits into the general theory about the martyrdom of the Teacher elaborated by Dupont-Sommer. It presupposes the introduction of the Teacher as a grammatical subject in the lacunae in line 17 or in an alleged missing line 18 (58). Others agree with this theory that the Teacher of Righteousness is the subject of the statement (59).

(58) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, p 45; SCHREIDEN, J., Les Enigmes des manuscrits de la Mer Morte (1961) Wetteren, p 51.

(59) Cf ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 202.

B. The Wicked Priest as the subject

All the other scholars who have written on this passage see the Wicked Priest as the recipient of the punishments mentioned here. Generally Dupont-Sommer's interpretation of "judgements of iniquity" as "unjust judgements" is not accepted. The phrase simply means "judgements of wickedness," i.e. it is an objective genitive.

The whole commentary on Habakkuk II.5-10 is applied to the Wicked Priest, except for the excursus on "the remnant of the peoples." There is nothing whatsoever to indicate that the Teacher of Righteousness has been introduced into the very brief lacuna in line 17 (60), moreover it is unlikely that there ever was a line 18 which would allow space to introduce a new subject (61). One can only follow the criterion mentioned earlier of interpreting this passage in its context. The subject has consistently been the Wicked Priest, and it is safe to assume that he is the subject of this passage as well (62). He is the most likely character to be described as the "priest who rebelled (VIII.16)." From the fact that his punishments are described as "vengeance" it is logical to conclude that the priest in some way provoked the reaction of those who afflicted him.

* * *

What does the text tell us about the Wicked Priest?

- 1) Judgement was meted out to him because of his wickedness.
- 2) Someone afflicted his body with diseases/torture for something he had done.

(60) JEREMIAS,G., Der Lehrer, p 43.

(61) LAMBERT,G., VERMES,G., NRTh (73/1951) p 396.

(62) "Celui qui est frappé ici n'est pas le Maître de Justice, mais le prêtre impie, comme l'indique le texte biblique, le contexte antécédent (VIII.16) et subséquent. Celui-ci sera frappé dans sa personne et dans ses biens. (cf IX.3)" MICHEL,A., Le Maître de Justice, p 22.

VIII. IQpHab IX.9-12

"Its comment is on the Wicked Priest who because of the iniquity (committed) against the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council, God gave him (WP) into the hand of his enemies to humiliate him with a destroying scourge, in bitterness of soul, because he had acted wickedly against His elect."

A. The Wicked Priest

Two phrases in this passage must be considered: "destroying scourge," and "his elect."

1. "destroying scourge"

The problem here is whether the Wicked Priest was actually killed by his enemies, or is it a case of hyperbole - he was struck a blow that stopped just short of killing him. One thing is certainly clear - God gave him into the hands of his enemies. The Wicked Priest was, at one time or another, a prisoner (63).

If "to destruction" is separated from "scourge" (i.e. no longer understood as modifying and describing "scourge") and is joined to the following phrase: "in bitterness of soul," the meaning of the passage is altered drastically (64). No longer is the Wicked Priest said to be destroyed by a scourge, but rather he receives a punishment that causes him to be consumed in bitterness of soul. In other words, he is not killed but dies of "a broken heart." The phrase can be further altered by translating "to destruction" as "to humiliate him to extermination," (65)

(63) ELLIGER, K., Studien, pp 204f.

(64) "to afflict him with a plague, that he might be consumed in bitterness of soul." SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) p 138; Elliger comments on this: "schwerlich richtig, da der Stil des Auslegers gerade Doppelungen liebt." p 204.

(65) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., RHR (137/1950) p 137.

eliminating any idea of killing and thus robbing the passage of its biographical significance.

לכלה clearly means destruction in the only other place it is used in IQpHab (XII.5) and that is its probable meaning here (66). The text would then mean: the Wicked Priest was captured and killed by his enemies.

2. "His elect"

Does this refer to the Teacher of Righteousness alone, or is it a reference to the community of the Teacher? If we compare it to the other uses of "His elect" in the scrolls, (IQpHab X.13 and CD IV.3) we can only reach the conclusion that it is a plural referring to the men of the community of the Teacher of Righteousness (67).

An examination of the immediate context leads us to the same conclusion. In lines 9 and 10 we are told that God gave the Wicked Priest into the hands of his enemies because of the iniquity committed against the Teacher and the men of his council. "His elect" in line 12 is a parallel to "men of his council" in line 10.

The whole passage is in close parallel to the previous text we considered (VIII.16 - IX.2). The same word וְיִלְכְּדוּ appears in both places.

This parallel throws light on what might possibly appear in the lacunae in that text, i.e. that the Wicked Priest rebelled against God (cf IQpHab VIII.11) and consequently God gave him into the hands of his enemies. Moreover there is a possible connection between "being struck by the judgements of wickedness" (IX.1) and "humiliating him (bringing him low?) with a destroying scourge" (IX.10-11). The "vengeance on his body of flesh" (IX.2) may refer to the "bitterness of soul" (IX.11) or the "destroying scourge" (IX.11). Finally the "vengeance" in IX.2 which

(66) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 47.

(67) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 46.

seemed to imply that the enemies of the Wicked Priest were wreaking vengeance upon him, may in the light of "because he had done wickedly to His elect" (IX.11-12) mean that it was God who was avenging the community.

* * *

This passage is especially rich in information about the Wicked Priest.

1) The Wicked Priest committed some sort of iniquity against the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his community. The Wicked Priest was, therefore, a contemporary of the Teacher and came into direct conflict with him and his followers.

2) In punishment for this iniquity God delivered the Wicked Priest into the hand of his enemies: they imprisoned him and killed him.

3) The Wicked Priest was afflicted with bitterness of soul (sickness?) before his end.

4) The Wicked Priest's enemies humiliated him (brought him low.)

B. The Teacher of Righteousness

It is clear from the context that the Wicked Priest and the men of his council were delivered into the hands of their enemies: it was the Wicked Priest who was humbled by a destroying scourge in bitterness of soul. There is no room for ambiguity here, since the text itself gives us the reason for this punishment: "because of the iniquity committed against the Teacher of Righteousness," - "because he had done wickedly to his elect;" neither of these motivations could be reasonably ascribed to any chastisement inflicted upon the Teacher of Righteousness. Similarly the first two lines of column IX, which speak of torture and disease, as well as vengeance committed upon his body of flesh cannot refer to the Teacher (68); the horrors and torture are part of a whole section

(68) Elliger believes however that they do apply to the Teacher and to an illness he suffered. Cf Studien, p 202.

(VIII.3 - IX.12) that speaks of the retribution meted out to the Wicked Priest. Moreover the fragmentary line 17 of column VIII which mentions the "priest who rebelled" confirms this: the Wicked Priest is the subject of these punishments.

IX. IQpHab IX.16 - X.1

"... that its stones may be laid in oppression and the beams of its woodwork in robbery."

This fragmentary text refers to line 15 of column IX, "The stone cries out from the wall and the beam from the woodwork replies." Too little of the commentary remains to provide any serious hypotheses. It would appear that someone (presumably the Wicked Priest) built something by oppressing and robbing. The Wicked Priest has already been accused of robbery (cf IQpHab VIII.11).

X. IQpHab X.3-5

"Its comment is the House of Judgement which God will give His judgement (judgement of him) in the midst of many peoples, and from thence (then) he will bring him to judgement and will declare him guilty and in fire and brimstone He will judge him."

From its use here, it would appear that the House of Judgement refers to an event (i.e. the final judgement) and not a house, family or group. This is especially true if we consider IQpHab VIII.1-3 (69). The mention of fire and brimstone would also indicate an eschatological context. The interpretation of "House of Judgement" as the final judgement seems by far the most satisfactory meaning for this curious phrase. These two places in the Habakkuk commentary are the only occasions it is used, and it does not seem likely that it refers to a family or group who are nowhere else described in this fashion. Possibly the use of House envisions a court or tribunal in which the final judgement will take place, similar to the rabbinic usage, Beth Din.

(69) IQpHab VIII.1-3, "God will save all the doers of the Law in the House of Judah from the House of Judgement because of their suffering and their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness." cf JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 48.

A word that poses a problem in this text is $\text{D}\psi\lambda$ (X.4).

Three translations have been suggested:

a) It can be rendered as simply "from there" (i.e. from the House of Judgement.) But this involves us in a strange situation: it would appear that there were two final judgements, i.e. God judged the Wicked Priest at the final judgement and then led him forth to another judgement where he was punished with fire and brimstone (70). Possibly this double judgement means that the Wicked Priest was judged and punished in this world, and then again at the end of time.

b) $\text{D}\psi\lambda$ can be understood as "then" (71), but this represents the same difficulty of two judgements.

c) Elliger translates $\text{D}\psi\lambda$ as "from there" and takes it as a reference to "in the midst of many peoples," it is merely a repetition of the same concept (72). This solution is especially satisfactory if we understand the suffix of $\text{}\psi\lambda$ as an objective genitive (73), i.e. "the judgement of him (the Wicked Priest)" as opposed to a subjective genitive, "His (God's) judgement." (74)

This passage tells us that the Wicked Priest will be punished for his misdeeds (probably both in this life and in the next.)

The suffix of the verb, "and he brought him," in line 4 is interpreted in different ways. Elliger and Van der Ploeg translate it as "him" (the person being judged). Brownlee and Dupont-Sommer read "it" (the House of Judgement). Rabinowitz renders it as "us."

XI. IQpHab X.5-13

"Woe to him who builds a city with blood and founds a town upon falsehood! Is it not, behold, from the Lord of Hosts that the

(70) NOETSCHER, F., Zur Theologischen Terminologie der Qumran-Texte (1956) Bonn, p 164.

(71) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., RHR (137/1950) p 137; BARDTKE, H., Handschriftenfunde, p 130

(72) ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 207.

(73) BROWNLEE, W. H., BASOR (112/1948); (114/1949); (116/1949); STERN, S. M., JBL (69/1950) pp 27f.

(74) RABINOWITZ, I., JBL (69/1950) pp 19-32; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., op.cit., p 129, 171;

peoples shall labor for fire, and the nations shall strive for nought? (Hab II.12-13). Interpreted this concerns the Spouter of Lies who led many astray that he might build his city of vanity for the sake of its glory, and to be pregnant with works of deceit, that their labor might be for nothing, and they might come to judgements of fire, who vilified and outraged the elect of God."

This text tells us three things:

1) The Liar built a congregation. It is not entirely clear if the "city of vanity" and the "congregation raised on deceit" are the same entity. If we take the text of the prophet as a guide to understanding the commentary, the second substantive is a repetition of the first. Very likely the city of vanity is a metaphor for the community of those who followed the Man of Lies (75). A comparison of a community to a city can be found in IQH VI.24-25. If "city" is not a metaphor, we are told two things about the Spouter of Lies: he built a city and raised up a community (76). Line 10 which describes the Liar building his community on falsehood is a parallel and a contrast to 4QpPss^a III.16, where we are told that the Teacher of Righteousness builds his community for God.

The scrolls often speak of the followers of the Liar, the community he raised up on deceit. We find them described with a variety of names:

- traitors: IQpHab II.1,3,5; IQH II.10; CD I.12; VIII.5; XIX.17.
- builders of the wall: CD IV.19; VIII.12,18; XIX.24,31.
- those who daub it with plaster: CD VIII.12; XI.9; XIX.25.
- congregation of deceit/falsehood: IQpHab X.10; IQS V.1; IQH II.22.
- congregation of iniquity/assembly of violence: IQH VI.5.
- congregation of vanity/council of cunning: IQH VII.34.
- removers of the bound: CD V.20; XIX.15-16.
- seekers of smooth things: IQH II.15, 32; 4QpIs^c 10; 4QpNah III.2,7;

(75) ELLIGER, K., Studien, pp 209-210; DELCOR, M., Essai, p 35; MAIER, J., Die Texte vom Toten Meer II (1960) Munich, pp 148-149; JEREMIAS, Lehrer, p 88.

(76) MILIK, J. T., Ten Years, pp 66-67; SUTCLIFFE, E. F., The Monks of Qumran, p 47; WINTER, P., PEQ (91/1959) p 42.

CD I.18.

- scoffers: 4QpIs^b II.6,10; CD I.14; XX.11.
- lying interpreters: IQH II.14,31; IV.7,9.
- lying prophets: IQH IV.16.
- men of war: CD XX.14.
- seers of falsehood: IQH IV.10,20.

If we go through these texts we reach the conclusion that the followers of the Liar were not necessarily a single, compact, cohesive group. It appears that anyone who did not follow the Teacher of Righteousness or who followed him initially and then subsequently abandoned his teachings was considered a follower of the Liar.

"Look out upon the nations and see, and be utterly amazed! For a deed is being done in your days that you would not believe, were it told you." (Hab I.5) ... those who were unfaithful with the man of lies, because they did not ... the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God, and it concerns the unfaithful of the New... they believed in the covenant of God ... the name of His holiness; and likewise it concerns ... the unfaithful at the end of days. They are the ... who do not believe when they hear all that (is to happen) to the final generation from the mouth of the priest, God put ... to explain all the words of His servants the prophets through whom God foretold all that would happen to his people and ..." IQpHab II.1-10

"The princes of Judah have become like those who remove the bound, I will pour wrath upon them like water (Hos V.10) because they entered the covenant of repentance but they have not turned from the way of traitors but have wallowed in the ways of whoredom and wicked wealth. They have taken revenge and borne malice, each man against his brother, and every man has hated his fellow, and every man has sinned against his near kin, and has approached for unchastity and has acted arrogantly for the sake of riches and gain. And every man has done that which seemed right in his own eyes, and has chosen in the stubbornness of his heart, and has not kept apart from the people and from their sin, and have willfully rebelled by walking in the ways of the wicked." CD XIX.15-21

"Thus shall it be with the converts of Israel who depart from the way of the people. Because God loved the first who bore witness against the people for God, so will He love those who come after

"them, for theirs is the covenant of the Fathers. For God hates and detests the builders of the wall and His anger is kindled against all who follow them. And so shall it be for all who reject the commandments of God and abandon them in the stubbornness of their heart." CD XIX.28-33.

"This is the order for the men of the community who volunteer to turn back from all evil and to hold fast to all that He has commanded according to His good pleasure, to be divided from the congregation of the men of falsehood to belong to the community in Law and in wealth and are converted to the teaching of the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, and the teaching of the multitude of the men of the community who hold fast to the covenant." IQS V.1-3.

"I thank You, O Lord, for You have placed my soul in the bundle of the living and have hedged me about against all the snares of the pit. Violent men have sought after my life because I have clung to Your covenant. For they, an assembly of deceit and a horde of Satan, knew not that my stand is with You and that in Your mercy You will save my soul, since my steps proceed from You. From You it is that they assail my life, that You may be glorified by the judgement of the wicked, and manifest Your might through me in the presence of the sons of man; for it is by Your mercy that I stand." IQH II.20-25.

"And at the time of the desolation of the land there arose removers of the bound who led Israel astray, and the land was ravaged because they preached rebellion against the commandments of God given by the hand of Moses and of His holy anointed ones, and because they prophesied lies to turn Israel away from following God." CD V.20 - VI.2.

The Liar's community was all of Israel which did not accept the teaching of the Teacher of Righteousness. The Liar did not found a community in the sense that he established a society which others joined but rather he raised up supporters - this was his "congregation." Hence these followers were called by many names and described in various ways.

Undoubtedly among the supporters of the man of lies there were less all-inclusive groups that formed smaller and more cohesive parties, such as the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The House of Absalom (IQpHab V.9) was probably one of these. There are other passages that speak about the followers of the Liar that seem more appropriate to a specific party than to the mass of Israel.

"The serpents are the kings of the peoples and their wine is their ways. And the head of the asps is the chief of the kings of Greece who came to wreak vengeance upon them. But all of these things the builders of the wall and those who daub it with plaster have not understood because a follower of the wind, one who raised storms and rained down lies preached to them." CD XIX.22-26.

"I thank You Lord for You have not cast my lot in the congregation of vanity, nor have You placed my portion in the council of cunning." IQH VII.34.

"I have been a spirit of zeal to all those who seek smooth things." IQH II.15.

"You have saved me from the zeal of lying interpreters, and from the congregation of those who seek smooth things. You have redeemed the soul of the poor one whom they planned to destroy by spilling his blood because he served You. Because they knew not that my steps were directed by You, they made me an object of shame and derision in the mouth of all the seekers of falsehood." IQH II.31-34.

"I will cast filth upon you and treat you with contempt and render you despicable, so that all who look upon you shall flee from you (Nah III.6-7); Interpreted this concerns all those who seek smooth things, whose evil deeds shall be uncovered to all Israel at the end of time. Many shall understand their iniquity and treat them with contempt because of their guilty presumption when the glory of Judah shall arise, the simple of Ephraim shall flee from their assembly; they shall abandon those who lead them astray and shall join Israel." 4QpNah III.1-5.

"They shall say Nineveh is laid waste; who shall grieve over her? Whence shall I seek comforters for you? (Nah III.7). Interpreted this concerns those who seek smooth things, whose counsel shall perish and whose congregation shall be dispersed. They shall lead the simple astray no more, and the simple shall support their counsel no more." 4QpNah III.5-8.

The Liar was the accepted leader of Israel. Only the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness completely rejected him.

2) What following the Liar meant is spelled out graphically: to perform a service of vanity for the sake of its glory; to be pregnant with the works of deceit; to labor for nothing; all of which led to a judgement of fire.

3) Once again we are told that the community of the Liar vilified and outraged the elect of God. The community of the Teacher of Righteousness is often referred to as the elect of God (77); the elect of time (78); the elect of mankind (79); the elect of Thy people (80); and the elect of Israel at the end of days (81).

XII. IQpHab XI.4-8

"Its comment is on the Wicked Priest who followed the Teacher of Righteousness to confuse him in the fury of his venom to the house of his exile, and at the time appointed for rest, the Day of Atonement, he appeared to them to confuse them and to cause them to stumble on the day of fasting, the Sabbath of their rest."

A. The Wicked Priest

There are four questions which must be answered before we can determine what this text is saying: a) What is the meaning of לבלע - in other words, what did the Wicked Priest intend to do the Teacher and the "them" in line 7? b) What is the meaning of אבית גלותו ? c) What date is being referred to as "the time appointed for rest, the Day of Atonement" ... "the day of fasting, the sabbath of their rest?" and finally d) Who is the subject of "appeared" in line 7?

1. לבלע

Brown, Driver and Briggs give five possible meanings for the verb בלע: to swallow, engulf, confuse, confound, and finally destroy. The word in this passage probably means suppress, either by destroying or by absorbing, i.e.

(77) IQpHab V.4; IX.12; IQS VIII.6; 4QpIs^d I.3; 4QpPss^a I.5; IQM XII.4.

(78) IQS IX.14.

(79) IQS XI.16.

(80) IQM XII.1.

(81) 4QFlor I.19; CD IV.3.

putting an end to the separateness. The Priest is attempting to suppress the Teacher of Righteousness and "them" (XI.7), i.e. the followers of the Teacher. Vermes translates בלע as "mislead." (82)

2. אל בית גלותו

Dupont-Sommer gives this phrase a singular interpretation: "you have dared to strip him." (him = the Teacher; the stripping would have taken place before his trial.) (83) But most other scholars read "house of exile" in one form or another.

- The phrase should be corrected to אל בית גלותו
(to the house of his exile. (84)

- It is the equivalent of בבית גלותו (in the house of his exile) (85). The aleph is prosthetic (86). This usage has been found at Murabba'at (87).

There are several references to flight or exile in the Damascus Document: VII.21; VII.13-14; XX.22; IV.2-3; VI.5; VIII.14-17. Hempel (88) and Bardtke (89)

(82) "Sans prétendre qu'il y ait deux racines différentes, l'une signifiant 'engloutir', l'autre 'troubler', on peut estimer que déjà dans la Bible une évolution sémantique s'ébauche dans ce sens. Le parallélisme entre bl' (égarer) et kśl (trébucher) appuie cette hypothèse."
VERMES, G., Les manuscrits, p 133.

(83) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., RHR (137/1950) pp 138, 149f; VT (1/1951) pp 209ff.

(84) SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) p 135.

(85) YALON, H., Kiryath Sepher (27/1950-51) p 175; HABERMANN, A.M., 'dh w'dt mgyllwt qdwmym yhw dh (1952) Jerusalem, p 54.

(86) Gesenius, Kautzsch, Cowley, 19m.

(87) DJD II, pp 155-159; plate XLV.

(88) HEMPEL, J., Weitere Mitteilungen über Text und Auslegung der am Nordwestende des Toten Meeres gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften (Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, I. Philologisch-Historische Klasse (1961) no 10, p 342.

(89) BARDTKE, H., Die Handschriftenfunde II, p 191.

say that where this place of exile was cannot be determined. It is not at all clear how Bardtke arrives at the further conclusion that the Teacher was not accompanied by his followers in this exile; on the contrary the use of the plural in lines 7 and 8 would indicate that the Teacher was by no means alone in his place of exile. Bardtke goes on to say that the whole episode took place during the Maccabean struggle and that the Teacher did not found his community until later. This statement is equally arbitrary.

3. The Day of Atonement

Dupont-Sommer believes that this was a very particular day of atonement (90), i.e. that of 63 B.C., the day that Pompey captured Jerusalem. It should be noted, however, that whether Pompey entered Jerusalem on the day of atonement is itself problematic (91). A firm hypothesis on which precise day of atonement is being mentioned here cannot be based on the scanty reference to be found in this passage.

It has been suggested that the point being made here is just how remiss the Wicked Priest was in his function as High Priest. On that day above all others when he should have been in the temple, he was out doing something else (92). Most likely the information provided by this passage is that the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers celebrated the Day of Atonement on a day different from that observed in the Jerusalem Temple (93). Jeremias believes that the community's peculiar calendar a nuclear part of their doctrine, and that its importance

(90) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, pp 38-39.

(91) DAGUT, M.B., Bibl (32/1951) pp 542ff; ROWLEY, H.H., BJRL (40/1957) p 127 note 4; WEIS, P.R., JQR (41/1950-51) pp 151ff; ZEITLIN, S., JQR (41/1050-51) pp 153, 164; DE VAUX, R., La Vie Intellectuelle (April 1951) pp 64f; SCHUERER-VERMES-MILLAR, pp 239-240.

(92) ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 217.

(93) TALMON, S., Bibl (32/1951) pp 549ff; BARTHELEMY, D., RB (59/1952) pp 200ff; JAUBERT, A., VT (3/1953) pp 250-264; RHR (146/1954) pp 35-61; La Date de la Cène. Calendrier biblique et liturgique chretienne (1957) Paris; KUHN, K.G., TLZ (85/1960) pp 655ff.

was enough to cause a schism. The calendar was introduced by the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest had gone to the "house of his exile" precisely to suppress this heterodox celebration (94). The idea that the community is celebrating a Day of Atonement different from other Jews is reinforced by the use of the suffix "their" in the phrase "Sabbath of their rest." (XI.8).

4. Who is the subject of the verb "appeared?"

Since the first meaning of יִפְּאֵר is "to shine" many have understood this passage to refer to a vision. Dupont-Sommer thinks that the Teacher of Righteousness appeared in a vision to his followers (95) and Bonsirven goes even further and says that God appeared to the Teacher's followers (96). Both of these interpretations, however, can only be maintained by totally disregarding the context. Whoever it was who appeared did so to swallow them up and cause them to stumble (XI.7-8). This appearance was not a wonder, but a horror (97). There are other examples of something unpleasant appearing described by the word יִפְּאֵר: "their heart and their inclination appears as bitterness before me" (IQH V.31-32); "Belial appears" (IQH VII.3); "when his (evil) deeds are revealed ..." (CD XX.3,6). Along with these examples there are many appearances of light, God's help, the saints, etc. All of this leads us to the conclusion that יִפְּאֵר was a neutral word in the Qumran writings that simply means "appear."

There is a parallel to this passage in 4QFlor I.8, where the sons of Belial cause the sons of light to stumble (98). Given the context, the wicked consequences of this appearance, it is safe to say that the subject of יִפְּאֵר is the same as the subject of the preceding verbs in this passage: the Wicked Priest.

(94) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 53-56.

(95) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Nouveaux Aperçus, p 57.

(96) "il (Dieu) leur est apparu," BONSI RVEN, J., La Bible apocryphe (1953) Paris, p 179.

(97) ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 215.

(98) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 51.

Other interpretations of this phrase are: that the Wicked Priest showed himself in his true colors (99), or that he appeared in the regalia of the High Priest (100).

* * *

1) Once again the Wicked Priest and the Teacher are shown to be contemporaries. The Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to his house of exile.

2) The reason the Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher was to swallow him up, confuse him, or destroy him with the fury of his venom.

3) The Wicked Priest appeared on the day the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness were celebrating the Day of Atonement in the House of Exile.

4) The purpose of this appearance was to cause them to stumble, to swallow them up, confuse them, or destroy them.

B. The Teacher of Righteousness

What is meant by the Wicked Priest's attempt to confuse (swallow up) the Teacher with the fury of his venom; did the Wicked Priest succeed in this attempt?

IQpHab V.10, IX.9 and XI.4-8 speak of a chastisement or iniquity committed against the Teacher of Righteousness. Some think this refers to a persecution of the Teacher by the Wicked Priest which resulted in the martyrdom of the Teacher of Righteousness (101). This again is the kind of speculation that can neither be proved nor disproved by the information contained in the scrolls. If anything, our texts would indicate the contrary was true: i.e. that the Teacher of Righteousness did not die at the hands of the Wicked Priest; in CD XIX.35-XX.1 and XX.14, we

(99) ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 214.

(100) HEMPEL, J., Weitere Mitteilungen, p 342.

(101) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., VT (1/1951) pp 200-215; GOOSSENS, R., NCl (1-2/1949-50) pp 336-353.

read about the "gathering in" of the Teacher. This expression is often found in the Bible and usually refers to a peaceful death; its use without a complement, however, as we have it here, is rare (102). The phrase is an abbreviation of "gathered in to his fathers." Moreover 4QpPss^a, in a very fragmentary text commenting on the psalm says: "The wicked watches for the righteous and seeks to slay him. The Lord will not abandon him into his hand or let him be condemned when he is tried." The pesher begins with the words: "Its comment concerns the Wicked (Pri)est." Given the words "wicked" and "righteous" in the psalm text, as well as the almost certain presence of the Wicked Priest in line 8, it is not excessively conjectural to presume that this commentary is saying something about an attempt on the part of the Wicked Priest to slay the Teacher of Righteousness, and that this attempt was frustrated by God.

Undoubtedly the Wicked Priest persecuted the Teacher of Righteousness and committed an iniquity against him: to proceed from this information to a reconstruction of a presumed trial, torture, and martyrdom of the Teacher is not justified by the material to be found in the scrolls. What additional information about the identity of the Teacher from these passages is:

- The Teacher was a contemporary and adversary of the Wicked Priest;
- The Teacher was pursued by the Wicked Priest to the house of his exile;
- The Wicked Priest perpetrated an iniquity against the Teacher of Righteousness.

XIII. IQpHab XI.12-15

"Its comment is on the priest whose ignominy was greater than his glory, because he did not circumcize the foreskin of his heart, but walked in the ways of drunkenness, that he might quench his thirst. But the cup of wrath of God shall confuse him, heaping ... and pain ..."

(102) Numbers XX.26; Sirach VIII.7; XL.28.

The priest in question is not called the Wicked Priest, but the general and immediate context leave little room for doubt that the person being spoken about. the same as in the preceding and following lines.

A. "did not circumcize the foreskin of his heart"

This phrase is found in the Old and New Testaments; it is generally indicative of wickedness. IQS V.5 gives an idea of what "uncircumcized heart" means in the scrolls: follow impulses, evil inclinations, wander after one's own heart, to be stubborn.

B. "walked in the ways of drunkenness"

Jeremias does not think that this was to be understood literally, - that the Priest was given to carousal - but that it is a commonplace to indicate dissipation or spiritual confusion. Others understand the phrase literally (103) and apply it to their candidates for the Wicked Priest: Cross and Gaster see it as an indication of Simon Maccabaeus; Sutcliffe thinks it refers to his brother Jonathan (104). Vermes sees a description of the death of Simon (I Maccabees XVI.14-16) (105).

* * *

This passage reaffirms much that has already been said about the Wicked Priest:

- he followed the inclinations of his own heart, disregarding the will of God;

(103) Cf JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 58; SILBERMAN, L.H., RQ (3/1961-62) p 363.

(104) CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, p 114; GASTER, T.H., The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation (1956) New York, p 241; SUTCLIFFE, E.F., The Monks of Qumran, p 48.

(105) "Tout en admettant que ce châtimeⁿt est présenté comme eschatologique on ne peut pas s'empêcher de remarquer une curieuse ressemblance entre cette punition pour l'ivresse et un événement historique décrit dans le I^er livre des Maccabées." VERMES, G., Les manuscrits, pp 99-100.

- for these reasons he was ultimately punished by God: the cup of God's wrath devoured him;

- a fragmentary portion of line 15 seems to re-introduce the idea of pain, sickness, and suffering that he have already found in IQpHab IX.1-2 and 10-11.

XIV. IQpHab XII.2-10

"Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest, he shall be paid the reward that he himself tendered to the poor. For Lebanon is the Council of the Community, and the beasts are the simple of Judah who keep the Law. For God will condemn him to destruction as he himself plotted the destruction of the poor. And as He said: Because of the blood of the city and the violence done to the land. Interpreted the city is Jerusalem where the Wicked Priest committed abominable deeds and defiled the sanctuary of God. The violence done to the land, these are the cities of Judah where he robbed the poor of their possessions."

This passage provides us with a good deal of information about the community, but our concern is with what it says about the Wicked Priest:

- the Wicked Priest intended to destroy the community (IQpHab XII.3,6: cf also IX.9-12; XI.7-8; and 4QpPss^a IV.8=9);

- as a punishment for this he was himself destroyed (IQpHab XII.2-3, 5; IX.1-2, 10, 12; X.4-5; XI.14-15).

- The Wicked Priest committed abominable deeds in Jerusalem.

- He defiled the Temple.

- He robbed the community of its possessions in the cities of Judah.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE OTHER PESCHARIM

I. 4QpPss^a

This is a fragmentary pesher of five columns; it comments on portions of two psalms: Psalm XXXVII, 7, 8-19a, 19b-26, 28c-40, and Psalm XLV, 1-2 (1). Three of our characters are mentioned in this commentary: the Liar (4QpPss^a I.18); the Teacher of Righteousness (III.15); and the Wicked Priest (IV.18).

A. 4QpPss^a I.17 - II.1 (Psalm XXXVII.7)

"(Be sti)ll before (Yahweh, and) wait patiently for him, and do not fret thyself over him who prospers in his way, over the man (who work)s evil designs.' Its (interpretation) concerns the Liar who has led many astray with words of falsehood for they choose worthless things and did not lis(ten) to the Mediator of Knowledge so that they will perish by the sword and by hunger and plague."

This pesher repeats the same information we found in IQpHab II.1-10 (2). The only new element is the title "Mediator of Knowledge" תַּיִן מְדִינָה. The Teacher of Righteousness is the channel through which God reveals hidden things (3).

(1) DJD V, pp 42-50, pl XIV-XVII; ALLEGRO, J.M., PEQ (86/1954) pp 69-75; JBL (75/1956) pp 89-95; STEGEMANN, H., RQ (4/1963-64) pp 235-270; RQ (6/1967-69) pp 193-210; FITZMYER, J.A., CBQ (31/1969) pp 65-67.

(2) Cf IQpHab II.2-3, 8-10; VII.4-5; CD I.1 - II.1: here the same phenomenon is described in more detail; instead of the Liar and the Mediator of Knowledge, the protagonists are the Teacher of Righteousness and the Scoffer. A long section (I.15-21) spells out what was meant by "they choose worthless things."

(3) Cf IQpHab II.2-3, 8-10; VII.4-5; CD I.7-11.

B. 4QpPss^a II.14-16 (Psalm XXXVII.23b-24a)

"The steps of the man are confirmed by the Lord and he delights in all his ways. Though he stumble he shall not fall for the Lord shall support his hand.' (23b-24a) This concerns the priest the Teacher of he established to build for him the congregation of ..."

For the lacuna after ... מורה ה in line 15, Allegro suggests the reading: צדק אשר (Righteousness, who) (4). צדק is surely the most likely word to follow - מורה ה. The expression is found throughout the scrolls (5). The only possible alternative to find support in the scrolls is מורה היחיד (6). This expression is found in CD; it probably refers to the same person as the Teacher of Righteousness. The Teacher, therefore, was a priest.

Line 15 tells us that "he established him to build for him a community." The antecedents of the three pronouns in this sentence are not altogether clear, and before we can make any sense of the statement we must first establish who they refer to. At this point of the text, there are only two possible subjects: God and the Teacher. Undoubtedly God is the subject, and Teacher the object of "he established him." This is a direct parallel to the prophetic text where the Lord establishes the steps of man. Logically too, this is the only possible reading: it would be absurd to think that the Teacher established God, and to read "God established Himself" is meaningless.

The referant of the third pronoun: "for him(self)" is not quite so easy. If "him" refers to the Teacher, the sentence means: God established the Teacher so that He (God) could build for him (the Teacher) a congregation. If, however, it refers to God, the meaning is: God established the Teacher, so that the Teacher might build for Him (God) a congregation.

(4) "... there is room for ZDQ and another word of three letters, probably "SR." ALLEGRO, J.M., PEQ (86/1954-55) p 75.

(5) IQpMic X.4; CD I.11; XX.32; IQpHab I.13; II.2; V.10; VII.4; VIII.3; IX.9; XI.5.

(6) CD XX.1.

Grammatically both of these interpretations are possible. Who built the congregation? Was the Teacher the founder of the congregation, or had it already been in existence when he appeared? Actually, whichever reading we choose, it amounts to much the same thing: in the former case, the Teacher began the congregation from scratch; in the latter, a previously existing group was given new life and direction through the work of the Teacher of Righteousness: he was its organizer. The Teacher is the founder or first member of a congregation - which either he built up, or God built up for him (7).

C. 4QpPss^a IV. 8-10

"Its interpretation is about the Wicked Priest who ... to put him to death ... and the Law for which reason he sent to him ... but God not ... give him his reward by means of the violent of nations, who would execute upon him ..." (8)

This fragmentary text seems to repeat ideas we have already encountered in the Habakkuk commentary. The Wicked Priest attempted to put someone to death; more than likely this was the Teacher of Righteousness, since we know that the Wicked Priest wanted to destroy the community (IQpHab XII.6) and that God destroyed him as a punishment for this wicked intention (IQpHab XII.5). We know also that the Wicked Priest committed an iniquity against the Teacher and his community (IX.9-10) and that as a result he was delivered into the hands of his enemies, who destroyed him (IX.10-11). The Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher of Righteousness that he might swallow him up (probably = destroy him) (XI.5). This passage mentions the Wicked Priest in connection with putting some individual to death. In all likelihood that individual was the Teacher of Righteousness.

Because of this the Wicked Priest was given into the hands of "the violent of nations." Elsewhere we were told that the Wicked Priest was given into the hands of his enemies (IQpHab IX.10). We learn here that these enemies are also known as "the violent of nations."

(7) Cf JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 147-148.

(8) ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) pp 89-95.

The "violent" appear elsewhere in the scrolls (9), but no clear identification of who they are is given. The only clarification of this term is found in IQpHab II.6, but the "violent" in that instance are clearly Jews, and not "of the nations."

- The Wicked Priest attempted to put the Teacher of Righteousness to death;

- The Wicked Priest was given into the hands of the violent of nations.

II. 4QpNahum

This pesher consists of four columns of commentary on the prophecy of Nahum: II.11 to III.11 (10). In the first column we meet the only two proper names that appear in the Pesharim: Antiochus and Demetrius (I.2-3). A new figurative name also appears in the Nahum commentary: the Wrathful Lion (I.5-6).

A. 4QpNahum I.1-8

This passage is of special importance: it is the only place in the scrolls in which historical characters are named and identified (11).

- "1. 'Whither the lion goes, there is the lion's cub.'" (Nah II.11)
2. ... trius king of Greece who sought to enter Jerusalem on the counsel of those who seek smooth things
3. ... the kings of Greece from Antiochus until the coming of the rulers of the Kittim. But then she shall be trampled ...
4. The lion tears enough for its cubs and it chokes prey for its lionesses.' (Nah II.12)
5. ... concerning the furious young lion who strikes by means of his great men, and by means of the men of his council

(9) IQpHab II.6; IQM I.39; II.11,21.

(10) DJD V, pp 37-42, pl XII-XIV; ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) pp 89-95; JSS (7/1962) pp 304-308; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Semitica (13/1963) pp 55-58; YADIN, Y., IEJ (21/1971) pp 1-12; FITZMYER, J.A., CBQ (31/1969) pp 63-65.

(11) There is an unpublished calendar from cave IV in which the Queen Alexandra, Shlamzion (76-67 B.C.) and the Roman governor of Syria in 62 B.C., Aemilius Scaurus are mentioned. Cf MILIK, J.T., Ten Years, p 73.

- "6. ... its caves, and its dens with victims.' (Nah II.12) Interpreted this concerns the furious young lion
 7. ... those who seek smooth things, who hangs men alive
 8. ... formerly in Israel."

In a presentation of this text (12) Allegro fills in the lacunae in the following fashion:

- "1. 'Whither the lion, the lioness went, the lion's cub
 2. and none to terrify.' Its interpretation concerns Demetrius, king of Greece, who sought to enter Jerusalem by the counsel of the Seekers-after-smooth-things
 3. ... terrify (?) the kings of Greece from the time of Antiochus to the appearance of the rulers of the Kittim and afterwards ... will tread (be trodden) down
 4. ... the lion tears sufficient for his cubs and strangles for his lionesses prey
 5. ... its interpretation concerns the Lion of Wrath who used to smite (or smites) with his mighty men and the men of his counsel
 6. ... 'And he filled with prey ... and his den with ravin.' Its interpretation concerns the Lion of Wrath
 7. ... death (/) by the Seekers-after-smooth-things, who used to hang (or hangs) men up alive
 8. ... which was never done (?) before in Israel, for it (the Scripture) calls the one hanged alive on a tree..."

Who is Demetrius the King of Greece? Who is the Wrathful Lion?

Is there any connection between Demetrius and the Wrathful Lion?

1. Demetrius, the king of Greece

Between the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes and the occupation of Judaea by the Romans, (the period in which an invasion by a Syrian king was possible), there were three Seleucid kings who bore the name Demetrius: Demetrius I Soter (died in 150 B.C.); Demetrius II Nicator (died in 126/5 B.C.); and Demetrius III Philopator Soter (Eucraerus) who died in 88 B.C.

Demetrius I Soter (13) was never personally involved in Judaea. He did wage war there through Bacchides and Nicanor, but both of these generals

(12) ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) pp 89-95.

(13) SCHUERER-VERMES-MILLAR, vol I, pp 168-180.

held Jerusalem. The expression, "attempt to enter Jerusalem," would be inappropriate as a description of their activity, since both entered and held the city without any difficulty (14).

There is no record of a military expedition in Judaea led by Demetrius II Nicator. For most of the two periods of his reign he was involved in fighting pretenders to his throne (cf SCHUERER-VERMES-MILLAR, I, pp 181-197 and 207-208). In fact, Jonathan managed to obtain broad concessions towards the independence of Judaea from this weak king (cf I Macc XI.20-37; Ant XIII, 120-128). We are left with Demetrius III Eucærus.

2. Demetrius and the Wrathful Lion

In fact, Jews who were rebelling against Alexander Jannæus appealed to Demetrius III for assistance (15). Josephus gives us the following account of Demetrius' intervention in the rebellion (16).

(14) "Professor Rowley has argued that Demetrius I (Soter) may be referred to in this context. Against his position it may be argued that Demetrius I is not described appropriately as having 'attempted to enter into Jerusalem.' It is true that two of his generals, Bacchides and the infamous Nicanor, were sent to Jerusalem (the king himself did not come), but both entered Jerusalem freely. Indeed both Bacchides and Nicanor used Jerusalem as headquarters for their actions against Judas in the hinterlands. When Nicanor was killed remnants of his army fled to Jerusalem for refuge; and Bacchides fortified the city against Jonathan (I Macc VIII.52-53). It seems rather unlikely that one would speak of 'an attempt to enter Jerusalem' unless the attempt was against opposition and was not carried out. And if it were a famous general who entered Jerusalem, why speak of the king trying to enter?" CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, p 93, note 29.

(15) SCHUERER-VERMES-MILLAR, vol I, pp 223-224; ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) p 92; JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 129-130; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Journal des Savants (Oct - Dec 1963) p 204.

(16) Ant XIII, 372-383; War I, 88-98.

The Jews arose up against Alexander Jannaeus; while he stood beside the altar preparing to sacrifice on the Feast of Tabernacles, they pelted him with citrons (372); they said Jannaeus was descended from captives and was unfit to hold office as High Priest (17). Alexander was enraged and killed some six thousand of the people (373). He also maintained foreign troops, Pisidians and Cilicians (374). After a defeat suffered at the hands of Obedas the king of the Arabs, the Jews attacked their king; he fought them for six years and slew no fewer than fifty thousand of his own people. In an attempt to make peace, Jannaeus asked the rebels what they wanted of him - they replied, "Your death." The rebels sent to Demetrius Eucærus and asked him to come to their aid (376). Demetrius came with his army and camped in Shechem. Alexander Jannaeus went out with his supporters to meet Demetrius (377). Demetrius defeated Jannaeus (378). Alexander fled, but six thousand Jews, moved by pity, joined him; Demetrius withdrew in alarm; the remaining rebels continued to fight Alexander, but were defeated (379). Jannaeus brought back the defeated rebels to Jerusalem; there he had eight hundred of them crucified while he and his concubines feasted in a conspicuous place. Before crucifying his enemies, Alexander had their wives and children killed before them (380); as a result of this excessive cruelty, Alexander was nicknamed "Thrakidas" by the Jews (383).

There is a parallel account of the rebellion in War I, 88-98. It adds the following elements: when the rebels appealed to Demetrius, "hopes of aggrandizement brought from him a prompt response (92)." "The upshot (of Demetrius' victory) however, proved contrary to the expectations of both combatants. For Demetrius, the victor, found himself abandoned by those who summoned him ... this turn of affairs was more than Demetrius could stand; and in the belief that Alexander was now once more his match and that the whole nation was streaming back to him, he withdrew (95)."

There are striking parallels between Josephus' narrative and the commentary on Nahum. Rebel Jews ask the Seleucid King Demetrius III to

(17) A similar accusation is made against John Hyrcanus by Eleazar the Pharisee. Cf Ant XIII, 288-298; B. Kidd. 68a; DERENBOURG, pp 79-81.

come to their assistance against Alexander Jannaeus: Demetrius, the king of Greece attempts to enter Jerusalem on the counsel of the seekers of smooth things. (These seekers of smooth things appear elsewhere in the scrolls and are certainly Jews.) After an initial victory Demetrius does not carry out his plans for "aggrandizement" but withdraws in alarm, convinced that he cannot defeat Alexander; the king of Greece sought to enter Jerusalem, and presumably did not succeed. Jannaeus was responsible for the deaths of over fifty-six thousand Jews during the course of the rebellion; he was extraordinarily cruel in the revenge he took upon the rebels - he crucified eight hundred of them; the Wrathful Lion fills his dens with victims ... he hangs men alive.

Undoubtedly the Greek king in 4QpNahum is Demetrius III Eucerus. It is equally probable that the Wrathful Lion is Alexander Jannaeus (18). The "Antiochus" in line 3 is probably Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Although there is no conclusive indication which Antiochus is spoken about, the circumstances would favor that king. The text is talking about an invasion of Jerusalem. Two terms of time are mentioned: "From Antiochus until the coming of the rulers of the Kittim." Jerusalem was not invaded between the time of Antiochus Epiphanes and Pompey. This, therefore, would seem the most logical identification of Antiochus.

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- (18) "Who was this Lion of Wrath? The reference to his 'hanging men up alive' and, furthermore, his being credited with being the first to introduce this hateful punishment into Israel, leaves little doubt that the writer is speaking of Jannaeus himself. Josephus tells us that the Jewish king vented his fury upon his enemies after the Demetrius affair by having eight hundred of them crucified before him in Jerusalem while he reclined feasting with his harem. To add to this cruelty, he ordered the victims' wives and children should be massacred before their dying eyes. In consequence of this barbarism he was nicknamed Thrakidan. (Supposed to mean 'Thracian' although it is an impossible form of the gentilic, for which the usual Greek is Thrakios or Threkios. Is there a connection between this word and our 'Lion of Wrath?' Certainly this latter nickname gives the impression of being of more general use and not necessarily in a derogatory fashion, than the sectarian terms, 'Man of Lies', 'Wicked Priest,' etc." ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) p 92; cf also STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung, p 121; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., CRAIBL (1972) pp 714-715; SCHUERER-VERMES-MILLAR, p 225, note 2; STERN, M., Tarbiz (29/1959-60) pp 207-209.

Although Josephus tells us that some of the rebels abandoned Demetrius and went over to Jannaeus because they were moved to pity by his plight, it is more likely that the real reason was that they did not want to see a foreigner in Jerusalem (19). This danger is hinted at in War I, 92, when we are told that Demetrius responded promptly to the rebels' request because he had "hopes for aggrandizement.(20)"

The fact that the Demetrius in the Nahum Commentary is Demetrius III does not necessarily imply that the Wrathful Lion was his contemporary, Alexander Jannaeus (21). The identification of Alexander as the Wrathful Lion is based on the reference to crucifixion in lines 6 to 8:

"... Its interpretation concerns the wrathful lion ... by the seekers of smooth things, who (singular) hangs living men ... in Israel previously..."

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- (19) "The real reason for the change of heart on the part of the rebels is now made evident: Demetrius had, naturally enough decided to follow up his victory at Shechem by installing himself and his troops in the capital. But having a foreign commander fight one's battles, and seeing him desecrating the holy city with his presence were two very different things, and the rebels decided to choose Jannaeus as the lesser of the two evils. It is interesting to note that this pesher betrays no sympathy with the rebellious Pharisees who called in the foreigner, any more than with the Lion of Wrath himself." ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) p 92.
- (20) Jeremias says that Demetrius III wanted to take advantage of this situation and become the master of Jerusalem, but the memories of the Syrian oppression under Antiochus Epiphanes were still fresh, hence the apparently incomprehensible switch of allegiance on the part of 6,000 Jews. Cf JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 130; cf also CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, pp 93-94; RABIN, C., JJS (7/1956) pp 3-11.
- (21) "Hier muss zuerst gesagt werden, dass eine Gleichsetzung des genannten Demetrius mit Demetrius III. an sich noch nicht besagt, dass der Zorneslöwe ein Zeitgenosse Alexander Jannai ist, den wir haben gesehen, wie sehr die Pescharim von einem Gegenstand zum anderen springen können, ohne dass eine historische Verbindung zwischen den Personen, auf die jeweils die biblische Vorlage gedeutet wird, zu bestehen braucht." JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 131.

Since the verb "hangs" is in the singular, its subject must be the Wrathful Lion in line six, the only singular substantive in this passage. The words extant in line eight: "... in Israel previously..." almost certainly mean that live men were not hanged in Israel previously (22).

Crucifixion was not a Jewish punishment, rather it was considered an abomination. Although the corpses of criminals who had been stoned were sometimes hung up (23) our text clearly speaks of hanging live men.

In spite of the tendency of the pesharim to skip from one subject to another, or from one period of time to another, it is safe to assume that this whole passage is speaking about the rebellion against Alexander Jannaeus in which Demetrius III aided the rebels, and the aftermath of that rebellion (24).

Verse twelve of the second chapter of Nahum (line 4 of 4QpNah): "the lion chokes prey for his lionesses," could be a reference to the fact that Jannaeus and his concubines witnessed the crucifixion of the rebels (25).

III. THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

Three of the figurative names we have been considering appear in the Damascus Document: the Teacher of Righteousness (I.11; XX.28,32); the Spouter of Lies (I.14; IV.19; VIII.13; XIX.25); and the Liar (XX.14).

(22) This is the interpretation of Allegro in his original presentation of the text (JBL 75/1956, p 91). Most scholars agree with this interpretation, and indeed it seems the only possible one.

(23) Deut XXI.22-23; Joshua VIII.29; X.26; II Samuel IV.12; Sanhedrin VI.4; B.Sanh. 43a, 67a; Ant IV, 202.

(24) Vermes argues very convincingly that there can be no doubt that the "Furious Young Lion" is Alexander Jannaeus. Cf SCHUERER-VERMES-MILLAR, vol I, pp 224-225, note 22.

(25) STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung, p 122.

The Damascus Document is a fundamentally different literary genre from the pesharim; it has been studied extensively in recent years (26). I will pass in brief review the references to the characters to be found in this scroll, but because of the difference of genre they will not form part of our argument. Again, our purpose in this work is not merely to identify the characters, but to determine the historical reliability of the pesharim and then explore to some extent the history contained in them.

A. The Teacher of Righteousness in the Damascus Document

1. CD I.5-15

"... And in the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after he had given them into the hand of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, he visited them and caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron and to inherit his land and to prosper on the good things of his earth. And they perceived their iniquity and recognized that they were guilty men, they were like blind men groping for the way for twenty years. And God observed their deeds that they sought him with a whole heart and he raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of his heart. And he made known to the latter generations that which God had done to the latter generation, the congregation of traitors, to those who departed from the way. This was the time of which it is written, Like a stubborn heifer thus was Israel stubborn, when the Scoffer arose who shed over Israel the waters of lies."

This text tells us three things:

a) The group that the Teacher guided in the way of God's heart existed in one fashion or another for some twenty years before he appeared.

(26) Some of these recent studies are: DENIS, A.M., Les thèmes de connaissance dans le document de Damas (1967) Louvain; "Evolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân" in Aux origines de l'Eglise (1964) Bruges, pp 23-49; IWRY, S., Eretz-Israel (9/1969) pp 80-88; MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RQ (7/1969-71) pp 553-556; RB (77/1970) pp 210-229; HTR (63/1971) pp 379-386; RB (78/1971) pp 210-232; RB (79/1972) pp 544-564; NEUSNER, J., RQ (7/1969-71) pp 197-217; RQ (8/1972-75) pp 195-196; SCHWARZ, O., Der erste Teil der Damaskusschrift und das Alte Testament (1965) Nijmegen; WIEDER, N., JJS (20/1969) pp 86-88.

This means either that he was not the founder of the community of the New Covenant, or that the men who joined the community of the New Covenant had some previous collective identity. The latter is the more probable. They were Hasidim. Most authors agree that the Essenes, as well as the Pharisees derived from that group of fervent men known as the Hasidim at the time of Mattathias (I Macc II.42). Later the Hasidim evolved into the Essenes and the Pharisees. Since we know that the Teacher of Righteousness was a contemporary of the Wicked Priest, and we shall soon see that the Wicked Priest was very likely Jonathan Maccabaeus, the chronology is in perfect order. Some twenty years after beginning their existence as Hasidim, the Teacher of Righteousness appeared and initiated some of the Hasidim into the community of the New Covenant.

b) The Teacher's mission was twofold: he was to instruct his followers in the way of God's heart (the proper interpretation of the Torah) and he was to reveal to them what was to happen to the last generation. (Cf CD XX.27-34; Pesher Micah; IQpHab II.2-10; VII.3-5; VIII.1-3).

c) At the same time that God raised up the Teacher of Righteousness, there arose someone known as the "Scoffer" who was to shed waters of lies over Israel, and lead them astray. (Cf IQpHab II.1-3; V.11).

In this text, the Teacher of Righteousness appears without a definite article: a Teacher of Righteousness.

2. CD XIX.33-XX.2; XX.27-34

"So shall it be for all the men who enter the New Covenant in the land of Damascus, and who again betray it and depart from the fountain of living waters, they will not be reckoned in the council of the people and they shall not be inscribed in its book from the day of the gathering in of the Teacher of the community until the coming of the Messiah out of Aaron and out of Israel and thus shall it be for every man who enters the congregation of the men of perfect holiness but faints in performing the duties of the upright."

"But all those who hold fast to these precepts going and coming in accordance with the Law, who heed the voice of the Teacher and confess before God, saying: We have sinned, we and our fathers, by walking counter to the precepts of the covenant; Justice and truth are your judgements upon us. They do not lift their hand against His holy precepts and the judgements of His righteousness, or the testimonies of His truth, but have learned from the former judgements by which the men of the community were judged; who have listened to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness and have not despised the precepts of righteousness when they heard them; they shall rejoice and their hearts shall be strong and they shall prevail over all the sons of the earth. God will forgive them and they shall see His salvation because they took refuge in His holy Name."

In these two texts we find: "the Teacher of the Community/the Unique Teacher," "the Teacher" and "the Teacher of Righteousness." Do these three expressions refer to the same individual, or have we new and as yet unmentioned characters to consider?

The Teacher of the Community/ the Unique Teacher

The expression *אורה היחיד* (CD XX.1) and *יורה היחיד* (CD XX.14) have been translated as "Unique Teacher." But if we look further down the column, we find an expression that looks like: *אנשי היחיד* (XX.32). This last combination makes no sense and can only be an erroneous transcription of the expression *אנשי היחד* (men of the community) which is frequent in the scrolls (27). There are only two possible explanations that can be given for the expressions: *אורה היחיד* and *יורה היחיד*:

- a) the Teacher is being described as the "only Teacher,"
- b) a later copyist either made a mistake in transcribing or tried to correct a reading that he found unintelligible.

In either case the expressions would still seem to indicate that the

אורה היחיד was the Teacher of the Community, the Teacher of Righteousness.

(27) IQS V.1,3,16; VI.21; VII.20,24; VIII.16; IX.6,7,10,19; IQ31 I.1; 4QPB 5.

The word $\tau\eta$ is found only in column XX of CD (i.e. manuscript B). Rost (28) argues that manuscript B is a remnant of a version of CD into which numerous interpolations have been made. Besides the interpolation of $\tau\eta$, there is in CD a confession which is almost a verbatim repetition of a passage from IQS:

"We have sinned, we and our fathers by walking counter to the precepts of the covenant; justice and truth are your judgements upon us." CD XX.28-30.

"We have strayed, we have transgressed, we have sinned, we have acted wickedly, we and our fathers before us, in our going contrary to the laws of truth and righteousness... His judgement upon us and upon our fathers." IQS I.24-26.

Moreover $\tau\eta$ is one of the most common words in IQS: it is used at least seventy-three times in its nominal or verbal form. These documents represent two different groups. The "community" and the New Covenant. The "community" is an older group (29) and had its own Teacher, the Teacher of the Community. Later, the New Covenant, (the group that produced the Damascus Document) tried to unite the two groups into one: hence the IQS-type interpolations in manuscript B of CD. Another indication that an earlier group existed, wholly or in part absorbed into the New Covenant, is CD XX.31: "... but have learned from the former judgements by which the men of the community were judged." Rost detects evidence of two Teachers in what he considers the two separate injunctions of CD XX.31-32: a) learn from the former judgements (presumably the doctrine of the Teacher of the Community); and b) now listen to the voice of the Teacher of Righteousness.

Probably $\tau\eta\eta\eta\ \text{'}\psi\text{'}\eta$ does refer to a former group, but Rost

(28) ROST,., TLZ (77/1952) pp 723-726; cf also TLZ (78/1953) pp 143-148; Evangelische Theologie (18/1958) pp 108-111; HEMPEL, J., Die Texte von Qumran in der heutigen Forschung (1962) Göttingen, p 340; SCHULZ, S., Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche (56/1959) p 176.

(29) "dannach ist die Einung eine ältere Gruppenbildung, die aufgegangen ist in die Anhängerschaft des Lehrers der Gerechtigkeit." ROST, L., TLZ (77/1952) p 725.

overlooks the fact that mention is made of "former judgements" in IQS IX.10-11, a passage parallel to CD XX.31-32. If IQS were the product of the earlier community, this mention of still earlier judgements would make no sense.

Jeremias points out (30) that Rost does not translate XX.31-32 correctly: the predicate only appears in XX.33. It is not "And all who hold fast ... should listen to the voice of the Teacher" but "and all who hold fast ... and listen to the voice of the Teacher." It is not a case of two separate injunctions: a) learn from the former judgements, and b) listen to the voice of the Teacher, but rather, those who hold fast can be recognized in that they behave according to the former judgements and thus listen to the voice of the Teacher.

Although there may be grounds to argue a reference to two communities in these texts, the suggestion that there were likewise two teachers is without foundation; nowhere is there mention of a Teacher other than the Teacher of Righteousness. It is especially significant that IQS - which would be the work of this earlier community - never once mentions a Teacher.

Equally hypothetical is the proposal of I. Rabinowitz that there were four teachers (31). He distinguishes a) a guide who was active long before the composition of the text in which he appears (CD I.11); b) a guide or guides active in the time of the author; and c) a guide who was expected at the end of days (CD VI.11; XX.28, 32).

The first of these "guides" can only be Nehemiah (32). The future guide mentioned in CD VI.11; XX.28 and 32, is a figure who will appear

(30) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 164.

(31) RABINOWITZ, I., VT (8/1958) pp 398-404.

(32) RABINOWITZ, I., JBL (73/1954) p 15, notes 11 and 13; cf also GASTER, T., The Dead Sea Scriptures, p 100.

at the end of days. מורה היחיד is the contemporary guide who has just died. מורה הצדק in CD is a future guide; however, in the pesharim מורה הצדק is a contemporary guide; the reason for this discrepancy is that after the time of the pesharim, the authors of CD "recalculated and pushed forward the time of the expected 'end of days'; hence the contemporary מורה הצדק of the commentaries becomes the future מורה הצדק of the Fragments (33). Rabinowitz identifies the contemporary Teacher as two people: Mattathias and his son Judas Maccabaeus. There is really no textual justification for this elaborate interpretation of CD. The Teacher of Righteousness, the Teacher and the Teacher of the Community are the same individual.

Someone who will teach righteousness is expected at the end of days (CD VI.11), but the scroll does not call him מורה but יורה. In the light of all the other scroll texts the proper explanation of this locus is: until there comes one who will teach righteousness.

B. The Liar in the Damascus Document

I. CD I.11-II.1

"And he raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of his heart. And he made known to the latter generations that which God had done to the latter generation, the congregation of traitors, to those who departed from the way. This was the time of which it is written, 'Like a stubborn heifer thus was Israel stubborn' (Hosea IV.16) when the Scoffer arose who shed over Israel the waters of lies. He caused them to wander in a pathless wilderness laying low the everlasting heights, abolishing the ways of righteousness and removing the boundary with which the forefathers had marked out their inheritance that he might call down on them the curses of his covenant, and deliver them up to the avenging sword of the covenant. For they sought smooth things and preferred illusions (Isaiah XXX.10) and they watched for breaks and chose the fair neck; they justified the wicked and condemned the just, and they transgressed the covenant and violated the precept. They banded together against the life of the righteous (Psalm 94.21) and all who walked in perfection they loathed; they pursued them with the sword and exulted in the strife of the people. And the anger of God was kindled against their congregation so that he ravaged all their multitude and their deeds were a defilement before him." CD I.11-II.1

(33) RABINOWITZ, I., VT (8/1958) p 400.

The time the Spouter of Lies arose (lines 13 and 14) can be interpreted in two ways: the time in the phrase "this is the time" could refer either to the occasion on which God raised up the Teacher of Righteousness (line 11) or to the period of the latter generation (line 12). But we know from other passages that the Teacher and the Liar were contemporary (34) and so there is really no ambiguity here. The Spouter of Lies arose at the same time as God raised up the Teacher of Righteousness.

a. The Scoffer

Although this is the only appearance in the singular of the epithet "scoffer", the word as such is not unknown in the scrolls. The plural form is used to describe the enemies of the Qumran community elsewhere (CD XX.11; 4QpIs^b II.6,10) (35). These same enemies are also described with a cognate from the same root **לִיץ**; in IQH II.31; IV.7 and 9 they are called **מְלִיצֵי כֶזֶב**, "interpreters of lies" (36). In IQH II.14, the hymnist states that he is an opponent of the "interpreters of error." (37) There is a play on the same word here, i.e. it implies both scorn and mystifying interpretation. The Liar scorned the doctrine of the Teacher of Righteousness and provided his own lying interpretation of the Torah. The quotation from Hosea IV.16 which introduces this section indicates that it concerns recalcitrance to the Torah (38).

The expression "shed waters of lies over Israel," is an expansion of the more common "Spouter of Lies." In CD IV.19-20, we read: "The builders of the wall have followed after Zaw - Zaw was the spouter of whom it is written: they shall surely spout (Micah II.6)." In the same

(34) Above all IQpHab V.10-11; cf also CD XX.14-15; IQpHab II.1-2.

(35) The expression is found in the Bible: Isaiah XXVIII.14; Proverbs XXIX.8.

(36) Cf RICHARDSON, H.N., VT (5/1955) pp 163-179.

(37) **וְאֵהִיָּה אִישׁ רִיב לְמִלְצֵי תַצוֹת**

(38) The same use of Hosea IV.16 can be found in Aboth de Rabbi Nathan 23. Cf BILLERBECK, P., and STRACK, H.L., Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch (1922ff) Munich, vol III, pp 665-666; JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 90-91.

chapter of Micah, verse 11, we find: "If a man walking in a false spirit should lie, 'I will prophesy (the same word as to spout) to you of wine and strong drink...'" (39).

All of these indirect quotations of the Bible lead to the conclusion that there were a series of Biblical statements (40) that the Qumran community always applied to the Liar. The various titles and epithets by which he and his community are described derive from the prophetic texts: the Man of Lies, the Prophet of Lies, the Spouter of Lies, the Lying Interpreter, the Scoffer.

Most of the accusations levelled at the Liar and his followers in the remaining portion of the passage convey the same meaning: he caused his followers to deviate from the Torah.

- He caused them to wander in a pathless wilderness (Tohu) (41). "Tohu" according to B.Sanh 97a, is the state which exists without the light of the Torah.
- He laid low the everlasting heights (Hab IV.6). "Everlasting heights" is a reference to the Torah according to Jeremias (42).
- He abolished the ways of Righteousness (cf IQH VII.14). The expression, "ways of righteousness" is used often in the apocryphal literature.

(39) The verses Micah II.6 and 11 are used as proof texts in J.Berak. 3b, that there are false prophets.

(40) Most of these Biblical commonplaces are taken from the texts of the prophets and add a new dimension to the statements of IQpHab II.8-9: "to explain all the words of His servants the prophets;" IQpHab VII.4-5: "Interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the prophets." In other words a third element is added to the message of the Teacher of Righteousness: not only did his understanding of the prophets allow him to interpret the Torah correctly, and to foretell what would come upon the final generation, but it permitted him to interpret contemporary events.

(41) Cf Psalm 107,40; Job XII.24.

(42) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 92.

In Jubilees I.20, the spirit of Belial leads away from the paths of righteousness; in Enoch 104.13, the righteous learn the paths of righteousness from the book of Enoch. (Cf also Enoch 82.3; 91.18f; 92.3; 94.1; 99.10; 105.2; 108.13.) Jeremiah VI.16 uses the word "paths" as a synonym for the ancient customs: "Stand by the ways and look, and ask for the ancient paths, where the good way is, and walk in it." This is substantially the same reproach directed against the Liar in the next phrase.

- He removed the boundaries with which the forefathers had marked out their inheritance (Deut XIX.14). Although much later, Midrash Mishle 47a comments on this passage: "'Do not move the ancient boundary which your forefathers set up' means if you see a custom which the elders have introduced do not change it." A parallel expression can be found in Enoch 99.14: "Woe to them who reject the measure and eternal heritage of their fathers." Removing the bounds means changing the ancient traditions. This phrase, "Removers of the Bound," is used elsewhere to describe the opponents of the community: CD V.20; XIX.16. CD XX.25 speaks of those "who break the boundary of the Torah. (43)"

b. The Followers of the Scoffer

The remainder of the text speaks about the followers of the Liar. It is a list of accusations taken from Biblical sources.

- They sought smooth things and preferred illusions (Isaiah XXX.10). The seekers of smooth things make other appearances in the scrolls: IQH II.15, 32; IV.10; 4QpIs^C 10; 4QpNah 2,7. The source of this expression - Isaiah - clarifies its meaning:

"For this is a rebellious people, faithless children, children who will not hear the instruction of the Lord - who say to the seers, 'You shall not see!' and to the prophets, 'You shall not prophesy to us right things! Speak to us smooth things; prophesy delusions! Get you out of the way; turn aside from the path! Trouble us no more with the Holy One of Israel!'" (Isaiah XXX.9-11)

(43) The same interpretation of Deuteronomy XIX.14 can be found in Philo, de special. legibus IV,149.

The "smooth things ... illusions" are the teachings of the Liar as opposed to the righteousness revealed by the Teacher.

- They look for breaks, comes from the same section of Isaiah (XXX.13). Jeremias (44) interprets this and the following accusation, they seek the fair neck, as references to moral corruption (45).

- They justified the wicked and condemned the just: this is taken from Proverbs XVII.15: "He who acquits the guilty, and he who condemns the innocent - both of them are an abomination to the Lord."

- They transgressed the covenant and violated the precept: finds its parallel in Isaiah XXIV.5: "The earth is polluted through the touch of its inhabitants, because they transgressed the laws, violated statutes and broke the everlasting covenant."

- They band together against the life of the righteous: reflects Psalm 94.21: "... make assaults on the life of the righteous."

- They despise all who walk in perfection: "those who walk in perfection" is an expression used repeatedly for the Qumran community: IQS I.8; II.2; III.9; VIII.21; IX.6,8,9,19; IQS^b I.2; V.22; CD II.15; XX.6-7.

Because the accusations and descriptions of the Liar and his associates are virtually Biblical commonplaces, it is claimed that they tell us almost nothing about the man and his followers. But this is not really the case: we know that the Liar and his community opposed the Teacher of Righteousness and his adherents. We know that this opposition stemmed from the reciprocal rejection of a peculiar interpretation of the Torah. We have also learned that the Liar and his men attempted to harm the Teacher and his community. Moreover, it is just possible that this catena of Biblical quotations do indirectly indicate where we must look for the Liar.

He and his followers are called the "scoffers." (Isaiah XXVIII.14) Isaiah speaks of the "scoffers" as ruling in Jerusalem. The Liar is accused of "removing the bound." In Hosea V.10, we read that the princes

(44) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 94-95.

(45) Cf also GINZBERG, L., An Unknown Jewish Sect (1976) New York, pp 7ff: a re-edition of Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte (1922) New York.

of Judah have become like removers of the bound. The full citation of this verse from Hosea is reproduced in CD XIX.15-16. Finally the expression, "banding together against the life of the righteous," comes from Psalm 94. Verses 20 and 21 of that psalm read: "Can the throne of wickedness be allied with Thee, that frames wickedness by statute - they who make assaults upon the life of the righteous..." Is the author of the Damascus Document making sly allusions to the fact that the Liar was a ruler in Judah?

2. CD VIII.1-13 and XIX.13-26

"And so shall it be for all the members of His covenant who do not hold steadfastly to these. They shall be visited for destruction by the hand of Belial. That shall be the day when God will visit. 'The princes of Judah have become; wrath shall be poured upon them.' For they shall hope for healing but He will crush them. They are all of them rebels for they have not turned away from the way of traitors but have wallowed in the ways of whoredom and wicked wealth. They have taken revenge and borne malice every man against his brother, and every man has hated his fellow and every man has sinned against his near kin, and has approached for unchastity, and has acted arrogantly for the sake of riches and gain. And every man has done that which seemed right in his own eyes and has chosen the stubbornness of his heart. They have not kept apart from the people and have wilfully rebelled by walking in the ways of the wicked of whom God said, 'Their wine is the venom of serpents the cruel head of asps.' The serpents are the kings of the peoples and their wine is their ways. And the head of the asps is the chief of the kings of Greece who came to wreak vengeance upon them. But all these things the builders of the wall and those who daub it with plaster have not understood because a follower of the wind, one who raised storms and rained down lies, had preached to them, against all of whose assembly the anger of God was kindled."

"And so shall it be for all members of His covenant who do not hold steadfastly to these precepts. They shall be visited for destruction by the hand of Belial. That shall be the day when God will visit, as he said: 'The princes of Judah have become like those who remove the bound, I will pour wrath upon them like water.' Because they entered the covenant of repentance but they have not turned from the way of traitors but have wallowed in the ways of whoredom and wicked wealth. They have taken revenge and borne malice, each man against his brother, and every man has hated his fellow, and every man has sinned against his near kin, and has approached for unchastity, and has acted arrogantly for the sake of riches and gain. And every man has done that which seemed right in his own eyes, and has chosen the stubbornness of his heart, and has not kept apart from the people and from their sin, and

"have wilfully rebelled by walking in the ways of the wicked of whom God said: 'Their wine is the venom of serpents, the cruel head of asps.' The serpents are the kings of the peoples and their wine is their ways. And the head of the asps is the chief of the kings of Greece who came to wreak vengeance upon them. But all of these things the builders of the wall and those who daub it with plaster have not understood because a follower of the wind, one who rained down lies, against all of whose assembly the anger of God was kindled."

As is apparent, these are parallel texts with only slight variations:

- a) XIX.14 adds the word "precepts" after "these" (cf VIII.2);
- b) XIX.15 adds the phrase, "as He said" (cf VIII.3);
- c) XIX.15-16 completes the citation of Hosea V.10 by adding "like those who remove the bound," and "like water." (Cf VIII.3)
- d) VIII.4 adds the sentence: "For they shall hope for healing but He will crush them." (Cf XIX.16);
- e) VIII.4 has the expression, "they are all of them rebels," which becomes "they entered the covenant of repentance," in XIX.16.
- f) XIX.21 adds "and from their sin." (Cf VIII.8).

These passages are telling us that those who do not observe the commandments of the Damascus Document are doomed to destruction on the Day of God's Visitation.

"... and so shall it be for all the members of His covenant who do not hold steadfastly to these precepts." (XIX.13-14; VIII.1-2); "they are all of them rebels"/"they entered the covenant of repentance" (VIII.4 and XIX.16). These statements provide the basis for the theory that the Liar and his followers detached themselves from the community of the Teacher of Righteousness (46). Undoubtedly they are addressed to the eventual apostates from the Qumran community, along with the Liar and his followers, but this in no way invalidates the conclusion we reached above: the two communities (that of the Teacher and that of the Liar)

(46) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 109-112.

evolved from the Hasidim. The original nucleus of the Teacher's community and that of the Liar's were established independently. Over the years the membership of both communities grew, sometimes recruiting members from their opponents.

New converts entered the community of the Teacher of Righteousness: God bears no rancor towards those who turn from transgression (IQS X.20); there is hope for those who turn from transgression and abandon sin (IQH VI.6); God pardoned those who repented from their sin (IQH XIV.24); there are men who return to the Law and do not refuse to turn away from their evil (4QpPss^a II.2-3); God is patient and forgiving to those who turn from transgression (CD II.4-5); because God loved the first who testified in His favor, He will love all those who come after them, the converts of Israel who depart from the way of the people. The covenant of the Fathers will be theirs (CD VIII.16-18; XIX.28-31); there shall be men who repent of their corrupt way during the age of wickedness (CD XV.6-7); men shall take oaths to return to the Law of Moses (CD XVI.1-2): the day a man swears to return to the Law of Moses, and fulfills his word, the angel of persecution will cease to follow him (CD XVI.4-5); men will turn from the sin of Jacob and keep the covenant of God (CD XX.17); when the age of those years is completed there shall be no more joining the House of Judah (CD IV.10-11); should a traitor repent and return to the community he will do penance for two years (IQS VII.18-19).

On the other hand there were apostates from the community of the Teacher of Righteousness: At the time of the former visitation the apostates were given up to the sword, so shall it be for all those members of the covenant who do not hold steadfastly to these precepts. They shall be visited for destruction through Belial (CD VIII.1-2); God hates all who enter the New Covenant in the land of Damascus and then betray it and depart from the fountain of living waters (CD XIX.33-34); those who betray the New Covenant will not be reckoned in the council of the people nor inscribed in its book from the day of the death of the Teacher of the Community until the coming of the Messiah out of Aaron and Israel (CD XIX.35 - XX.1); the same fate will be meted out to every man who

enters the congregation of the men of perfect holiness and then fails to perform the duties of the upright (CD XX.1-2); when the slacker is exposed he will be expelled from the congregation as though he had never been among the disciples of God (CD XX.3-4); those who enter the covenant and then betray it, their deeds shall be judged according to the interpretation of the Law followed by the men of perfect holiness (CD XX.4-6); the traitors shall be expelled and neither they nor their kin shall have any part in the house of the Law (CD XX.3, 5-7, 10, 13); they have spoken wrongly against the precepts of righteousness and have despised the covenant made in the land of Damascus (CD XX.11-12); they shall be judged in the same way as their companions who deserted to the scoffers (CD XX.10-11); there are traitors to the New Covenant who did not believe in the covenant of God but profaned His Holy Name (IQpHab II.3-4).

This reprehensible community, in direct opposition to the Teacher's community, are called "the builders of the wall and those who daub it with plaster (47)." This is taken from Ezekiel XIII.10. The whole oracle (Ezekiel XIII.2-23) is an inspiration for the things said about the Liar here and elsewhere in the scrolls: Ezekiel speaks of false and lying prophets who recount visions God has not sent; they have not mounted the breach nor built a wall for Israel; they have misled God's people; God raised a storm to destroy them; they slay the innocent and let the guilty go free; they go after the life of the righteous; God will rescue His people from these lying prophets. The leader of this community is described as "a follower of the wind, one who raises storms and rains down lies." (CD VIII.13; XIX.25-26)

The accusations levelled at the community reflect those we have already seen in CD I.11-II.1 (48): They have not turned away from the way of traitors;

(47) CD IV.19; VIII.12,18; XIX.24,31.

(48) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 112-113 contrasts the accusations made against the Liar's community with the affirmations made about the Teacher's community: ways of whoredom (CD VIII.5; XIX.17) compare CD VII.1; II.16; IQS I.6 wicked wealth (CD VIII.5/XIX.17) compare CD VI.15-16; vengeance (CD VIII.5/XIX.18) compare CD IX.4-5; VII.2; hatred (CD VIII.5/XIX.18) compare CD VI.20-21; Incest (CD VIII.6-7/XIX.18-19); following their own will, stubbornness of heart, compare CD II.15 and IQS I.4; they mingle with the gentiles, compare CD VI.14-15.

they have wallowed in the ways of whoredom (cf CD IV.20 - V.2); wicked wealth (IQH X.23,30; IQpHab VI.1; VIII.11-12; IX.5-6) (49); they have taken revenge and borne malice against their brothers; they commit incest; they act arrogantly for riches and gain; they did what seemed right in their own eyes and chose the stubbornness of their heart (CD III.6; IQS I.6; II.14 and passim); they consorted with foreigners following their ways and their sins. In the end God will destroy these traitors. Finally we are told that the chief of the kings of Greece will come to destroy them.

Dupont-Sommer has been the principal defender of the theory that the chief of the kings of Greece was Pompey (50). Other scholars disagree (51). Whether or not the revenge of the chief of the kings of Greece refers to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, and whether or not that conquest had already taken place, or was only imminent, is not of much help to us, since there is no indication of the time relationship between the Liar and this revenge. We are well aware of the arbitrary fashion in which the authors of the scrolls switch from one historical period to another.

3. CD XX.13-16

"Neither they nor their kin shall have any part in the House of the Law. From the day of the gathering in of the Teacher of the Community until the end of all the men of war who deserted to the Liar there shall pass about forty years. And during that age shall the wrath of God be kindled against Israel."

This text is another indication, albeit indirect, of the contemporaneity of the Teacher of Righteousness and the Liar. The two opposing communities were to continue in existence for forty years. This period, in which the anger of God was kindled against Israel, is called the Age of Wrath in the scrolls.

(49) Cf DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Semitica (7/1957) p 76 note 2.

(50) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Semitica (5/1955) pp 41-57; SEGAL, M.H., JEL (70/1951) p 145.

(51) RABINOWITZ, I., VT (3/1953) p 182; HUPPENBAUER, H.W., Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten (1959) Zurich, pp 55-56.

The Age of Wrath

The Teacher's community (the plant root) was founded either at the beginning of the Age of Wrath, or after it had begun. In any event, the age of wrath was in course when the Teacher of Righteousness appeared:

"And in the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety ears after he had given them into the hand of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, he visited them and he caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron." CD I.5-7.

"Miseries of torment dogged my steps while all the snares of the pit were opened and the lures of wickedness were set up, and the nets of the damned on the waters; while all the arrows of the pit flew out without cease, and striking left no hope; while the rope beat down in judgement and a destiny of wrath upon the abandoned and a venting of fury upon the cunning. It was a time of the wrath of all Belial and the bounds of death tightened without any escape." IQH III.25-28.

This age would last forty years after the death of the Teacher of Righteousness:

"From the day of the gathering in of the Teacher of the Community until the end of all the men of war who deserted to the Liar there shall pass about forty years. And during that age the wrath of God shall be kindled against Israel." CD XX.14-16

The beginning of the age of wrath is uncertain, but it will come to an end with the appearance of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel:

"So shall it be for all the men who enter the New Covenant in the Land of Damascus, and again betray it and depart from the fountain of living waters; they shall not be reckoned in the council of the people and they shall not be inscribed in its book from the day of the gathering in of the Teacher of the Community until the coming of the Messiah out of Aaron and out of Israel." CD XIX.33-XX.1.

We saw above that anyone who betrayed the New Covenant would be excluded from the council of the people; in another passage we read that those who enter the covenant will do all that God has commanded.

The period in which the covenant was open to new members is called the dominion of Belial:

"And all entering the order of the community will pass into the covenant before God to do all according to which He has commanded, and not to abandon Him from fear, terror or crucible ... during the dominion of Belial." IQS I.16-18.

"And the Levites will recount the iniquities of the sons of Israel and all the transgressions of their guilt and their sin during the dominion of Belial, and all those entering the covenant will confess after them saying: we have strayed." IQS I.22-24.

We know that the period of exact observance of the Laws is co-terminous with the period called the dominion of Belial:

"They shall depart from none of the counsels of the Law to walk in the stubbornness of their hearts, but shall be ruled by the primitive precepts in which the men of the community were first instructed until there shall come the prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel." IQS IX.9-11.

We know also that it was called the age of wickedness:

"And the nobles of the people are those who come to dig the well with the staves with which the stave ordained they should walk in all the age of wickedness - and without them they shall find nothing until he comes who shall teach righteousness at the end of days." CD VI.8-11.

"Those who follow these statutes in the age of wickedness until the coming of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel shall form groups..." CD XII.23 - XIII.1.

"Interpreted this means that they have not lusted after their eyes during the age of wickedness." IQpHab V.7-8.

During this period the men of the community will renew the covenant every year:

"Thus they shall do year after year, all the days of the dominion of Belial." IQS II.19.

This sentence is preceded by a description of the renewal of the covenant.

While the community is observing the special laws revealed through the Teacher of Righteousness, the mass of Israel remains blind to them:

"As for the exact determination of their times for the blindness of Israel in all these things (laws contained in CD) behold it is strictly defined in the Book of the Divisions of the Times into their Jubilees and Weeks." CD XVI.2-4.

This period is also called the "age of those years;" when it is completed there will be no more chance to join the community:

"And all who enter after them shall do according to that interpretation of the Law in which the first were instructed until the age of those years is completed." CD IV.7-9.

"But when the age is completed according to the number of those years there shall be no more joining the House of Judah..." CD IV.10-11.

The end of days, the end of the time of wrath, is uncertain, but the men of the community will persevere. There is even the indication in IQpHab that it exceeded the forty years foreseen in the Damascus Document:

"And God told Habakkuk to write down what would happen to the final generation, but He did not make known to him when time would come to an end. And as for that which He said: that he who reads may read it speedily: interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of His servants, the prophets." IQpHab VII.1-5.

"Interpreted this means that the final age shall be prolonged and shall exceed all that the prophets have said. For the mysteries of God are astounding." IQpHab VII.7-8.

"Interpreted this concerns the men of truth who keep the Law, whose hands shall not slacken in the service of Truth when the final age is prolonged." IQpHab VII.10-12.

From all of this two things emerge: the period between the death of the Teacher of Righteousness and the coming of the Messiah(s) at the end of days is the final period of history; it is called variously: the age of wrath, the age of wickedness, the time of Israel's blindness, the dominion of Belial, the age of those years; it will last forty years according to the calculations of the author of the Damascus Document.

IV. OTHER LOCI

The figurative names appear in other places. The Spouter of Lies: *Commentaire de Michée*, DJD I, pp 77-80, plate XV. The Teacher of Righteousness appears in the same places. There is mention of the Wrathful Lion in 4QpHosea^a, DJD V, p 33. All of these appearances, however, are so very fragmentary that they do not contribute anything to our investigation, other than the awareness that these epithets do appear elsewhere.

PART THREE: IDENTIFICATION OF
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CHAPTER FIVE

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE PESHER ALLUSIONS

Before proceeding to the second objective of this work - the identification of the characters - there are several related subjects to be considered:

a) The results of archaeological research at Qumran provide chronological limits within which we must conduct our search for identities.

b) To a lesser extent, the palaeography of the scrolls can tell us something about the period in which they were written or copied.

c) A large section of the Habakkuk Peshier is dedicated to a description of the "Kittim." The identification of these foreign invaders is an essential part of this and most other identification-hypotheses.

d) Less important for our purpose, and less convincing as well, are the many attempts that have been made to identify the community at Qumran. Although these identifications are not an essential part of the problems we have set ourselves, we shall include these theories for the sake of completeness.

e) Finally there is an apparently direct chronological reference in the Damascus Document. No study of Qumran history could pass by this "date" without comment.

I. ARCHAEOLOGY

The information archaeology can provide is limited but important (1).

(1) Most recent scholars accept the general results of De Vaux's archaeological work. Cf DE VAUX, R., Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls (1973) London; cf also MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) pp 215-216; TYLOCH, W., Rocz Or (32/1968) pp 22ff; ALBRIGHT, W.F., and MANN, C.S., in The Scrolls and Christianity (1969) London, pp 12-14; DENIS, A.M., "Evolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân," in Aux origines de l'Eglise (1964) Bruges, p 23; HENGEL, M., Judentum und Hellenismus (1969) Tübingen, p 407; VERMES, G., The Dead Sea Scrolls (1977) London, p 127.

Certainly the ruins and remains at Khirbet Qumran can furnish nothing that would definitively identify the authors of the scrolls, much less the persons and the events they wrote about.

If, however, we can show that the authors of the scrolls were the community that lived at Qumran, and if we can further determine the period in which the community installed itself at Khirbet Qumran, we will have a terminus ante quem for the foundation of the community. This can serve as a point of departure. The characters we are concerned with: the Teacher of Righteousness, the Wicked Priest, and the Liar are all contemporaries. Moreover we know that the Teacher appeared near the beginning of the community. The community began its existence either at the time Khirbet Qumran was settled, or before that - in any event we will have a date before which the community must have existed. The activity of the Teacher, the Liar and the Wicked Priest cannot be too far removed from that date.

The most extensive archaeological study of the significance of the ruins at Qumran has been done by R. De Vaux (2). In his work, De Vaux divides the settlement of Qumran into periods: the first occupation - Qumran was a fort - dates back to the monarchy, the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. (3). The second settlement Ia is before Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.) but not too very much before (4). In the following period, Ib, the buildings assumed their definitive form and were inhabited by a large community (5). This period started either during or before the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, and came to an abrupt end in approximately 31 B.C. (6).

(2) DE VAUX, R., Archaeology.

(3) DE VAUX, R., RB (63/1956) pp 535-537; Archaeology, pp 1-3.

(4) DE VAUX, R., RB (63/1956) pp 537-538; Archaeology, pp 4-5.

(5) DE VAUX, R., RB (61/1954) pp 208-210; 214-216; RB (63/1956) pp 538-545; 551-577; Archaeology, pp 5-24.

(6) DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, p 20.

Khirbet Qumran was abandoned for a brief period, and then re-settled by the same community. This new settlement, II, began under Archelaus (4 B.C. - A.D. 6) (7). This period of occupation was brought to an end in the violent destruction of the settlement during the first Jewish Revolt in A.D. 68 (8).

After the community buildings were destroyed, a small Roman outpost occupied the site, III (9). During the Second Revolt (132-135 A.D.) the ruins at Qumran were used as a hiding place or a center of resistance (10). This brief episode was the final occupation of Qumran. The few coins found at the site that post-date this period are evidence of passing travellers (11). Qumran was never again inhabited.

A community lived at Khirbet Qumran for a period of almost two hundred years. This community occupation came to an end in A.D. 68 (12). At its largest this community cannot have numbered more than two hundred members. From the building and cemetery arrangements, it is clear that this was an organized community (13). "We may go further when we recall the unique aspects of the form of burial and the special character of the large assembly room, with its additional function as a place for community meals, the remains of which were carefully buried. These are factors, which, taken together, suggest that the community was religious in character, with special ritual observances of its own." (14)

(7) DE VAUX, R., RB (61/1954) pp 210-213; RB (63/1956) pp 545-547; Archaeology, pp 24-41.

(8) DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, pp 40-41.

(9) DE VAUX, R., RB (61/1954) pp 213-214; RB (63/1956) pp 547-548; Archaeology, pp 41-45.

(10) DE VAUX, R., RB (63/1956) p 548; Archaeology, p 45.

(11) DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, p 45.

(12) "The community installed itself at Qumran in the second half of the second century B.C. It abandoned the site for a period of some thirty years during the reign of Herod the Great, and definitively left the area in A.D. 68." DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, p 112.

(13) DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, p 86.

(14) ibid.

To evaluate the contribution archaeology can make to an understanding of our texts, we must determine the relationship between the ruins at Khirbet Qumran and the scrolls found in the nearby caves. Did the community that inhabited the ruins write the scrolls? Are the events in the scrolls part of their own history?

Dhorme suggested that Khirbet Qumran was a college of scribes who copied manuscripts to sell (15). Consequently there need be no connection between the life and ideas of the Qumran community and those found in the scrolls. This is unlikely. "However, it is improbable that scribes would have chosen to set up house at Qumran solely for the purpose of copying manuscripts there, and unlikely that their 'college' would have taken up such a large range of buildings, led to the use of some thirty caves, and filled a cemetery of more than a thousand tombs. (16)" Given the fact that such an enormous quantity of scrolls was found in the caves it does not appear that the community sold the scrolls at all. "It is conceivable that the scribes of the so-called scriptorium of Qumran would have toiled over this mass of documents without any further reward than that of burying them in caves which are, for the most part, uninhabitable?"(17) In all probability, this enormous quantity of manuscripts which display a completely homogeneous world view, was the account of the authors' experience, or the experiences of their community - the community that lived at Khirbet Qumran.

Evidence of the connection between the ruins and the scrolls is provided by a sherd found at Khirbet Qumran which has a complete alphabet on it (18). It is the same alphabet used for inscriptions on jars in caves 4, 7, and 10.

We have, therefore, a terminus a quo - albeit not too specific: the second half of the second century B.C. - for the writing of the scrolls. The terminus ante quem, A.D.68, is much more definite. Admittedly these dates refer to the composition or copying of the scrolls and do not

(15) DHORME, E., CRAIBL (1953) p 319; (1955) p 385.

(16) DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, p 104.

(17) DUSSAUD, R., Syria (35/1958) p 2.

(18) DE VAUX, R., RB (61/1954) plate XXa.

necessarily indicate the date that the events took place. But if the scrolls were written before A.D. 68, the events narrated in them necessarily took place before that date (19).

Moreover we shall see later that the characters and events with which we are concerned date to the beginnings of the community. Since the community existed in the second half of the second century B.C., it is there that we must concentrate our search. The Teacher of Righteousness, the Liar and the Wicked Priest are involved with the community from its very beginning. We have therefore an approximate date for their activities: the second half of the second century to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus: 150-76 B.C. All of those theories which would place the activity of the Teacher, the Priest and the Liar after this period can be reasonably excluded.

II. PALEOGRAPHY (20)

The dating of the scrolls based on paleography is much more conjectural,

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- (19) "The destruction which took place in June 68 marks the end of Jewish occupation at Qumran. The utilization of the caves is contemporary with the occupation of the buildings, as is proved by the identifiable pottery found in both, and it came to an end at the same time. The manuscripts derive from the Jewish community which occupied the buildings, and it cannot be proved, (we have made an exception for the Copper Scroll, which is a very special case) that the manuscripts were brought into the caves at a later time. It follows that the date of the destruction also marks the point when the manuscripts were deposited or abandoned in the caves. None of them can be later than A.D. 68. Every hypothesis which places either the composition or the copying of the manuscripts after this date is ruled out by the archaeological evidence." DE'VAUX, R., Archaeology, p 126.
- (20) AVIGAD, N., "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents," in Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Scripta Hierosolymitana IV (1958) Jerusalem, pp 56-87; BIRNBAUM, S.A., The Qumran (Dead Sea) Scrolls and Palaeography, Supplementary Studies of the ASOR (13-14/1952) New Haven; The Hebrew Scripts, Part I. Text (1971) Leiden; Part II. The Plates (1954-57) London; CROSS, F.M., "The Development of the Jewish Scripts" in The Bible and the Ancient Near East, Essays in honor of W.F. Albright (1961) London, pp 133-202.

although there are scholars who defend this dating with determination (21). Cross (22) discerns three major period of script in the scrolls:

- a) Archaic; 200-150 B.C.
- b) Hasmonaean: 150-30 B.C.
- c) Herodian: 30 B.C. - 70 A.D.

Cross maintains that there is more evolution in Hebrew script during this period than in the following thousand years. Because of this rapid evolution of script, it is easy, he claims, to assign the relative dates to the manuscripts. Absolute dating is a little more difficult, especially for the archaic period, but the manuscripts from the Hasmonaean and Herodian period can be dated within half centuries, Cross believes.

There are a few Biblical manuscripts which date from the archaic period, but all the sectarian texts are Hasmonaean and Herodian. From this we can infer that the sect did not begin until 150-100 B.C. The paucity of Biblical material from the archaic period would seem to indicate the same thing: the first main period of life of the sect can hardly be earlier than 150 B.C.

The dates of the earliest extant copies of the Rule of the Community (IQS) provide us with a terminus ante quem: they date from the reign of Alexander Jannaeus. The community cannot have begun its life later than the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, because the rule is a system of discipline that grew out of the experience of a common life already being lived; it is not a program drawn up before the initiation of the community. If

(21) On paleographical grounds, the scrolls are generally dated between 100 B.C. and 20 A.D. IQS 100-75 B.C., CROSS, F.M., "The Development of Jewish Scripts," p 258 note 116; IQpHab: 40-20 B.C. CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, p 120 note 20; BIRNBAUM, S., BASOR (115) p 22; 4QpNahum: 40-20 B.C., STRUGNELL, J., RQ (7/1969-71) p 225; 4QpPss^a: 30 B.C.-20 A.D., STRUGNELL, J., RQ (7/1969-71) p 211; cf MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) pp 215-216.

we allow a certain period of time between the initial events in the life of the sect, and the systematizing of its discipline, we can push the date the community began to before the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (23). Moreover, a period of time is required to permit the textual development and parenetic expansions that characterize the earliest copies of the rule.

Cross thinks that palaeography further narrows the limits within which to identify the characters and events that gave rise to the community: 150-100 B.C. (24). However given the paucity of material on which to base conclusions or make comparisons, the evidence of paleography cannot serve as the basis for any secure estimate of the termini a quo and ad quem.

III. THE KITTIM

There are doubtless passages in the pesharim that allude to the events of outside history, but the elusive quality which runs through all the scroll texts makes it difficult to establish a clear and definite relationship between these passages and the events or personages of non-sectarian history. For the most part we are left with the same ambiguity and lack of certainty which pervades all other attempts to turn the cryptic references in the texts into historically meaningful statements.

One of the most striking links between the scroll narratives and external history is the conquering people called the Kittim. They are mentioned in several places (Commentaire des Psaumes, DJD I, plate XV; 4QpIs^a B.2,6,7; C.5; IQM I.2,4,6,9; XI.11; XV.2; XVI.3,6,8,9; XVII.12, 14,15; XVIII.2,4; XIX.10,13). They are described at length in the Habakkuk Commentary: II.10 - IV.13; VI.1-12; IX.4-7. The references in

(23) CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, pp 87-90.

(24) "In short, palaeographical analysis of the texts now sets limits within which we must look for the events which gave rise to the sectarian movement: the upper limit, while not certain, is suitably drawn about 150 B.C.; the lower limit, which I should regard as definitively fixed, falls not far from 100 B.C.; in other terms from the priesthood of Jonathan (160-142 B.C.) to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.)." CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, p 90.

IQpHab are more to our purpose since they describe the Kittim, rather than just mention them. These descriptions may possibly provide a clue to their identity. If we could determine with any amount of certainty just who the Kittim were, we would be that much closer to establishing the period spoken about in the scrolls.

IQpHab II.10-IV.13

"'For behold I rouse the Chaldaeans, that bitter and hasty nation' (Hab I.6a). Its explanation concerns the Kittim (who are) quick and valiant in war, causing many to perish ... under the dominion of the Kittim. They take possession ... and they do not believe in the precepts of ... They shall march across the plain, smiting and plundering the cities of the land. For as He has said: 'to take possession of dwellings which are not their own. Fearsome and terrible are they; their justice and grandeur proceed from themselves (Hab I.6-7). Interpreted this concerns the Kittim who inspire with fear and dread all the nations. All their evil plotting is done with intention in cunning and guile they deal with all the nations. 'Their horses are swifter than leopards and fleeter than the wolves of the evening. They step forward and spread their wings, from afar they fly like the eagle avid to devour. All of them come for violence; the look on their faces is like the East Wind.' (Hab I.8-9a) Interpreted this concerns the Kittim who trample the earth with their horses and beasts. From afar they come, from the islands of the sea, to devour all the peoples like an eagle which cannot be satisfied ... with anger and indignation they speak with ... as He has said ... 'They scoff and princes are their laughing-stock.' (Hab I.10a) Interpreted this means that: they mock the great and despise the venerable; kings and princes they ridicule and scoff at the mighty host. 'They laugh at every fortress; they pile up earth and take it.' (Hab I.10b) Interpreted this concerns the commanders of the Kittim who despise the fortresses of the peoples and laugh at them in derision with a mighty host they encircle them to capture them, and out of fear and terror they deliver themselves into their hands. They destroy them because of the sins of their inhabitants. 'The wind sweeps on and passes; and they make of their strength their god.' (Hab I.11) Interpreted this concerns the commanders of the Kittim who on the counsel of the house of guilt, pass one in front of the other; their commanders, one after the other come to lay waste the earth."

IQpHab VI.1-12

"... the Kittim. And they shall gather in their riches, together with all their booty, 'like the fish of the sea.' (Hab I.14) And as for that which He said: 'Therefore they sacrifice to their net and burn incense

"to their seine.' (Hab I.16) Interpreted this means that they sacrifice to their standards, and their weapons of war they worship. 'For through them their portion is fat, and their sustenance is rich.' (Hab I.16) Interpreted this means that they divided their yoke and their tribute - their sustenance - over all the people year by year, ravaging many lands. 'Therefore their sword is ever drawn to massacre nations mercilessly.' (Hab I.17) Interpreted this concerns the Kittim who cause many to perish by the sword: youths, grown men, the aged, women and children, and even on the fruit of the womb they take no pity."

IQpHab IX.3-7

"'Because you have plundered many nations, they shall plunder you all the remnant of the peoples.' (Hab II.8a) Interpreted this concerns the last priests of Jerusalem, who shall amass money and wealth by plundering the peoples, but in the last days, their riches and booty shall be delivered into the hands of the army and the Kittim, for it is they who shall be the remnant of the peoples.

Within the framework provided by archaeology, i.e. 150 B.C. to A.D. 70, there are only two possible identities that can be assigned to the invaders called the Kittim: the Seleucids (25) and the Romans (26).

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- (25) ATKINSON, K.M.T., BJRL (40/1957-58) p 280; DELCOR, M., RB (58/1951) pp 521-548; LAMBERT, G., NRT (74/1952) pp 259-283; MICHEL, A., Le Maître de Justice, pp 125ff; RABINOWITZ, I., VT (3/1953) pp 175-185; REICKE, B., Studia Theologica (II/1948) pp 45-79; ROWLEY, H.H., The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls (1952) Oxford, pp 6ff; STAUFFER, E., TLZ (76/1951) cols 667-674.
- (26) ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) p 93; BARTHELEMY, D., RB (59/1952) p 213; BAUMGARTNER, W., Theologische Rundschau (NF 19/1951) pp 97-154; BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) pp 54-76; BRUCE, F.F., Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls (1956) London, p 38; NTS (2/1955-56) p 178; DETAYE, C., ETL (30/1954) pp 323-343; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, pp 39-45; RHR (137/1950) pp 129-171; EDELKOORT, A.H., De Handschriften van de Dode Zee (2nd ed. 1954) Baarn, pp 323ff; ELLIGER, K., Studien, pp 270ff; GOOSSENS, R., NCl (4/1952) pp 137-170; HUPPENBAUER, H.W., Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten (1959) Zurich, p 45; JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 10-35; KAHLE, P., Die Hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle (1951) Stuttgart, pp 69-70; MOLIN, G., Die Söhne des Lichtes. Zeit und Stellung der Handschriften vom Toten Meer (1954) Vienna-Munich; SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) pp 131-147; TOURNAY, R.J., RB (56/1949) p 211 note 2; VAN DER PLOEG, J., BiOr (8/1951) p 10; VERMES, G., Les manuscrits, pp 84ff; The Dead Sea Scrolls (1977) London, pp 148-150; YADIN, Y., The Message of the Scrolls (1957) London, p 164 note 1.

A. Description of the Kittim in the Scrolls

The Kittim are quick and valiant in war, causing many to perish (IQpHab II.12-13); they shall march across the plain and plunder the cities of the land (III.1); they inspire all the nations with fear (III.4-5); they are cunning and guileful in their dealings with all nations (III.5-6). Up to this point the traits attributed to the Kittim are sufficiently general and vague to fit either the Seleucids, the Romans, or for that matter, any other invaders.

They trample the earth with their horses and beasts (IQpHab III.9-10). Stauffer (27) argues that the "beasts" mentioned here are the war elephants of the Seleucid army. The Septuagint regularly translates the word בהמות as θηρία. θηρίον is used in Maccabees to designate elephant: hence בהמות = elephants. The Romans did not have elephants, but the Seleucids did, therefore the Kittim are the Seleucids. Moreover the use of the verb "trampled" implies something more than pack animals.

The Kittim come from afar, from the islands of the sea (IQpHab III.10-11). Those who identify the Kittim with the Romans use this information as one of their principal arguments. They claim that an approach to Palestine by sea is surely more appropriate for invaders coming from Italy than for those who come from Syria.

On the other hand, there is evidence that these phrases apply to the Seleucids as well as the Romans. In Josephus we read:

"Hearing of this, King Antiochus was greatly incensed by what had happened, and having collected all of his own forces and taking with him many mercenaries from the islands, he made preparations to invade Judaea about the beginning of spring." Ant XII.293.

"And when Demetrius saw that peace obtained and that there was no danger or fear of war, he dismissed his army and reduced their

(27) STAUFFER, E., TLZ (76/1951) cols 667-674; cf p 18 of this work.

"pay, and continued to give their pay only to the mercenaries who had come up with him from Crete and from the other islands." Ant XIII. 129.

And in I Maccabees:

"And the king (Antiochus Eupator) was angry when he heard this; and he gathered together all his friends, who were the leaders of his host, and them that were over the horse. And there came to him from other kingdoms, and from the isles of the sea, bands of mercenaries." I Maccabees VI.28-29.

In all of these cases it is not the Seleucids themselves who necessarily approached Palestine from the sea, but they were accompanied by mercenaries from the "isles of the sea." Consequently this passage of the Habakkuk Commentary is not as strong an indication of the Roman identity of the Kittim as might be presumed at first glance (28).

The Kittim will devour all peoples like an insatiable eagle (IQpHab III.11-12); they do not respect kings, princes or armies (IV.1-3); the commanders of the Kittim despise the fortresses of the peoples; they besiege and take them (IV.5-8); they destroy these fortresses because of the sins of their inhabitants (IV.8). The commanders of the Kittim pass one in front of the other on the counsel of the House of Guilt (IV.10-12); they come one after the other to lay waste the earth (IV.12-13); the Kittim will gather in their wealth and booty like the fish of the sea (IQpHab VI.1-2).

The fact that the Kittim are led by "commanders" and not kings has been understood as an indication of the Romans (29). But it can be argued that "commanders" refer to the many generals sent by Seleucid kings to subject Judaea. The succession of "commanders" (IQpHab IV.10-13) has been interpreted as the changing of Roman consuls, or as an indication of the exceedingly unstable condition of the Syrian throne.

(28) STAUFFER, E., TLZ (76/1951) cols 667-674.

(29) SEGAL, M. H., JBL (70/1951) p 134.

The Kittim sacrifice to their standards and worship their weapons of war (IQpHab VI.3-5). This is probably the descriptive element most suggestive of the Romans: a reference to their well known practice (30). The defenders of the Seleucid theory claim that there is no evidence of standard worship in the Republican Roman Army, and that it appears only in imperial times; moreover there is at least indirect evidence that this practice was not unknown in the East, and presumably in the Seleucid army (31). "The claim to find the worship of standards amongst the armies of Republican Rome is at best doubtful; the evidence for the worship of standards in Syria before the coming of the Romans as well as more widely in the ancient East, is, to say the least stronger." (32)

The Kittim exact tribute from all people every year (VI.6-8); they cause many to perish by the sword: young, old, women and children, they do not even pity infants (VI.10-12). This could apply to either the Romans or the Seleucids.

One of the main arguments brought forward by those who would identify the Kittim with the Seleucids is a reference found in the first column of the War Scroll (IQM) (33). In IQM I.2, we read about the Kittim of Assyria, and later in I.4 about the Kittim in Egypt. This is considered a convincing reference to the Seleucids of Syria and the Ptolemaids of Egypt. But here again, the reference is ambiguous: it could refer to the Romans in Syria and the Romans in Egypt. It should be noted that the second reference is not to the Kittim of Egypt, but to the Kittim in Egypt.

(30) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, pp 39-45; SEGAL, M.H. JEL (70/1951) p 133; ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 271; VERMES, G., Les manuscrits, p 84

(31) ROWLEY, H.H., PEQ (88/1956) pp 92-109; DELCOR, M., RB (58/1951) p 527; Essai sur le midrash d'Habacuc (1951) Paris, p 42; Rowley (loc.cit.) lists other sources that justify - all indirectly - the possibility that the worship of standards was as common among the Seleucids as among the Romans.

(32) ROWLEY, H.H., PEQ (88/1956) p 105.

(33) SUKENIK, E.L., מגילות גנוזות מתוך גניזה קדומה שנמצאה במדבר יהודה (1948) Jerusalem, p 18 note 6; BROWNLEE, W.H., BASOR (112/1948) p 16 note 12.

The arguments proposed for an identification of the Kittim can be synthesized as follows:

B. The Kittim are the Seleucids

The word Kittim was derived from the town of Kittion in Cyprus, and was applied to Greeks and Hellenists in Jeremiah II.10; I Macc I.1; VIII.5; and Jubilees XXIV.28. It is true that the Kittim in Daniel XI.30 is probably a reference to the Romans, but this reference is used only because it is a general indication of the Eastern Mediterranean area; moreover Daniel XI.30 is citing Numbers XXIV.23, where Kittim are certainly not the Romans (34).

The reference to "Kittim of Assyria and Kittim in Egypt" (IQM I.2,4) clearly indicates the Seleucids in Syria and the Ptolemaids in Egypt (35).

The description of the successful military campaigns of Antiochus Epiphanes in the Holy Land to be found in Daniel XI.21ff, are parallel to the description of the Kittim in the Habakkuk commentary (36). The phrase "fish of the sea" in reference to the Kittim, is used in the Testament of Judah (XXI.1ff) where it refers to the Syrians.

The "islands of the sea" can mean the coasts of Philistia and Phoenicia, as is the case in Isaiah XX.6 (37), or it could refer to the mercenaries in the armies of Antiochus Epiphanes and Antiochus Eupator (38).

Although there is no clear indication of standard worship among the Seleucids, there are indications that this practice was possible, if not

(34) Cf REICKE, B., Studia Theologica (II/1948) p 53; DELCOR, M., RB (58/1951) p 525; STAUFFER, E., TLZ (76/1951) col 667; LAMBERT, G., NRT (74/1952) p 295.

(35) REICKE, B., Studia Theologica (II/1948) p 53; DELCOR, M., RB (58/1951) p 526; STAUFFER, E., TLZ (76/1951) col 667; LAMBERT, G., NRT (74/1952) p 295.

(36) REICKE, B., Studia Theologica (II/1948) p 54.

(37) DELCOR, M., RB (58/1951) p 525.

(38) Ant XII. 293; XIII.129.

probable. Psalm LXXIV might be referring to this practice among the Syrians (39).

The "beasts" mentioned in IQpHab III.9-10, are the war elephants of the Seleucid army (40).

The Kittim are cunning and treacherous (IQpHab III.4). This is constantly affirmed about the Syrians in I Maccabees, whereas the Romans are usually described as straightforward (41).

I Maccabees VIII.5 tells us that the Romans defeated Perseus the King of the Kittim.

Rabinowitz objects to Dupont-Sommer's identification of Pompey as the "Head of the Kings of Greece" (CD VIII.11). He claims that the phrase implies that the "Head" was one of these kings (42).

The Kittim are contemporaries of the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest. The Teacher and his adversary can only be placed in the second century B.C., at a time when the Romans had not yet appeared on the scene, and consequently the Kittim must be the Seleucids (43).

C. The Kittim are the Romans

IQpHab XI.4-8 refers to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 B.C. It follows that the whole Habakkuk commentary narrative must be dated in the Roman era, and that the Kittim are the Romans (44).

(39) DELCOR, M., RB (58/1951) p 527; STAUFFER, E., TLZ (76/1951) cols 667-674; ROWLEY, H. H., PEQ (88/1956) p 105.

(40) STAUFFER, E., TLZ (76/1951) cols 667-674.

(41) ibid.

(42) RABINOWITZ, I., VT (3/1953) pp 181-182.

(43) ROWLEY, H. H., PEQ (88/1956) p 105; LAMBERT, G., NRT (74/1952) pp 259-283.

(44) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, p 43; RHR (137/1950) p 154; KAHLE, P., Die Hebräischen Handschriften aus der Höhle (1951) Stuttgart, pp 69-70.

The Habakkuk Commentary was written shortly before the Roman conquest at a time when the Seleucids were declining and could not possibly be the Kittim described in the commentary (45).

The Kittim are eschatological: they appear at the end of days, they are the remnant of the peoples - all of this is more appropriate to the Romans, the last of the conquering peoples to come to the Holy Land during the life-span of the Qumran community (46).

The Kittim came from the islands of the sea - this is more likely to indicate invaders from Italy than from Syria (47).

The changing situation of the Kittim leadership (IQpHab IV.10-13) reflects the turmoil in Roman politics after the death of Caesar before Octavius asserted his absolute authority (48).

The verbs used to describe the activity of the Kittim are all in the imperfect; the Kittim have not yet done all the things attributed to them, and therefore can only be the Romans (49).

The Kittim were led by "commanders" and not kings, and were therefore Romans (50).

Among the Romans there is clear evidence for the practice of standard and weapon worship (51).

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All of this leads to the conclusion that in the last analysis, the

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- (45) BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) p 63; SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) p 136; ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 270; VERMES, G., Les manuscrits, p 88; DETAYE, C., ETL (30/1954) p 327; VAN DER PLOEG, J., BiOr (8/1951) p 10; BRUCE, F.F., Second Thoughts, p 38; CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, p 92 note 28.
- (46) BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) p 63; ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 270.
- (47) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., RHR (137/1950) p 154; VERMES, G., Les manuscrits, p 84.
- (48) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, p 43; SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) p 134.
- (49) BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) p 63.
- (50) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, pp 40-43.
- (51) SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) p 133; VERMES, G., Les manuscrits, p 86; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, passim; DETAYE, C., ETL (30/1954) pp 323-343.

passages describing the Kittim, can be applied to either the Seleucids or the Romans, and therefore do not provide a reliable basis on which to attempt an identification.

D. Who are the Kittim?

There are, however, two passages which resolve this impasse:

1. IQpHab IX.4-7

"This concerns the last priests of Jerusalem who shall amass money and wealth by plundering the peoples, but at the end of days their riches and booty shall be delivered into the hands of the army of the Kittim who are the remnant of the peoples."

Four things here indicate that this event is in the near or distant future: a) the priests in question are the last priests; b) the verbs, "they shall amass" and "it will be delivered" are both imperfect, indicating that the action has not yet been completed; c) the whole event is said to take place at the "end of days," and finally d) the Kittim are identified as the "remnant of the peoples," i.e. the last ones to arrive.

This is as clear an indication as one can hope to find in a document of this sort, that the Kittim and their activity are in the future. This certainly inclines one towards the Roman identification. If the Kittim were the Seleucids, and their plundering had not yet taken place, the commentary would necessarily have been written before the invasion and looting of Antiochus Epiphanes in 169 B.C. (cf Ant XII.246-247). Putting the composition of the Habakkuk Commentary before this date throws out of joint all the other indications used to date events. Most of all, it contradicts the affirmation in the Nahum commentary:

2. 4QpNah I.3

"... the kings of Greece from Antiochus until the rise of the rulers of the Kittim."

This single line is conclusive proof that the Kittim are the Romans and not the Seleucids. They came after Antiochus. Whichever Antiochus we take this to mean - and it is probably Antiochus Epiphanes - it is clear that the Kittim came after him and cannot be the Seleucids. They can only be the Romans. Moreover the same word "commanders/rulers" that is found in the lengthy description of the Kittim in IQpHab is used here. Undoubtedly the Kittim can only be, and are the Romans.

IQpHab IX.4-7 confirms this identification. There we read that the last priests of Jerusalem are plundered by the Kittim; i.e. the Kittim are not the friends and supporters of these rapacious priests, but rather their enemies. This describes the situation prevailing at the time of Pompey's conquest and despoiling of Jerusalem. The Seleucids were the supporters of the iniquitous priests of their time.

Having established the identity of the Kittim, it now remains to see what time connection exists between them and the Teacher of Righteousness and his adversary, the Wicked Priest. Are they contemporary?

Rowley and the many others who identify the Kittim as Seleucids take it for granted that the Habakkuk Commentary must be speaking about events that occurred in the same general period. To assume that the commentator is jumping back and forth over a hundred-year period destroys any notion of historiography. But is this really the case? If we study the Habakkuk Commentary closely we find that this is precisely the style of the unknown author: he is following the words of the prophetic text, jumping in any direction or to any subject that the text suggests. Allegro puts it succinctly: "These commentaries are in no way works of connected history, and the method of the author does not necessarily require any historical connection to be made between the interpretation of one verse or another, or even between one word or another." (52)

(52) ALLEGRO, J.M., JEL (75/1956) p 93; cf also ELLIGER, K., Studien, pp 139-142; JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 32-35.

Nowhere in the scroll texts is a direct connection made between the Kittim and the Teacher and the Wicked Priest. This itself may be an argument in favor of separating them chronologically. But like all arguments ex silentio it cannot provide the basis for further speculation. Suffice it to say that they are not necessarily contemporary (53), and more than likely the Kittim came after the Teacher and his opponent (54).

Although the identification of the Kittim as Romans does not allow us to date the conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest, it does provide us with a terminus ad quem for the events related in the Habakkuk Commentary. IQpHab was written before the arrival of the Kittim, i.e. before the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B.C.

IV. THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY

In the many attempts that have been made to identify the community who produced the scrolls and who lived at Khirbet Qumran, every conceivable religious and political group in inter-testamental and New Testament Judaism has been considered.

A. Christians

J.L. Teicher and Y. Baer believe that the community was Christian. Teicher holds that the Teacher of Righteousness was none other than Jesus Christ (55). This view is not generally accepted, and indeed, archaeology, paleography and the contents of the scrolls rule out this possibility (56).

(53) ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) p 93; CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, p 92 note 28.

(54) All the verbs describing the Kittim are in the imperfect; the verbs referring to the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest are in the perfect.

(55) TEICHER, J.L., JJS (2/1950-51) pp 67-99, 115-143, 200-202; (3/1952) pp 53-55, 87-88, 111-118, 128-132; (4/1953) pp 1-13, 49-58, 93-103, 132-134, 139-153; (5/1954) pp 38, 39-40, 47-59, 93-99, 139-147, 189-198; Studia Patristica (1/1957) pp 540-545. Cf also BAER, Y., Zion (34/1970) pp 1-42.

(56) Cf DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, pp 126-127.

B. Samaritans

Bowman has studied the possible affinity between Qumran and the Samaritans (57). There are indeed many similarities: the Samaritans call themselves the "Sons of Light;" the chief force for evil is Belial; a redeemer called Taheb resembles the Messiah of Israel; their High Priest is the Messiah of Aaron. These similarities, though, do not so much indicate direct contact as they do the fact that both groups sprang from a common background. Moreover the separation of the Samaritans from the Orthodox Jewish community took place long before the establishment of the Qumran settlement (58).

C. Sadducees

The term, "Sons of Zadok" enjoys a prominence in the texts that has led R.North to suggest that the community was a Sadducee faction (59). Priests dominate the sect, and the antagonism the sect felt towards the priests of Jerusalem might be an inverted hatred of that part of their class which had betrayed their own rigid standards.

The term "Sons of Zadok" is ambivalent in the scrolls. At times it refers to the whole community, and at others it refers to the priests in the community: IQS V.2,9; IQS^a I.24; II.3; IQS^b III.23 clearly refer to the priests; whereas CD IV.1,3; 4QFlor I.17 and IQS^a I.2 probably apply to the whole community. It could also mean that all the members of the community were called to live in a "priestly state of holiness," priests and non-priests alike (60). The arguments against identifying the community with the Sadducees far outweigh the surface similarities. A cursory study of the scrolls will reveal the divergence between Qumran and Sadducee ideas on such things as angelology, oral interpretation of the Law, traditions and messianism(61)

(57) BOWMAN, J., VT (7/1957) pp 184-189.

(58) Cf BLACK, M., The Scrolls and Christian Origins (1961) London, pp 56-58.

(59) NORTH, R., CBQ (17/1955) pp 44-68; and LA SOR, W., VT (6/1956) pp 425-429.

(60) PHILO, Quod omnis probus liber, 12.

(61) "One thing is certain. They had no connection with the Sadducees of the New Testament period, although they may well have originated from their more worthy ancestors." PRYKE, E. J., NT (10/1968) pp 43-61.

D. Zealots

Roth and Driver vigorously defend a theory which would identify the Qumran Community as Zealots - and place the events alluded to in the Habakkuk Peshar at the time of the first Jewish Revolt (62). This elaborate theory fails primarily because of its inconsistency with archaeological evidence (63). Moreover the concepts, content and doctrine expounded in the scrolls make an identification of the community with the Zealots virtually impossible.

E. Pharisees

It has been suggested that the authors of the scrolls belonged to a branch of Pharisaism (64). There is undoubtedly a similarity of language (65) and occasionally of organization and understanding of the Law. Rabin (66)

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- (62) ROTH, C., The Historical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1958) Oxford; Evidences (70/1958) pp 13-18; PEQ (90/1958) pp 104-121; Jewish Life (26/1958-59) pp 45-49; RQ (1/1958-59) pp 417-422; JTS (10/1959) pp 87-93; PEQ (91/1959) pp 122-129; JSS (4/1959) pp 332-355; Judaism (8/1959) pp 33-40; RQ (2/1959-60) pp 81-84; 261-265; VT (10/1960) pp 51-68; Eretz-Israel (6/1960) pp 13-15; VT (11/1961) pp 452-455; JSS (7/1962) pp 63-80; IEJ (12/1962) pp 33-46; VT (13/1963) pp 91-95; HTR (57/1963) pp 60-61; RQ (5/1964-66) pp 81-87; The Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Historical Approach (1965) New York; DRIVER, G. R., The Hebrew Scrolls from the Neighbourhood of Jericho and the Dead Sea (1951) Oxford; The Judaean Scrolls (1965) Oxford; ALUOS (6/1966-68) pp 23-48.
- (63) DE VAUX, R., RB (73/1966) pp 212-235; BLACK, M., NTS (13/1966-67) pp 81-89; LE DEAUT, R., Bibl (47/1966) pp 445-466; ROWLEY, H. H., JTS (NS 17/1966) pp 422-426; BARDTKE, H., Theologische Rundschau (33/1968) pp 105-119; TLZ (95/1970) cols 7-9.
- (64) OTZEN, B., Studia Theologica (7/1953) pp 125-157; LIBERMAN, S., JBL (71/1952) pp 199-206; RABIN, C., Qumran Studies (1957) Oxford.
- (65) LIBERMAN, S., "Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources," in Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research (20/1951) pp 395-404.
- (66) RABIN, C., Qumran Studies (1957) Oxford.

detects an evolution within Pharisaism itself that took place in the first century. The older Pharisaic group - whose views are to be found in the scrolls - were a more rigid and elitist group; the later Pharisees, who were in fact the rabbis of post-Christian Judaism, sought to embrace all Jews in their community. Rabbinic Judaism is admittedly a continuation of Pharisaism, and yet nowhere does rabbinic literature explicitly acknowledge this connection; and although the Pharisees are generally mentioned with approval, one or two texts do show evidence of antagonism (67). Not one of the early rabbis is ever called a Pharisee. These are indications of a transition from Pharisaism to a later stage of Judaism whose official supporters were the rabbis (68).

The most probable point that this division among the Pharisees took place was after the ruin of the Temple - it could perhaps be pushed back as far as the first half of the first century (69). De Vaux objects that this is not good enough: the Qumran Community was in existence as an autonomous entity from at least the first century B.C. onwards (70). Moreover Rabin's theory glosses over certain striking and decisive differences: Pharisaism was primarily a lay-movement, whereas the Qumran Community is distinctly priestly, or dominated by priests. The most important distinction, however, is the calendar. The Pharisees observed a different calendar, and this is no small divergence. The peculiar calendar of the Qumran Community may have been the principal cause of their separation from official Judaism (71).

(67) Mishnah Soṭah 3.4; J.Ber. IX, 7, 146.

(68) "The Qumran sect, if our argument is correct, were thus a die-hard group trying to uphold 'genuine' Pharisaism (as they understood it) against the more flexible ideology introduced by the Rabbis in authority. We can thus expect them to share that part of the Pharisaic heritage which had been retained by the innovators, in fact the bulk ... their Halakhic terminology and method, as well as many details strongly suggest a long common history with rabbinic Judaism ... Full demonstration of similarity in this field, in my opinion is impossible because, as is well known, Tannaitic teaching discouraged theological speculation and Messianic mysticism, so that many common elements, must have disappeared from our earlier Rabbinic sources." RABIN, C., Qumran Studies (1957) Oxford, pp 69-70.

(69) RABIN, C., Qumran Studies (1957) Oxford, p 66.

(70) DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, p 127; cf VERMES, G., The Dead Sea Scrolls (1977) London, pp 119-122.

(71) DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, p 128.

F. Essenes

Of those scholars who have studied the question, the overwhelming majority believes that the Qumran Community was Essene (72). The most striking evidence that Khirbet Qumran was inhabited by Essenes comes from Pliny:

"To the west (of the Dead Sea) the Essenes have put the necessary distance between themselves and the insalubrious shore. They are a people unique of its kind and admirable beyond all others in the world, without women and renouncing love entirely, without money, and having for company only the palm-trees. Owing to the throng of newcomers, this people is daily re-born in equal number; indeed, those whom, wearied by the fluctuations of fortune, life leads to adopt their customs, stream in in great numbers. Thus, unbelievable though this may seem, for thousands of centuries a people has existed which is eternal yet into which no one is born; so fruitful for them is the repentance which others feel for their past lives. Below the Essenes was the town of Engada which yielded only to Jerusalem in fertility and palm-groves, but is today become another ash-heap. From there one comes to the fortress of Masada, situated on a rock, and itself near the sea of Asphalt." (73)

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- (72) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires; Nouveaux aperçus; Les écrits esséniens; DE VAUX, R., Archaeology; ROWLEY, H. H., BJRL (49/1966-67) pp 203-232; MILIK, J. T., Ten Years; CROSS, F. M., Ancient Library; VERMES, G., Les manuscrits; The Dead Sea Scrolls in English; The Dead Sea Scrolls (1977) London; for an exhaustive bibliography on this cf ADAM, A., Antike Berichte über die Essener (2nd ed. Chr. Burchard, 1972) Berlin, pp 78-87.
- (73) "Ab occidente litora Esseni fugiunt usque qua nocent, gens sola et in toto orbe praeter ceteras mira, sine ulla femina, omni venere abdicata, sine pecunia, socia palmarum in diem ex aequo convenarum turba renascitur, large frequentantibus quos vita fessos ad mores eorum fortuna fluctibus agit. Ita per saeculorum milia - incredibile dictu - gens aeterna est. Infra hos Engada oppidum fuit, secundum ab Hierosolymis fertilitate palmetorumque nemoribus, nunc alterum bustum. Inde Masada castellum in rupe, et ipsum haud procul Asphaltite, et hactenus Judaea est." PLINY, Hist. Nat. V. xvii. 73; this geographical information in Pliny is borne out by similar notices in Synesius of Cyrene (Dio of Prusa) 3,2 in ADAM, A., op.cit., p 38; and C. Julius Solinus, Collectanea rerum memorabilium, 35, 9-12 in ADAM, A., op.cit., p 62.

There has been some discussion about the phrase "below the Essenes" (infra hos). Does it mean below, or to the south? Since there are no sizable ruins above Engeddi, the expression must mean to the south (74). The only place that fits Pliny's description is Khirbet Qumran (75). Cross sums up the situation aptly:

"To suppose that a major group in Judaism in this period went unnoticed in our sources is simply incredible. The scholar who would exercise caution in identifying the sect of Qumran with the Essenes places himself in an astonishing position: he must suggest seriously that two major parties formed communistic religious communities in the same district of the desert of the Dead Sea and lived together in effect for two centuries, holding similar bizarre views, performing similar or rather identical lustrations, ritual meals, and ceremonies. He must suppose that one, carefully described by classical authors, disappeared without leaving building remains or even potsherds behind; the other, systematically ignored by the classical sources, left extensive ruins, and indeed a great library. I prefer to be reckless and flatly identify the men of Qumran with their perennial houseguests, the Essenes." CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, p 69.

The objection could be raised that Pliny wrote in the year 77, but nonetheless described Khirbet Qumran as if it were still flourishing (76); we know however that the settlement was destroyed in A.D. 68. This difficulty is more apparent than real. Pliny often included information that came to him second-hand; moreover the thirty seven books of the Historia Naturalis were re-edited over the years (77).

(74) Cf MAZAR, B., DOTHAN, T., DUNAYEVSKI, I., En-Geddi. The First and Second Seasons of Excavations, 1961-1962, 'Atiqot, English Series; MAZAR, B., DUNAYEVSKI, I., IEJ (14/1964) pp 121-130; MAZAR, B., "En Geddi" in Archaeology and Old Testament Study (1967) Oxford, pp 223-230.

(75) DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, pp 133-137.

(76) ROTH, C., JTS (NS 10/1959) pp 87-93.

(77) "We know that Pliny himself was engaged in revising it down to the year 77, which is the date of his preface. But he did not revise all of it to the same extent... There is no reason to believe that Pliny actually visited this Essene settlement. On the other hand he did not invent what he said about it. He is first and foremost a compiler. He repeats what he has read or heard. He is very credulous and sometimes deficient in understanding, but he does not invent... If we suppose that his source of information was earlier than 68, and that it had not been revised, there is no difficulty in applying the passage in his work to the Qumran area." DE VAUX, R., Archaeology, pp 136-137.

Our knowledge of the Essenes comes from a variety of sources: Philo, Josephus, Pliny, Solin, Synesius (Dio), Hippolytus and Epiphanius - the other sources are either dependent upon these, or are so brief that they provide almost no information (78).

The most informative of these texts is Josephus', The Jewish War, II.119-161. This text provides an astonishing number of parallels with the ideas and practices found in the scrolls (79):

- Celibacy: War II.120-121; IQS, IQS^a, CD IV.12-V.11.
- Property: War II.122; IQS I.11-13; VI.17, 19-20, 24; IQpHab XII.9f.
- Morning Prayer: War II.128; IQS IX.26f; X.10, 13f; IQM XIV.13f; IQH XII.3-9.
- Work: War II.129; IQS III.8f; V.13; VI.16f, 22, 25; VII.3,16; CD XI.21.
- Meal: War II.129-133; IQS VI.4f; IQS^a II.17-22.
- Quiet: War II.132; IQS VI.10-13; VII.9f, 14f.
- Obedience: War II.134; IQS V.2f, 23ff.
- Charity: War II.134; IQS II.24f.
- Control of temper: War II.135; IQS V.25ff; CD IX.1-8.
- Avoiding Oaths: War II.135; CD IX.9-12; XV.1ff.
- Entrance into the Sect: War II.137f; IQS V.7-13; VI.13-23; VII.18-21; CD XIII.11-13; XV.5f.
- Entrance Oath: War II.139-142; IQS V.7ff; CD XV.5ff; IQH XIV.17ff.

(78) Cf ADAM, A., Antike Berichte über die Essener (2nd ed. Chr. Burchard 1972) Berlin, pp 125-130.

(79) Cf BURROWS, M., Oudtestamentische Studien (8/1950) pp 156-192; BROWNLEE, W. H., BA (13/1950) pp 50-72; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., CRAIBL (1951) pp 189-199; SCHUBERT, K., Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie (74/1952) pp 1-62.

- Love/Hate: War II.139f; IQS I.1-11.
- Honesty: War II.141; IQS X.19.
- Discipline of Secrecy: War II.141f; IQS IV.6; V.15f; IX.16f, 21f.
- Essene Books: War II.142; IQS VI.6-8; VIII.11-16.
- Prophetical Exegesis: War II.142; IQS XI.5f; IQpHab VII.4f.
- Angels: War II.142; IQS III.13-IV.26; CD V.18; IQM IX.14ff; XVII.6-8.
- Expulsion: War II.143f; IQS VII.1f, 16f, 22-25; VIII.21-IX.2.
- Justice: War II.145; IQS 6f; IQS^a I.25ff; CD XIV.3ff.
- Lawgiver (War II.145) = Teacher of Righteousness.
- The Many: War II.146; IQS VI.
- The Ten: War II.142; IQS VI.3f, 6f; IQS^a II.21f; CD XIII.1f.
- Sabbath: War II.142; CD X.14-XI.18.
- Spitting: War II.147; IQS VII.13.
- Toilet: War II.148f; IQM VII.6f.
- Classes: War II.150; IQS II.19-23; V.2f, 23f; VI.8f; IQS^a II.11f;
CD XIV.3-6.
- Heroism/Lawgiver: War II.152f; IQS I.17f; CD XVI.6-9.
- Hellenized anthropology and eschatology: War II.154-157; IQS III.13-
IV.26; IQM; IQH I.21ff.

Those scholars who remain unconvinced of the identity of the Qumran Community and the sect called Essenes in classical sources concentrate on the discrepancies between their respective history, theology and practices (80).

The principal objections to the Essene identification of the

(80) STRUGNELL, J., JBL (77/1958) p 107; cf ROTH, C., RQ (1/1959) pp 417-422; JTS (10/1959) pp 87-93; DRIVER, G.R., The Judaean Scrolls (1965) Oxford, pp 100-121.

community can be summarized as follows:

a) The names of groups are tenacious in the history of their transmission, even when they undergo transliteration, yet the name "Essene" is never found in the scrolls.

b) The similarities between the Qumran Community and the Essenes can be explained by the fact that they are both Jewish monastic communities - hence certain similarities are unavoidable.

c) Although both the Essenes and the Qumran Community are sectarian in character, the Essenes are nowhere near as isolated as the community described in the scrolls.

d) The classical accounts of the Essenes do not contain the many references to priests that are found in the scrolls. The Qumran Community was more priestly.

e) There is no mention of the Essenes following the peculiar and heterodox calendar that appears to have been in use at Qumran.

f) Neither Josephus nor Philo make any mention of the Teacher of Righteousness - a figure who stand out as the leader and founder of the Community of the scrolls.

g) The attitudes and practice of the Essenes differ from the Qumran Community in such things as oaths, property, slavery, marriage and celibacy, and finally militancy and pacifism (81).

Gottstein claims that the most fundamental difference between Qumran and the Essenes was their attitude to purity: they held diametrically opposed views (82). The Essenes were a Täufersekte (83). Their concept of purity was not the simple ritual purity of the Bible: they believed that all people who have forsaken the ways of God are impure, only a small group - the sect - repents and goes through a purifying baptism. This newly found purity has to be meticulously guarded: contact with

(81) PRYKE, E.J., NT (10/1968) pp 48-52.

(82) GOTTSTEIN, M.H., VT (4/1954) pp 141-147.

(83) War II.124; 138; 149-150; Ant XVIII.19.

outsiders, or even lesser members of the hierarchy can cause contamination (84). The scrolls are opposed to this: IQS III.4-10; V.13-14. Gottstein further insists that the broad general similarities between Essenes and the Community are meaningless. These things are common to all Jews. The telling points are the details, and in these, differences abound.

Needless to say these objections have not gone unanswered. The fact that the name Essene is not found in any scroll is really no objection at all. Essene is a transliteration of a Semitic word, but there is a wide diversity of opinion on just what the underlying word might be (85).

The objection that the classical accounts do not emphasize the priestly character of the Essenes, does not take into consideration Philo's statement: "They are anxious to keep their minds in a priestly state of holiness" (86). Obviously a certain "priestly" spirit and practice pervaded the whole Essene movement.

Dupont-Sommer (87) thinks that the Teacher of Righteousness is mentioned in the classical accounts: he would be the "Lawgiver" (88). He deduces that this cannot be a reference to Moses, since Josephus always mentions Moses by name, and never with the simple title "Lawgiver."

In view of all these difficulties, Pryke (89) concludes that the Community at Qumran must have been a previously unknown group. If we accept this conclusion, we are faced with the same situation mentioned above: on the one hand we have the oft mentioned and elaborately described Essenes, who so closely resemble our community, and yet have

(84) KITTEL, G., Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament (1932ff) Stuttgart, I. p 534; IV. p 304.

(85) Cf ADAM, A., Antike Berichte, pp 1-2, note 26.

(86) Quod omnis probus liber, 12.

(87) DUPONT-SOMMIER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, pp 105-117.

(88) War II.145 and 152.

(89) PRYKE, E. J., NT (10/1968) pp 60-61.

disappeared leaving no trace whatsoever; and on the other hand, an unknown community, never mentioned in any source, that inhabited a large, flourishing and very peculiar sort of settlement, in close proximity to the Essenes and have left behind an abundant literature, which - in spite of various discrepancies - demonstrates an overwhelming similarity of concern and practice with the Essenes. We can only conclude that Fryke's excessive caution flies in the face of all logic and probability.

We are faced with a dilemma: the general points of contact between our community and the Essenes seems to make their identity a foregone conclusion; and yet the numerous discrepancies in details undermine the certainty of that identification. Moreover the dilemma is compounded by the fact that our information about the Essenes comes from authors who were writing primarily for non-Jewish readers, consequently the elements they chose to emphasize may not have been those which the Essenes themselves considered significant. We cannot be certain to what extent Josephus' attempt to make the Essenes admirable and attractive to a Hellenistic world may have distorted the reality of that movement.

Unfortunately, Jewish sources are of no assistance in clarifying our picture of the Essenes. In the first place we do not know what the Semitic word for Essenes was (90). Undoubtedly references to the Essenes are to be found in rabbinic literature. Earlier authors have identified them with the "modest, humble, or pious ones" (91); "the pure minded" (92); "the ancient Hasidim" (93); "the fearers of sin" (94); "the secret ones"; "the blameless"; "the men of firm principles"; "the holy congregation"; "the builders" (95). To determine which of these

(90) Cf ADAM, A., Antike Berichte, pp 1-2, note 26.

(91) KOHLER, K., JQR (V/1893) p 403; B.Kid. 71a; J.Yom 39d, 40a.

(92) M.Git. IX.8; B.Sanh. 23a; Masseket Soferim XIV.14.

(93) M.Ber. V.1; M.Ber. III.20; B.Ber. 32b.

(94) M.Shek. VI.6; M.Sot. IX.15.

(95) For a list of these possible identifications, cf article "Essenes" in Jewish Encyclopedia (1907) New York.

references really apply to the Essenes and not to one of the many sects which existed in Palestine at that time (96) goes beyond the scope of this work, and contributes nothing that would help us to establish the Teacher's identity.

This dilemma is due to a misunderstanding of just what Essenism was. There is an anachronistic and historically unjustified tendency to perceive and treat it as a rigidly monolithic and unchanging sect; this view is altogether inconsistent with the information we possess. True, Josephus and Philo present a picture which at first glance seems entirely uniform, but both of them allude to the diversity which must have existed among the Essenes. Josephus tells us that there were at least two orders: a celibate and a married order (97). Philo mentions that they lived in towns, villages and large groups - this last may refer to the sort of monastic establishment found at Qumran (98); hence there were different life styles. Although both Josephus and Philo stress the fact that the Essenes were pacifists, nonetheless, Josephus mentions John the Essene, who was a general during the revolt against the Romans (War II.567; III.11).

In short, all the inconsistencies and contradictions which exist between the Qumran Community and the Essenes, appear to have existed among the Essenes themselves; so much so, that this might become an additional reason for identifying the two groups. Similar inconsistencies can be found within the context of scroll literature: cf CD and IQS.

Scholars have attempted to resolve this dilemma by postulating either that the community was a near-Essene group (99) or that it went through different phases during the course of its history (100).

A third possible solution to the dilemma is that the Essenes were not a rigid sect, but rather a movement, a current, or a tendency.

(96) Cf LIEBERMAN, S., Proceedings of the American Academy of Jewish Research (20/1951) pp 395-404.

(97) War II. 160-161.

(98) Apologia pro judaeis, I.

(99) BAUMGARTNER, W., Theologische Rundschau (19/1951) pp 140-141;
DHORME, E., CRAIBL (1951) pp 192ff.

Within their ranks could be found the same variety of minor differences that we know existed among the Pharisees (101). The many groups that made up the Essene movement were united by their common preoccupation with priestly purity, asceticism, the Law, the prophecies, etc.

The men of Qumran were not a group similar to the Essenes, but rather one of the possibly many sects which made up that movement. When Josephus speaks of "schools of philosophy," he is not just accomodating his Hellenistic readers: they were, in fact, just that - schools, currents of thought, general tendencies (102).

If we bear this in mind - that there were probably various sects to be found within Essenism - the discrepancies between the classical descriptions of the Essenes and what we find in the scrolls are not so disconcerting. The Qumran Community was a particular sect within the Essene movement. It is even possible that it was the main, or at least the largest sect within the movement, and that the other Essene sects were smaller or dissident groups.

V. THREE HUNDRED AND NINETY YEARS

Although the material in the Damascus Document is outside the scope of this work, there is an apparent chronological indication in the historical prologue to CD. I would like to mention briefly what scholars have made of this date. It will be seen that the information does not really shed much light on the whole business of scroll chronology (103)

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- (101) Cf LIEBERMAN, S., JBL (71/1952) pp 199-206. Lieberman speaks of at least seven sects of Pharisees.
- (102) Cf POWELL-DAVIES, A., The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls (1956) New York; KANDLER, H. J., in Festschrift für Prof. Dr. Viktor Christian Vorderasiatische Studien (1956) Vienna, pp 55-64.
- (103) Another method of establishing an outline of Qumran history has been the attempt to order the scrolls in sequence. This has produced varying and somewhat arbitrary results; cf RABINOWITZ, I., VT (3/1953) pp 175-185; CROSS, F. M., Ancient Library, p 83 note 46; DENIS, A. M., "Evolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân," in Aux origines de l'Eglise (1964) Bruges, pp 23-49.

The first column of the Damascus Document (CD) tells us that the community of the righteous sprang up three hundred and ninety years after the Babylonian exile; twenty years later God raised up the Teacher of Righteousness.

"And in the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of king Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, He visited them and caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron to inherit His land and to prosper on the good things of His earth. And they perceived their iniquity and recognized that they were guilty men, they were like blind men groping for the way for twenty years. And God observed their deeds that they sought Him with a whole heart and He raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart." CD I.5-11.

Is the word "after" in line six a proper translation of the particle L in the original? Most authors have accepted this translation (104), but objections have been raised against it (105).

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- (104) BROWNLEE, W.H., NTS (3/1956-57) p 14 note 1; CHARLES, R.H., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (1913) Oxford, vol II p 800; CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, p 100; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Les écrits, p 137; GINZBERG, L., An Unknown Jewish Sect (1976) New York, p 257; MAIER, J., Die Texte vom Toten Meer (1960) Munich, vol I p 46; MOLIN, G., Die Söhne des Lichtes (1954) Vienna-Munich, p 44; RIESSLER, P., Altjüdisches Schrifttum ausserhalb der Bibel (1928) Augsburg, p 920; SCHECHTER, S., Fragments of a Zadokite Work Documents of the Jewish Sectaries (1910) Cambridge, vol I, p XXXI; STAERK, W., Die jüdische Gemeinde des neuen Bundes in Damaskus (1922) Gütersloh, p 15; SUTCLIFFE, E.F., The Monks of Qumran as Depicted in the Dead Sea Scrolls (1960) London, pp 40, 132; VAN DER WOUDE, A.S., Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran (1957) Assen, p 8; VERMES, G., Les manuscrits, p 159; The Dead Sea Scrolls (1977) London, pp 142-143; VINCENT, A., Les manuscrits hébreux du désert de Juda (1955) Paris, p 163.
- (105) BURROWS, M., The Dead Sea Scrolls (1955) New York, pp 195-198, 349; GASTER, T., The Dead Sea Scriptures in English Translation (1956) New York, p 71; JAUBERT, A., RB (65/1958) pp 219, 222, 235-238; RABINOWITZ, I., JBL (73/1954) pp 11-35; WALKER, N., JBL (76/1957) pp 57-58; WIESENBERG, E., VT (5/1955) pp 286-292.

Rabinowitz claims (106) that the preposition ל "to", never means "after," of "from the time that" in either the Bible or the scrolls. Whenever "to" has a temporal meaning in the scrolls it can be translated "at (the time of);" "on," "towards," "to," "for (the duration of)," "during," etc. Wiesenberg on the other hand cites numerous examples in which the preposition "to" is used in the approximate temporal sense of "after." (107)

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- (106) "... it may be remarked that the preposition ל of לתתו cannot mean "after" (viz., "390 years after He gave them into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon"), as nearly all commentators have translated it. So far as I am aware, ל never occurs in Hebrew in the temporal meaning "after;" in every case where the ל has a temporal meaning, it is an instance of one or another of those sub-varieties distinguished by the lexica, and to be rendered "at (the time of)," "on," "towards," "to," "for (the duration of)," "during," etc., but never "after." Note, for example, לקח הרשע "for (the duration of) the period of wickedness" (DF 6:14 = CD VI.14), לאלפי דורות "to" or "for thousands of generations" (DF 19;1 = CD XIX.1), ליובליהם ושבוועותיהם "during their Jubilees and in their weeks" (DF:16.4 = CD XVI.4), לאחרית הימים "at the end of days" (DSH 2:5-6 = IQpHab II.5-6) etc. In the present gloss לתתו quite clearly means "at (the time of) His giving" or "to (the time of) His giving" or "as of His giving"; the glossator intended to convey his belief that the "period of wrath" had endured for 390 years when God culminated it by a visitation in which Israel was given "into the hand of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon." The glossator did not, like most modern scholars, understand the '390 days' of Ezek 4.5 as a reference to the duration of Israel's Exile, but as the scriptural text says, to "the years of their iniquity" which, therefore, were "a period of wrath" and which culminated in the divine visitation through Nebuchadnezzar. And by searching Scripture the glossator found that these 'years of iniquity' the 'period of wrath,' did indeed number 390, exactly as he understood Ezek 4.5 to say" RABINOWITZ, I., JBL (73/1954) p 14.
- (107) It is used in biblical Hebrew for reckoning the days of the month (Num IX.3); in dates reckoned by regnal years or the years of other eras (Exod XIX.1; II Kings XXV.27). It is used in post-biblical Hebrew in dates reckoned by the years of the Hasmonaeen kings (Meg. Ta'anith 7; B. Rosh Hashanah 18b; I Macc XIII.42; XIV.27). In some of the phrases in question - those for dates reckoned after the Exodus and the regnal years (I Kings VI.1; XV.1; I Chron XXXV.19 and I Kings XV.25) as also in the remarkable reckoning in Jeremiah XLI.4 - the ל is prefixed to the infinitive; the grammatical construction of those phrases presents a close parallel to the expression we are considering. Cf WIESENBERG, E., VT (5/1955) pp 286-287.

The number "three hundred and ninety" is taken from Ezekiel IV.5:

"For the years of their punishment I assign you an equal number of days - three hundred and ninety days - during all of which you shall bear the guilt of the house of Israel."

According to Rabinowitz, the three hundred and ninety years, the Age of Wrath, represent the period of iniquity that preceded and culminated in the exile (108). The twenty years after which God raised up a Teacher of Righteousness is taken from Nehemiah I.1: "Now it happened in the month of Chislev, in the twentieth year ..." The Teacher of Righteousness in CD I.11 is Nehemiah (109).

Walker (110) follows the same line of thought as Rabinowitz but he does not think that the three hundred and ninety year period ended with the exile - it included the exile. The visitation at the end of the three hundred and ninety years was not a visitation for punishment, but a visitation for blessing. The period ends at the return from the exile (538 B.C.). He cites Jeremiah XXIX.10 to support this: "After seventy years shall be accomplished for Babylon, I will visit you." The twenty years refer to the period from the return from the exile to the dedication of the second Temple in 518 B.C. The "anointed ones of Aaron and Israel" were the priestly and lay leaders who brought this about: Joshua and Zerubbabel. The Teacher of Righteousness was Ezra the Scribe.

Through an examination of the context, Wiesenbergr arrives at the same conclusion that the three hundred and ninety years end with Israel's delivery to Nebuchadnezzar (111). But the Age of Wrath is not immediately prior to Nebuchadnezzar, nor is its beginning the division of the kingdom at Rehoboam's accession: "On the basis of an elaborate calculation, into

(108) RABINOWITZ, I., JBL (73/1954) pp 33-34.

(109) RABINOWITZ, I., JBL (73/1954) p 15 notes 11 and 13; cf VT (8/1958) p 399 note 1.

(110) WALKER, N., JBL (76/1957) pp 57-58.

(111) WIESENBERG, E., VT (5/1955) pp 287-292.

whose involved details it is not necessary to enter here, the intermittent periods of disloyalty from the conquest of Canaan till the fall of Samaria, on the part of the entire nation or of Northern Israel, are computed to total 390 years: the years of 'the iniquity of the house of Israel.' Further periods of disloyalty from the fall of Samaria till the fall of Jerusalem, on the part of unchastised Judah, are computed to total 40 years: the years of 'the iniquity of the house of Judah.' Thus, the 390 and 40 years are not simultaneous periods of exile but successive periods of iniquity prior to the exile." (112)

The Nebuchadnezzar mentioned in CD need not have been the historical figure, but rather a type of the enemy of the Jews. The reference here is not to the Babylonian exile, but to some obscure event, real or imaginary, in the history of the sect claiming to be the remnant of (Northern) Israel as distinct from Judah (113). The initial events of the history of the sect recorded in CD I, are probably to be located in the blank periods of the Persian or early Greek phase of the history of Palestine (114). Wiesenbergs concludes that there is little or no historical information in the Damascus Document (115).

Annie Jaubert (115) supports Rabinowitz's basic theory that the

(112) WIESENBERG, E., VT (5/1955) p 298.

(113) WIESENBERG, E., VT (5/1955) p 301.

(114) WIESENBERG, E., VT (5/1955) pp 303-304.

(115) "To sum up the results of this investigation, the ZF (CD) deal either with the distant past or with the future, but never with the sectarian writers' own age. The three chronological data in ZF yield, despite their apparent preciseness, as little historical information in historians' exact sense of the term as the less precise data in the DSS. The only sort of information obtained from ZF is the insight - as far as it goes - into the notions of an obscure sect. The claim of that sect to have arisen at the age of Nebuchadnezzar, has to be taken cum grano salis. Its eschatology, as also the other points of contact between its writings, and the various branches of pseudepigraphic and rabbinic literature, are as yet insufficient to establish its identity or to ascertain the details of its history." WIESENBERG, E., VT (5/1955) p 308.

(116) JAUBERT, A., RB (65/1958) pp 214-248.

period referred to is possibly pre-exilic, and in any event symbolic (117).

Apart from the examples cited above by Wiesenberg, there is another instance of a phrase similar to לְתִירוֹ אַרְבָּע meaning "after" in Rabbinic literature (118). Moreover we must take into consideration the fact that the particle לְ is used more indiscriminately in Qumran Hebrew than in biblical Hebrew (119). There is no really substantial objection against translating the particle לְ as "after" on the basis of grammar.

There are several authors who understand these passages quite literally and arrive at a date by subtracting three hundred and ninety from the date of the exile: 586 B.C. (120).

The major difficulty with a literal understanding of this number is the fact that Jewish historians did not know the duration of the Persian period (121). Consequently any calculation of time is liable to be inexact.

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- (117) "... la mentalité du Document sadocite ... il s'y manifeste une conception analogique out typologique de l'histoire dans laquelle les événements du passé sont considérés comme en transparence et deviennent une perpétuelle leçon pour le présent." JAUBERT, A., RB (65/1958) p 215.
- (118) Seder Olam zuta 29a.
- (119) "Ausserdem muss man noch berücksichtigen, dass die Partikel לְ in den Q.-Texten ausserordentlich häufig ist und viel von der Prägnanz, die sie im AT besitzt, eingebüsst hat." JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 154.
- (120) BARDTKE, H., Die Handschriftenfunde am Toten Meer (1958) Berlin, vol II pp 156-157; TLZ (81/1956) col 154; BLACK, M., The Scrolls and Christian Origins (1961) New York, p 19; GRIEG, J.C.G., NTS (2/1955-56) p 119; LAMBERT, G., NRT (74/1952) p 275; MICHEL, A., Le Maître de Justice, pp 118-119; MEYER, E., Die Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus. Eine jüdische Schrift aus der Seleucidenzeit (1919) Berlin, pp 13-14.
- (121) Cf VERMES, G., Les manuscrits, p 76; BERTHOLET, A., Beihefte zur ZAW (33/1920) pp 36-37.

Since the Teacher of Righteousness and the Liar, the characters who are introduced by these chronological indications in CD, appear elsewhere in the scrolls, and are clearly not figures in the remote past, but people relatively close to the authors of the scrolls, it seems more likely that the writer of CD I, was attempting to give a date after the exile. Whether we choose to discount the chronological reliability of this number because it is a symbol (122) or because the author could not have known how long it had been since the exile, the result is the same: three hundred and ninety years after the exile, tells us only that a fairly lengthy period passed between the exile and the foundation of the community (123).

VI. CONCLUSION

Archaeology provides us with reliable time limits for the presence of a community at Qumran. As we saw above, the scrolls are almost certainly the literary product of that community which inhabited Khirbet Qumran. Moreover, the presence of so many copies of the community rule, along with the general homogeneity of names, concepts, and practices in the scrolls, leads to the conclusion that these documents reflect the theology and history of the Qumran Community. If we consider the texts carefully, the theory that they were not ideologically or historically connected with the community, but rather the remains of a library containing documents of various origin, does not really stand up. They are the work of a single group. The differences of regulations and ideas are minimal in the light of the overwhelming similarities that mark all the scrolls. Since common life at Qumran came to an abrupt end in A.D. 68, we can put the terminus ad quem to the literary activity of the community.

(122) "Die 390 Jahre geben also kein chronologische errechnetes Datum dafür ab, wenn die Gemeinde entstanden ist. Sie sind eine symbolische Zahl." JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 159.

(123) "It (390 years) has no historical evidential value whatever, and any approximation to the facts which it may show is purely fortuitous." ROWLEY, H.H., "The 390 Years of the Zadokite Work" in Mélanges bibliques rédigés en l'honneur de André Robert (1957) Paris, p 347.

Probably the scrolls were placed in the caves to protect them from the approaching Roman army. Those who deposited the scrolls, certainly intended to recover them, once the danger had passed. The fact that they were never removed from the caves indicates that no one survived the catastrophe of A.D. 68; of if there were survivors, they never again had occasion to return to the caves.

De Vaux has shown with reasonable certainty that the same community lived at Qumran from some time in the second half of the second century B.C. until the destruction of the settlement. We know from references in the Damascus Document and the Habakkuk Commentary that the Teacher of Righteousness, the Wicked Priest, and the Liar were all participants in the early history of the community; consequently we must look for these individuals in the second half of the second century B.C.

Certain elements in the Habakkuk Commentary, and above all the statement in 4QpNah I.3, demonstrate that the foreign invaders, called the "Kittim" were the Romans. IQpHab IX.4-7, informs us that the Kittim are the "remnant of the peoples," who will despoil the last priests of Jerusalem at the end of days. It follows that the commentary cannot have been written many years after the conquest of Jerusalem; on the contrary, it was written either at the time of the conquest, or before it. If this were not the case, the commentator would not have used the expressions, "the last priests," and "the end of days." We have, therefore, an even earlier terminus ad quem for the initial history of the community: 63 B.C. The same column of IQpHab (IX) tells us that God gave the Wicked Priest into the hands of his enemies who destroyed him. The last High Priest to die before Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, was Alexander Jannaeus in 76 B.C., but he died a natural if not a peaceful death. Once again we are led back to the second half of the second century B.C.

The chronology set out in the first column of the Damascus Document presents more problems than solutions. Probably the only information to be found in this difficult text is that God brought about the birth

of the community a long time after the exile. Twenty years (or an indefinite period) later, He raised up the Teacher of Righteousness.

Although the limitations of these results to some extent disappoint our expectations, we could hardly hope for anything more conclusive from the available material. The initial history of the Qumran Community, as well as the activity of those individuals who played a part in it, must be located in the second half of the second century B.C.; at the very latest before 76 B.C. (124)

(124) "Another pointer to the origin of the Essenes in the second century B.C. lies in their theology as that is known to us from Qumran. There are so far no Greek loan-words in the Qumran material, but Iranian loan-words are common. Moreover the prominence of the two spirits governing, good, light, and truth over against evil, darkness, and falsehood, in the Qumran material can in the end only be explained by reference to the influence of Zoroastrianism at some early point in Essene history. This cannot belong to a time after the second century B.C." ALBRIGHT, W.F., and MANN, C.S., "Qumran and the Essenes: Geography, Chronology and Identification of the Sect," in The Scrolls and Christianity, ed M. BLACK (1969) London, pp 20-21.

CHAPTER SIX

THE WICKED PRIEST

I. PESHER ALLUSIONS TO THE WICKED PRIEST

The historical elements in the pesharim are to a large extent concerned with the conflict between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness; between the followers of the Wicked Priest and those who believe in the Teacher. Four passages in the Habakkuk Commentary mention the Wicked Priest: IQpHab VIII.8-13; IX.9-12; XI.4-8; XII.2-10; and another four almost certainly speak about him, although they do not mention him by name: IQpHab VIII.16-IX.2; IX.16-X.1; X.3-5; XI.12-15. He is also mentioned in 4QpPss^a IV.8-10.

A. Nature of the Allusions

The information about the Wicked Priest to be found in these passages is of three types:

a) Some of the statements are undoubtedly references to events in the life of the Wicked Priest.

b) Other assertions tell us more about the attitude of the author towards the Wicked Priest, than they do about the Priest himself. Certainly they throw light on the personality of the Wicked Priest, but it is not always possible to determine to what extent the individual assertion may be the expression of the prejudice of the author and not necessarily based on fact.

c) Finally there are literary commonplaces. Jeremias (1) cites Bauer and finds what Bauer says about early Christian texts applicable to the Scrolls as well. There are commonplaces used to describe opponents which do not always fit the facts.

(1) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 73; cf BAUER, W., Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei in Ältesten Christentum (Beiträge zur Historischen Theologie X) (1934) Tübingen.

For our purpose, i.e. the identification of the Wicked Priest, only the first sort of affirmation is really helpful. The second and third types can serve to confirm an identification but provide no sure basis on which to make it. Unfortunately it is not at all easy to assign all the statements we have been considering to one or the other of these categories. There is necessarily an element of arbitrariness in saying that one affirmation represents a fact or an event and another is just an elaborate statement of disapproval which reflects more the opinion of the author than the traits or acts of the Wicked Priest.

In listing the information we have about the Wicked Priest I will begin with what seems most pertinent to our search. Primary consideration will be given to those elements which:

- a) represent particular pieces of information (biographical detail) which do not seem to be mere expressions of disapproval;
- b) appear with any amount of frequency and repeat the same information;
- c) can be verified, or referred to events recorded outside the scrolls (Maccabees and Antiquities.)

B. Information about the Wicked Priest

What do the scrolls tell us about the Wicked Priest?

- The Wicked Priest was a High Priest (IQpHab VIII.9-10).
- He was a contemporary of the Teacher of Righteousness (IQpHab IX.9-10; XI.4-5).
- At the beginning of his career he gave the impression of being upright, but soon showed his true colors. While he was High Priest, he became proud, forsook God and betrayed the commandments for the sake of wealth (IQpHab VIII.9-11).

- The Wicked Priest robbed and plundered the men of violence who rebelled against God, or he robbed and plundered like bandits who

rebel against God (IQpHab VIII.11); he also robbed and plundered the peoples (VIII.12) and the community in the cities of Judah (XII.9-10).

- The Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to his house of exile; he intended to destroy the Teacher with the fury of his venom (IQpHab XI.4-6).

- The Wicked Priest appeared at the house of exile on the Day of Atonement (IQpHab XI.6-7); he confounded the followers of the Teacher and caused them to stumble on the Day of Atonement (IQpHab XI.7-8).

- The Wicked Priest committed some sort of iniquity against the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers - he therefore came into direct conflict with them (IQpHab IX.9-10).

- The Wicked Priest intended to destroy the community (IQp^Hab XII.6).

- The Wicked Priest sought to slay the Teacher of Righteousness (4QpPss^a IV.8).

- Because of the iniquity of the Wicked Priest towards the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council, he was given into the hands of his enemies, the violent of nations, who killed him (IQpHab IX.10-12; XII.2-3, 5, 6; 4QpPss^a IV.9-10).

- Before his death the Wicked Priest suffered diseases in his body, bitterness in his soul, humiliation, torture, and vengeance (IQpHab IX.1-2, 10-11; 4QpPss IV.9-10).

- The Wicked Priest was a drunk (IQpHab XI.13-14).

- The Wicked Priest heaped iniquity upon himself, committed abominations and defilements; he defiled the temple (IQpHab VIII.12-13; XII.7-9).

- In the eyes of the community the Wicked Priest was ignominious (IQpHab XI.12).

- Because of his many iniquities, the Wicked Priest will be judged and punished by God, both in this life and in the next (IQpHab XI.1, 10; X.3-5; XI.14-15; XII.5-6; 4QpPss^a IV.9-10).

C. Possible Candidates

The identification of the Wicked Priest is central to our determining the characters and events in the Pesharim. It is also, in a sense, more certain. We know that the Wicked Priest was a High Priest (IQpHab VIII. 9-10) and so our search for a suitable candidate is limited to those individuals who were High Priests in the period we are considering (2). Which of the High Priests described in Maccabees, Josephus and early rabbinic literature fits the information we have about the Wicked Priest in the Scrolls? In the century between 175 B.C. and 63 B.C., the following individuals were High Priests in Israel: Jason (175-172); Menelaus (172-162); Alcimus (162-160); the office was vacant for seven years; Jonathan (152-143); Simon (143-135); John Hyrcanus (135-104); Aristobulus (104-103); Alexander Jannaeus (103-76); Hyrcanus II (76-67; 63-30); and his brother Aristobulus II (67-63).

There is some question as to whether Judas Maccabaeus was High Priest during the period between the death of Alcimus in 160 and the assumption of the High Priesthood by Jonathan in 152. In Ant XII.414, 419 and 434, reference is made to the High Priesthood of Judas. But there is no mention whatsoever of this in I Maccabees. In another place (Ant XX.237) Josephus expressly states that there was no High Priest during the seven years in question. Derenbourg (3) claims that there is an ancient tradition that all the Maccabees were High Priests.

(2) "In the Essene documents both the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest are designated by the absolute, כהן. One of the significant merits of Stegemann's study is to have shown that the usage of this term in the Old Testament can be classified as 'titular' and 'non-titular', and that the titular usage - as is the case in the pesharim - always designates the High Priest. This observation regarding the OT had been anticipated by DE Vaux, but its implications were ignored by commentators ..." MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) p 229.

(3) DERENBOURG, J., Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine, d'après les Thalmuds et les autres sources Rabbiniques (1867) Paris; republished in 1971 by Gregg International Publishers Ltd. Westmead, Farnborough, Hants., p 58.

This presumed tradition that all the Maccabees were High Priests, finds no confirmation in our sources. It is unlikely that Judas was a High Priest. "It is not in itself, inconceivable that Judas also usurped the functions of the High Priest. But I Maccabees says nothing about it; in addition, a legitimate claimant was present in the person of Onias IV, who would probably be respected as such by Judas (4).

Stegemann argues that it was impossible to have an Intersacerdotium for seven years, because the obligatory feast of the Atonement could not be celebrated without the participation of the High Priest (5). Stegemann identifies the High Priest who exercised that office during the period as the Teacher of Righteousness. Murphy-O'Connor who agrees with Stegemann's conclusions, gives an explanation of what happened during the seven year vacation of the High Priestly office:

"What actually happened, as Graetz long ago pointed out was that in the absence of an official High Priest, his functions were automatically assumed by the next in the Temple hierarchy. It is well within the limits of probability to assume that this substitute was the senior member of the Sadokite dynasty, who was not mentioned in the official records for the simple reason that he never held an official appointment. Such appointment, however, had no relevance for fervent partisans of the Sadokite line, and for them he would have been High Priest without any qualification." (6)

The books of Maccabees provide us with information about the Maccabee brothers and their predecessors, but tell us nothing about the last five individuals who held the office of High Priest. The bulk of our information about these High Priests must be found in Josephus, for the rabbinic sources are all but silent. Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers are not even mentioned in the rabbinic sources and John Hyrcanus is only named in connection with religious institutions attributed to him, or for the Pharisee-Sadducee conflict that began during his reign (7). Ginzberg says that the older Haggadah do not

(4) SCHUERER-VERMES-MILLAR, vol I, p 170.

(5) STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung, pp 213-214.

(6) MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) p 230.

(7) DERENBOURG, J., Essai sur l'histoire, p 3.

mention the Hasmonaeans because it was too near to the period of conflict between the Pharisees and the Hasmonaeans. The later Haggadah of the Amoraim hardly knew who the Hasmonaeans were - other than that they played a glorious part in the history of Israel at a certain point (8).

We will try and find the following elements from the scroll description of the Wicked Priest in the lives of the High Priests we have listed above:

- 1) The Wicked Priest was a High Priest (IQpHab VIII.9-10)
- 2) He began his career with a good reputation (IQpHab VIII.9)
- 3) He robbed and plundered both Jews and Gentiles (IQpHab VIII.11-12; XII.9-10)
- 4) The Wicked Priest was given to carousal and drunkenness (IQpHab XI.13-14)
- 5) He committed cultic abominations and profaned the Temple (IQpHab VIII.12-13; XII.7-9)
- 6) Before his death, the Wicked Priest was humiliated; he suffered sickness and/or torture (IQpHab IX.1-2; 10-11; 4QpPss^a IV.10)
- 7) He was given into the hands of his enemies (imprisoned) the violent of nations; they brought about his end (IQpHab IX.10-12; XII.2-3; 5-6; 4QpPss^a IV.9-10)

II. THE HIGH PRIESTS

A. Jason

Jason/Jesus (175-172 B.C.) II Maccabees IV.7-29; V.5-10; IV Maccabees IV.15-23; Josephus, Antiquities XII.237-240. Jason secured his appointment to the office of High Priest by paying Antiochus Epiphanes three hundred and sixty talents of silver. There is no mention of his robbing, drunkenness, or the specific

(8) GINZBERG, L., The Legends of the Jews (1928) Philadelphia, vol VI, p 156.

way he died. He certainly did not begin his career with a good reputation, but there is abundant evidence of his cultic aberrations and abandonment of the Law.

"But when Seleucus died, and Antiochus, who was called Epiphanes, succeeded to the kingdom, Jason the brother of Onias supplanted his brother in the High Priesthood, promising in a petition to the king three hundred and threescore talents of silver, besides eighty talents from another fund; in addition to which he undertook to pay a hundred and fifty more, if he was commissioned to set up a gymnasium and ephedra and to register the Jerusalemites as citizens of Antioch. And when the king had given his assent, Jason at once exercised his influence in order to bring his fellow countrymen to Greek ways of life. Setting aside the royal ordinances of special favor to the Jews, obtained by John the father of Eupolemus who had gone as envoy to the Romans to secure their friendship and alliance, and seeking to overthrow the lawful modes of life, he introduced new customs forbidden by the law; he deliberately established a gymnasium under the citadel itself, and made the noblest of the young men wear the petasus. And to such a height did the passion for Greek fashions arise, and the influx of foreign customs, thanks to the surpassing impiety of that godless Jason - no High Priest he! - that the priests were no longer interested in the services of the altar, but despising the sanctuary, and neglecting the sacrifices, they hurried to take part in the unlawful displays held in the palaestra after the quoit-throwing had been announced - thus setting at naught what their fathers honored and esteeming the glories of the Greeks above all else. Hence sore distress befell them; the very men for whose customs they were so keen and whom they desired to be like in every detail, became their foes and punished them. For it is no light matter to act impiously against the laws of God; time will show that!" II Macc IV.7-17.

IV Maccabees tells us that these sins brought down the wrath of God upon Jason and his followers. The same Antiochus Epiphanes who had made him High Priest became the agent of Divine Retribution.

"But Seleucus dying, his successor on the throne was his son Antiochus Epiphanes, an overweening terrible man; who dismissed Onias from his sacred office, and made his brother Jason, High Priest instead, the condition being that in return for the appointment Jason should pay him three thousand six hundred talents yearly. So he appointed Jason High Priest and made him chief ruler over the people. And he (Jason) introduced to our people

"a new way of life and a new constitution in utter defiance of the Law; so that not only did he lay out a gymnasium on the Mount of our fathers, but he actually abolished the services of the Temple. Wherefore the divine justice was kindled against them. For when he was carrying on a war with Ptolemy in Egypt and heard that the people of Jerusalem had rejoiced exceedingly over a report of his death, he immediately marched back against them." IV Maccabees IV.15-23

Jason suffered humiliation, exile and imprisonment at the end of his life:

"As for the end of his wretched career - imprisoned under Aretas the Arabian prince, flying from city to city, pursued by all men, hated as an apostate from the laws, and loathed as a butcher of his country and fellow-citizens, he was expelled into Egypt. He who had driven so many into exile, died himself in exile, crossing over to the Lacedaemonians, with the idea of finding shelter there among kinsfolk. He who had flung out many a corpse to lie unburied had none to mourn for him, nor had he a funeral of any kind or place in the sepulcher of his fathers." II Maccabees V.8-10

In many respects the career of Jason is parallel to that of the Wicked Priest. The brief description of his term as High Priest emphasizes the cultic irregularities - even profanations - that characterized his reign. There is no especial mention of carousal or plundering, although the large amounts of money he promised and presumably delivered to Antiochus Epiphanes would imply a certain amount of larceny. The circumstances of his sad end recounted in the Second Book of Maccabees could easily correspond to the final captivity and death of the Wicked Priest. On one point, however, the identification of Jason as the Priest of the Scrolls falls down completely. By no means could he be said to have begun his career with a good reputation. Even were we to interpret "truth" to mean God, true religion, loyalty, or any of the alternatives, Jason must be eliminated. His beginning was as ill-famed as his end. Whatever interpretation we may give to IQp^H VIII.9f, it is beyond discussion that some change took place in the life of the Wicked Priest. This is not the case with Jason: he was not the Wicked Priest described in the scrolls.

B. Menelaus

Menelaus (172-162 B.C.): II Maccabees IV.23-34; XI.29-33; XII.3-8; Josephus, Ant XII.238-241; 382-385; XX.235-237. There are possible references to Menelaus in Breshith Rabbah, chapter 65 and Yalkut I, 115. Both of these passages speak about Yakim, Jose Meshita and the despoiling of the temple. Geiger identifies Yakim with Alcimus (9) and Derenbourg suggests that Jose Meshita may be Menelaus (10). There is ample evidence in II Maccabees that Menelaus did despoil the temple. Menelaus succeeded Jason as High Priest and held that office for ten years. He certainly did not enjoy a good reputation at any time in his career:

"Possessed of no quality which entitled him to the High Priesthood..."
II Maccabees IV.25

He stole from the temple:

"Then Menelaus supposed he had got a favorable opportunity, so he presented Andronicus with some golden vessels which he had stolen from the temple; - others he had already sold to Tyre and the surrounding cities." II Maccabees IV.32.

He brought about the murder of Onias:

"Whereupon Menelaus took Andronicus aside and exhorted him to kill Onias ... He then killed him at once, regardless of justice."
II Maccabees IV.34

He committed sacrilege in Jerusalem:

"Now when many acts of sacrilege had been committed in the city by Lysimachus, with the connivance of Menelaus..."
II Maccabees IV.39

Moreover he plotted against his fellow citizens:

"Menelaus, however... waxing more and more vicious, he proved a great plotter against his fellow-citizens." II Maccabees IV.50

(9) GEIGER, A., Urschrift und Uebersetzungen der Bibel (1928) Frankfurt-am-Main, pp 64ff.

(10) DERENBOURG, J., Essai sur l'histoire, pp 53-54.

In the end Menelaus was put to death by Antiochus V Eupator:

"But the King of kings stirred the anger of Antiochus against the scoundrel (Menelaus), and learning from Lysias that he was responsible for all the troubles, he ordered him to be taken to Beroea and put to death there in the local fashion. For at Beroea there is a tower, fifty cubits high, filled with hot ashes, and a revolving contrivance which drops the victim sheer into the ashes. To this they bring any one who is guilty of sacrilege or other heinous crimes and they push him on, to meet his doom. By such a fate it befell that Menelaus, the law-breaker, died, not even getting a grave in the earth. And this was perfectly just. Many a sin had he committed against the altar, whose fire and ashes were holy; by ashes, then he got his death." II Maccabees XIII.4-8

There is a passage in the Assumption of Moses which Charles ascribes to Menelaus (11):

"Wherefore it hath been said: 'They shall turn aside from righteousness and approach iniquity, and they shall defile with pollutions the house of their worship,' and (because) 'they shall go a-whoring after strange gods.' For they shall not follow the truth of God, but some shall pollute the altar with the (very) gifts which they offer to the Lord, who are not priests, but slaves, sons of slaves." V.3-4

A decisive factor in ascribing this text to Menelaus is the phrase: 'who are not priests but slaves, sons of slaves.' According to II Maccabees III.4 and IV.23, Menelaus was not of the tribe of Levi, but a Benjaminite. The text adds no new information about Menelaus, but if he is indeed the subject of this statement, it confirms what we already know from Maccabees.

Rowley identifies Menelaus as the Wicked Priest:

"Menelaus fits what we are told about the Wicked Priest more closely than any other. The statement in the Habakkuk Commentary that the Wicked Priest was 'named according to the truth' when he first took office has been raised as an objection (12). But

(11) CHARLES, R.H., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (1913) Oxford, vol II p 418.

(12) BURROWS, M., The Dead Sea Scrolls (1956) New York, p 165.

"in favour of the identification of the Wicked Priest with Alexander Jannaeus it has been argued that the reference is to his name Yannai, which is a late form of Jonathan (13); while the same argument has been advanced in favour of Jonathan, the brother of Judas Maccabaeus (14). But both of these bore these names not only when they first took office, but throughout their lives. On the other hand Josephus tells us that the real name of Menelaus was Onias, but that he changed this for the Greek name Menelaus (15). Since Onias was the name of the true High Priest who had been removed from office by Antiochus this would be an honored name among the followers of Onias III, and especially if he were the Teacher of Righteousness who led the sect from which the Habakkuk Commentary came, and since Menelaus exchanged it for a Greek name at a time when the Greeks or Macedonians were bitter enemies of the faithful Jews, the reference to his name 'as according to the truth' when he first took office could be reasonably explained." (16)

Rowley's hypothesis rests on three assumptions: that the Teacher of Righteousness was Onias, whom Menelaus put to death; that the Kittim are the Seleucids; and that the phrase 'called by the name of truth when he first arose' refers to the fact that Menelaus' original Hebrew name was Onias - the same name as the Teacher of Righteousness, hence "the name of truth."

Our sources tell us nothing specific about Onias that would support the conjecture that he is the Teacher of Righteousness. It is, moreover, unlikely that the Kittim are the Seleucids, and that the conflict between the Wicked Priest and the Teacher must be dated so early. Consequently this identification must stand or fall on the changing of Menelaus' Hebrew name to a Greek name. In the pesher passage that tells us that the Wicked Priest was called by the name of truth when he first arose, the context gives every indication that the phrase has nothing to do

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- (13) DELCOR, M., Essai sur le midrash d'Habacuc, p 64; BURROWS, M., The Dead Sea Scrolls (1956) New York, p 175; BRUCE, F.F., Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls (2nd ed. 1961) London, p 101.
- (14) SUTCLIFFE, E.F., The Monks of Qumran (1960) London pp ix f.
- (15) Josephus, Ant XII.238.
- (16) ROWLEY, H.H., BJRL (49/1966-67) p 220 note 4; cf also Studia Orientalia Joanni Pedersen dicata (1953) pp 303ff.

with his proper name. We are immediately told that his heart became proud, he forsook God and betrayed the precepts when he ruled over Israel. Obviously the author is contrasting the impression made by his original conduct with that created by his subsequent behavior. The name of truth refers to the Wicked Priest's reputation and not to his proper name.

C. Alcimus

Alcimus/Yakim (162-160): I Maccabees VII.5-25; XI.1-2, 54-57; Josephus, Ant XII.385-401; 413; XX.235-237. Breshith Rabbah, chapter 65; Yalkut, I, 115.

Alcimus led all the lawless and ungodly men in Israel (I Maccabees VII.6); "There was neither truth nor judgement in them" (Alcimus and his followers) (I Maccabees VII.18); he destroyed the wall of the inner court of the Temple and in so doing pulled down the works of the prophets; he was stricken with palsy and died in great torment (I Maccabees IX.54-56). If Geiger's identification of Yakim as Alcimus (cf note 9 on page 172) is accurate we have the further information that Alcimus despoiled the temple.

Stauffer suggests that this Alcimus was Yakim of Zeroroth, the nephew and opponent of Jose ben Joezer who would be the Teacher of Righteousness (17). Although there are interesting points of contact between Alcimus and the Wicked Priest, there is the major objection that Alcimus was never given into the hands of his enemies.

D. Jonathan Maccabaeus

Jonathan Maccabaeus (153-2 to 143): I Maccabees IX.30-XII.53; Josephus, War I.48-49; Ant XII.266; 333-340; 432; XIII.5-57; 83-212; XX.238.

(17) STAUFFER, E., ZRGG (8/1956) pp 250-253.

After a gap of seven years in which there was no High Priest, Jonathan Maccabaeus assumed that office in 153 B.C. From a particular point of view many of the assertions made about the Wicked Priest can be applied to Jonathan: he began his career favorably, but later usurped the High Priesthood, to which he had no legitimate right. He was imprisoned and eventually killed Trypho. The identification of Jonathan Maccabaeus as the Wicked Priest in the scrolls was first put forward by G. Vermes (18). Many other scholars have subsequently concurred in this (19).

E. Simon Maccabaeus

Simon Maccabaeus (143-135): I Maccabees XIII.1-XIV.24; Josephus, War I. 49-54; Ant XII.266; 283; 332-334; XIII.8; 18-31; 91-99; 146; 154-157; 180-184; 197-228; XX.239.

Much of what we know about the Wicked Priest could be attributed to Simon. He began his career with the same aura of heroism that surrounded all the Maccabee brothers. There are several occasions on which he took tribute, or plundered his enemies, and the propensity for drunkenness is evident in the account of Simon's death. He was murdered at a banquet at the instigation of his son-in-law, Ptolemy.

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- (18) VERMES, G., Les manuscrits; RSR (41/1953) pp 5-29; 203-230; ETL (27/1951) pp 70-80; The Dead Sea Scrolls in English (1975 2nd ed).
- (19) MILIK, J.T., Ten Years; CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library; "The Early History of the Qumran Community," in New Directions in Biblical Archaeology (1969) Garden City, N.Y.; Christian Century (72/1955) pp 944-945; WINTER, P., Hibbert Journal (58/1959-60) pp 53-60; SUTCLIFFE, E.F., The Monks of Qumran; DE VAUX, R., Archaeology; JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer; SCHREIDEN, J., Les énigmes des manuscrits de la Mer Morte (1961) Wetteren; SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) pp 131-147; JQR (NS 3) pp 304-307; SCHUBERT, K., Die Gemeinde vom Toten Meer. Ihre Entstehung und ihrer Lehren (1958) Munich-Basel; TLZ (77/1952) cols 329-336; STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung; MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) pp 229-230; TYLOCH, W., RoczOr (32/1968) pp 21-29; BROWN, R., "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah(s)," in The Scrolls and Christianity (1969) London, p 38; HENGEL, M., Judentum und Hellenismus (1969) Tübingen, p 407.

Cross identifies Simon as the Wicked Priest (20). The cause of the conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and followers on the one hand, and the Wicked Priest and his supporters on the other was the illegitimate usurpation of the High Priesthood by the Hasmonaeans. When Jonathan became High Priest in 153-152, the Hasidim were opposed, but they were not yet certain whether this change was permanent. In I Maccabees we read that Jonathan's successor, Simon, claimed the right to the High Priesthood for himself and his descendants forever. At this point the Hasidim probably broke into two sections: the Pharisees - priests and laymen who tolerated the Hasmonaeon usurpation of the High Priesthood; and the Essenes - mainly Zadokite priests and some laymen who could not tolerate this turn of events.

One of Cross's main reasons for identifying Simon as the priest is based on 4QTest 22-30:

"'Cursed be the man who rebuilds this city! On his first-born may he lay its foundation, and set its gate upon his youngest son.' (Joshua VI.26) Behold, an accursed man, a man of Belial, has risen to become a fowler's net for his people and a cause of destruction to all his neighbours. And there arose ... both being instruments of violence. They have rebuilt ... a wall and towers to make of it a stronghold of evil ... in Israel, and a horror in Ephraim and Judah ... they have committed an abomination in the land, and a great blasphemy among the sons of ... like water upon the ramparts of the daughter of Zion and within the precincts of Jerusalem."

This passage refers to the Wicked Priest: Simon. The two instruments of violence are his sons, Judas and Mattathias, who were murdered along with Simon by Ptolemy. The Joshua text is a curse on Jericho, precisely the place where this multiple murder occurred. Its appropriateness for Simon and his two sons is too obvious to require comment according to Cross (21).

(20) CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, pp 142-153; ALBRIGHT, W.F., and MANN, C.S., "Qumran and the Essenes: Geography, Chronology and Identification of the Sect," in The Scrolls and Christianity (1969) London, p 19.

(21) CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, pp 148ff.

The fact that most militates against this identification of Simon as the Wicked Priest, is that the Wicked Priest was given into the hands of his enemies 'the violent of nations.' This last phrase, 'violent of nations' certainly refers to the conquering foreigners as is evident from other places in the scrolls. It is true that Simon's son-in-law was a foreigner, but the phrase does not seem a probable description of this particular act of treachery.

F. John Hyrcanus

John Hyrcanus (135-104): I Maccabees XVI.28; Josephus War I.54-69; Ant XIII.228-300; 322-323; Mishnah Ma'aser Sheni V.15; B.Berakoth 29a; B.Sotah 33a, 47a.

Upon the death of his father, Simon, John Hyrcanus became High Priest in 135. Hyrcanus began his career with a good reputation and ended it with a bad reputation, at least in some quarters. We read in B.Berakoth 29a:

"Have we not learnt: Believe not in thyself until the day of thy death (Aboth II.4). For lo, Johanan (22) the High Priest officiated as High Priest for eighty years and in the end he became a heretic. Abaye said: Johanan is the same as Jannai (23). Rabba said: Johanan and Jannai are different; Jannai was originally wicked, and Johanan was originally righteous."

Josephus, on the other hand, eulogizes John Hyrcanus:

"And so Hyrcanus quieted the outbreak, and lived happily thereafter; and when he died after administering the government for thirty-one years, he left five sons. Now 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; for the Deity was with him and enabled him to foresee and foretell the future; so, for example, he foretold of his two elder sons that they would not remain masters of the state." Ant XIII.299-300.

In his introduction to the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, Charles claims that they were written during the reign of John

(22) John Hyrcanus

(23) Alexander Jannaeus

Hyrchanus (24). They were written before the antagonism broke out between Hyrchanus and the Pharisees. Charles ascribes the messianic hymn of Testament of Levi XVIII to Hyrchanus. John Hyrchanus was the only one in the history of Judaism to possess the triple office of prophet, priest and king.

After the deterioration of Hyrchanus' relations with the Pharisees, his reputation diminished. The hymn to Simon Maccabaeus in I Maccabees XIV.8-15, was toned down by a subsequent Sadducee editor - an evidence of the cooling of admiration for the Hasmonaeans that set in at this time, according to Charles (25).

The reason for the conflict with the Pharisees is recorded in Josephus: a trouble-maker led John to believe that the Pharisees were opposed to him. Consequently Hyrchanus abrogated the regulations of the Pharisees (26) and punished those who observed them (Ant XIII.288-296).

With regard to plundering and robbing, there is an indication in Josephus that might be the equivalent of this accusation: "For the war between them (Antiochus Grypus and Antiochus Cyzicenus) gave Hyrchanus leisure to exploit Judaea undisturbed, with the result that he amassed a limitless sum of money." (Ant XIII.272)

Hyrchanus enjoyed the reputation of having the gift of prophecy (cf supra Ant XIII.300). This reputation is undoubtedly due to the event recorded in Ant XIII.282-283:

"Now about the High Priest Hyrchanus an extraordinary story is told how the Deity communicated with him, for they say that on the very day on which his sons fought with Cyzicenus, Hyrchanus,

(24) CHARLES, R.H., The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament in English (1913) Oxford, vol II p 282.

(25) CHARLES, R.H., op.cit., vol II, p 9.

(26) Possibly the regulations being spoken about by Josephus are the confession of tithes and offices mentioned in Mishnah Ma'aser Sheni, V.15 and B.Sotah 47a.

"who was alone in the temple, burning incense as High Priest, heard a voice saying that his sons had just defeated Antiochus. And on coming out of the temple he revealed this to the entire multitude, and so it actually happened." (27)

John Hyrcanus is disqualified as a likely candidate for the role of the Wicked Priest in the scrolls, by the fact that he died peacefully. There is nothing recorded about him that could be interpreted as his being given into the hands of his enemies.

G. Aristobulus I

Aristobulus I (104-103): Josephus, War I.70-84; Ant XIII.276-277; 301-323; XX.240-241. There is nothing in the brief reign of Aristobulus, the son and successor of John Hyrcanus, that would fit him for the role of the Wicked Priest. He began his reign as he ended it, with a reputation for cruelty and ambition. The sources make no mention of contact with foreign enemies, and he died a natural, if painful death, scarcely a year after he had assumed office. Aristobulus was the first to assume the diadem and transform the government into a kingdom (28).

H. Alexander Jannaeus

Alexander Jannaeus (103-76): Josephus, War I.85-106; Ant XIII.320-406; XX.241-242; B.Sukkah 48a and b; B.Abodah Zarah 50a; B.Berakoth 29a, 48a; B.Sotah 22b, 47a; B.Yebamoth 61a; B.Kiddushin 66a; B.Kerithoth 28a.

The rabbinic sources of information about Alexander Jannaeus are ambiguous. There is some confusion as to when "Yannai" refers to Alexander and when it refers to John Hyrcanus (29). Yannai is often used in the Talmud as a general name for the Hasmonaeans (30).

(27) Cf B.Sotah 33a.

(28) Ant XIII.301.

(29) Cf B.Sotah 47a; Berakoth 29a; B.Kiddushin 66a; Cf also FRIEDLAENDER, I., JQR (NS 4/1913-1914) pp 443-448.

(30) Cf B.Yebamoth 61a; DERENBOURG, J., Essai sur l'histoire, p 96: "... le nom de Jannée désigne dans le Thalmud indifféremment tous les princes
" " " "

Contrary to the statement above (B.Berakoth 29a on p 178) that Alexander Jannaeus was originally wicked, Josephus credits him with a good reputation at the beginning of his reign:

"... (Alexander Jannaeus) had the double advantage of seniority and apparent moderation of character."

However on coming to power he put to death a brother who had aspirations to the throne (War I.85; Ant XIII.320, 323).

Josephus give many other examples of Jannaeus' cruelty (e.g. Ant XIII.380) as well as the disaffection of his subjects. Jannaeus was guilty of cultic irregularities which brought about an incident at the celebration of a festival:

"As for Alexander, his own people revolted against him - for the nation was aroused against him - at the celebration of a festival, and as he stood beside the altar and was about to sacrifice, they pelted him with citrons, it being a custom among the Jews that at the festival of Tabernacles everyone holds wands made of palm branches and citrons - "

Ant XIII.372.

Derenbourg (31) believes that this is the same incident mentioned in B.Sukkah, although the name of Alexander does not appear in the Talmudic text:

"On a certain man poured out the water over his feet and all the people pelted him with their ethrogs." B.Sukkah 48a-b.

Jannaeus' conquests and plunder are recorded in Ant XIII.359 and 374; and his carousal and drunkenness in Ant XIII.380 and 393. Alexander was defeated several times by foreign invaders (Ant XIII.337-343; 375; 378; 392.) In Ant XIII.383 we read:

"Then his opponents numbering in all about eight thousand fled by night and remained in exile as long as Alexander lived."

This might be interpreted as the exile of the Qumran Community.

(31) DERENBOURG, J., Essai sur l'histoire, pp 96-101.

Many scholars identify Alexander Jannaeus with the Wicked Priest (32). Delcor (33) interprets IQpHab VIII.8-9 (the passage about the "name of truth,") in the following fashion: the "name of truth" in question, was Jonathan: the name of David's friend, and the exemplar of faithfulness. Jonathan was Alexander's Jewish name as we know from his coins. The Wicked Priest's heart became proud and he forsook God: this refers to Jannaeus' assumption of the title of king. He was not a descendant of David, but a usurper, hence his dynasty is referred to as the "house of Absalom," who also tried to usurp the throne of David his father. Delcor goes on to say: the somewhat cryptic event that took place on the Day of Atonement (IQpHab XI.4-8) seems to find a parallel in the description of the feast of Tabernacles in Ant XIII.272. Both of these accounts are too detailed for there to be any confusion between them, but there is evidence of similar conduct. Perhaps the incident recorded by Josephus was a repetition of what happened to the sectaries on the Day of Atonement.

Finally IQpHab X.3-5:

"Interpreted this concerns the condemned house upon which God will pronounce judgement in the midst of peoples. He will bring him thence for judgement and will declare him guilty in the midst of them, and will chastise him with fire of brimstone."

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- (32) ALLEGRO, J.M., The Dead Sea Scrolls (1956) London; The Dead Sea Scrolls, a Re-appraisal (1964) Harmondsworth; JBL (75/1956) pp 89-95; BARTHELEMY, D., RB (59/1952) pp 207-218; BROWNLEE, W.H., BA (14/1951) pp 54-76; BASOR (126/1952) pp 10-20; BRUCE, F.F., Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls (1961) London; ALJOS (1/1958-59) pp 5-24; DELCOR, M., Essai sur le midrash d'Habacuc (1951) Paris; RB (58/1951) pp 521-548; DE VAUX, R., RB (57/1950) pp 417-429; MOLIN, G., Die Söhne des Lichtes (1954) Vienna-Munich; ThZ (9/1952) pp 340-357; SEGAL, M.H., JBL (70/1951) pp 131-147; VAN DER PLOEG, J.M., The Excavations at Qumran (1958-59) London-New York-Toronto; "L'usage du parfait et de l'imparfait comme moyen de datation dans le commentaire d'Habacuc," in Les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte, Colloque de Strasbourg, 25-27 mai 1955 (1957) Paris, pp 25-35; BiOr (11/1954) pp 145-160.
- (33) DELCOR, M., Essai sur le midrash d'Habacuc (1951) Paris, pp 49-70.

would refer to the event described by Josephus: Alexander Jannaeus in an attempt to reconcile himself with his enemies among the Jews asked them what they wanted of him; they replied: "Your death!" Ant XIII.376)

The principal objection to an identification of Alexander Jannaeus with the Wicked Priest is based on IQpHab IX.9-12. There we are told that the Wicked Priest was given into the hands of his enemies who destroyed him. This is not true in the case of Jannaeus. Alexander died of natural causes during a campaign that was ultimately victorious (Ant XIII.398-405).

I. Hyrchanus II

Hyrchanus II (76-30): Josephus, War I.109-273; 433-434; V.396-398; Ant XIII.407; 408; XIV.4-99; 127-380; XV.4-41; 164-183; 254; 266; XX.242-245; B.Baba Kamma 82b; B.Sotah 49b; B.Menahoth 64b. The long reign of Hyrchanus is in some ways similar to what we know about the career of the Wicked Priest (34). His reputation is ambiguous(35), however. Josephus tells

(34) For this reason many scholars identify him as the Wicked Priest: DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires (1950) Paris; VT (1/1951) pp 200-215; Nouveaux aperçus (1953) Paris; Eretz-Israel (8/1967) pp 23-36; cf also BROWNLEE, W.H., BASOR (126/1952) pp 10-20; CARMIGNAC, J., RQ (3/1961-62) pp 505-538; RSR (31/1957) p 159; CARCOPINO, J., CRAIBL (1950) p 199; CAVIGNAC, E., RHR (138/1950) pp 152-159; DHORME, E., CRAIBL (1950) p 198; ELLIGER, K., Studien; GOOSSENS, R., NC1 (1-2/1949-50) pp 336-353; NC1 (4/1952) pp 137-170; Flambeau (35/1952) pp 145-154; NC1 (5/1953) pp 190-234; KAHLE, P., TLZ (75/1950) cols 537-542; VT (1/1951) pp 34-48; TLZ (77/1952) cols 401-412.

(35) The changing reputation is an important point for Dupont-Sommer's identification of Hyrchanus II as the Wicked Priest. "A vrai dire, il n'y a nulle trace, ni dans Josèphe ni ailleurs, d'une telle transformation du comportement religieux et moral de Jannée. J'ai plusieurs fois cherché à montrer que ce trait désignait typiquement Hyrchan II, attaché aux Pharisiens, ses partisans, lui qui, d'abord durant le règne d'Alexandra, sa mère, exerça seulement le souverain pontificat, sans s'occuper de politique, mais qui ultérieurement, exerça à la fois le sacerdoce et le gouvernement temporel, ce qui ne pouvait que dresser les Esséniens contre lui." DUPONT-SOMMER, A., CRAIBL (1972) pp 716-717.

us that he was a naturally decent man and because of his kindness did not readily listen to slander (Ant XIV.12). But in the same passage he goes on to say:

"But his ineffectualness and weakness of will made him seem ignoble and unmanly to those who observed him."

These reproaches against the character of Hyrcanus are repeated elsewhere (Ant XIII.407-408; XVI.157; War I.203). Before his execution by Herod (War I.433-434) Hyrcanus had been a prisoner of the Parthians.

Dupont-Sommer, who identifies Hyrcanus II as the Wicked Priest, interprets 4QpNah as a reference to the two sons of Alexander Jannaeus: Hyrcanus and Aristobulus (36). The conflict between these two brothers is recorded several times in rabbinic literature (37).

Two reasons for eliminating both Hyrcanus II and his brother, Aristobulus II, from our consideration as the Wicked Priest, are based on the assumption that the events referred to in IQpHab took place before the arrival of the Kittim=Romans in 63 B.C.

a) The Kittim in IQpHab are depicted as about to invade Judaea. They have not yet already done so. None of the verbs used to describe them is in the perfect tense (38).

b) 4QpNah I.2-4 says that the city was not subjected to foreigners from the time of Antiochus IV Epiphanes until the coming of the Kittim: the period described in IQpHab necessarily falls before 63 B.C. (39).

J. Aristobulus II

Aristobulus II (67-63): Josephus, War I.109-184; V.396-398; Ant XIV.4-124; XV.23-64; 180; XX.243-245; B.Baba Kamma 82b; B.Sotah 49b;

(36) DUPONT-SOMMER, A., The Essene Writings from Qumran (1961) Oxford, p 350.

(37) B.Baba Kamma 82b; B.Sotah 49b; B.Menahoth 64b.

(38) VAN DER PLOEG, J.M., "L'usage du parfait et de l'imparfait comme moyen de datation dans le commentaire d'Habacuc," in Les Manuscrits de la Mer Morte (Colloque de Strasbourg 25-27 mai 1955) (1957) Paris, pp 25-35.

(39) SCHUERER-VERMES-MILLAR, vol I, pp 241-242 note 30.

B. Menahoth 64b. Aristobulus enjoyed a reputation as a man of action and high spirits (Ant XIII.407; XIV.13). He was arrested and taken captive by the Romans more than once (Ant XIV.124). His various captivities and death at the hands of the Romans are the elements which most approximate the description of the Wicked Priest in the scrolls. Otherwise there is nothing much substantial to warrant an identification of Aristobulus with the Wicked Priest.

* * *

From all that we have written above it is apparent that each of the High Priests of this period in some respects parallel what we know about the Wicked Priest (40). However, the information provided by the scrolls is patient of various interpretations. Certain of the statements could easily fall into the category of polemic or invective, that might be directed at any opponent, and not necessarily reflect the reality of that opponent's personality or life; e.g. the drunkenness, greed, carousal, etc, even the profanation of the temple is not so substantial an accusation as might at first appear.

On the other hand, the statements about the Wicked Priest being given into the hands of his enemies, the violent of nations, and his death being brought about them, are unlikely to have been made if this had not actually occurred. If we take this fact as our point of departure our search for the Wicked Priest is considerably limited. The only High Priests who were given into the hands of their enemies and died as a result are: Menelaus, Jonathan Maccabaeus, Simon, his brother, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II.

Moreover, IQpHab VIII.9-10 provides us with another element that can serve in our search:

(40) "In some cases these identifications (e.g. those with Menelaus and Eleazar) are closely tied in with identifications of the TR, and since the description of the WP is generally applicable to so many figures known to the history of the period, only an agreed conclusion (which is not yet in sight) on the time when the teacher arose and the community was organized will carry with it a definitive solution to the problem of identifying the WP." BRUCE, F.F., "Wicked Priest," in Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971) Jerusalem, vol 16, col 486.

"... The Wicked Priest who was called by the name of truth when he first arose. But when he ruled over Israel, his heart became proud and he forsook God, and betrayed the precepts for the sake of wealth."

Whatever the phrase may mean, it is obvious that there was a radical change of opinion regarding the Wicked Priest. His beginning was looked upon with approval, but then subsequently his conduct warranted severe disapproval. Our candidate for the priest must in some way reflect this characteristic. This eliminates Menelaus; as we saw above (pp 172-175) Menelaus was ill-famed from the beginning of his tenure until his sad death.

Archaeology has shown us that the community began to live at Qumran sometime around 150 B.C. The Teacher of Righteousness was the founder, or at least one of the earliest members of the community. Moreover he was a contemporary of the Wicked Priest, and so our search is even more restricted. Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II are too late to be considered contemporaries of the Teacher of Righteousness (41).

We are left with two likely candidates: the Maccabee brothers, Simon and Jonathan. And in fact, of all the High Priests of this period, only the Maccabee brothers can be said to have begun their career with anything like a favorable reputation.

III. THE MACCABEE BROTHERS

The enemies into whose hands the Wicked Priest fell are "the violent of nations." (4QpPss^a IV.10). This eliminates Simon who was killed by his son-in-law. Of all the possible High Priests who might be the Wicked Priest, only Jonathan Maccabaeus remains (42). Our only sources

(41) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 49-57.

(42) "Il est aussi décisif, nous semble-t-il, pour l'identification exacte du Prêtre Impie ... Parmi les Hasmonéens, Jonatan était le seul qui, étant souverain et prêtre suprême fut arrêté et exécuté par les païens." TYLOCH, W., RoczOr (32/1968) p 25.

for history outside the scrolls, are Josephus and the books of Maccabees. Both of these view Jonathan as a hero; consequently it is difficult to find elements which show his activity in a bad light, or which approximate the view the author of the scrolls had of the Wicked Priest. Nevertheless, there are incidents in these accounts of Jonathan which could be interpreted in an unfavorable light.

The Wicked Priest is called by the name of truth when he first arose. Josephus tells us that Jonathan was held in the same esteem as his brother, the national hero: Judas Maccabaeus:

"Thereupon Jonathan said he was ready to die for them, and so, being considered in no way inferior to his brother, he was appointed commander of the Jews." Ant XIII.6.

The change of the Wicked Priest's reputation indicated in IQpHab VIII. 8-12 finds a logical explanation in Jonathan's irregular usurpation of the office of High Priest. Jonathan was appointed to that office by a foreign prince:

"And he wrote letters ... saying: King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting! We have heard concerning thee that thou art a mighty man of valour ... and now we have appointed thee this day to be High Priest of thy nation ... and he sent unto him a purple robe and a crown of gold... and Jonathan put on the holy garment in the seventh month of the one hundred and sixtieth year, at the feast of Tabernacles ..." I Maccabees X.17-21.

"he wrote the following letter: King Alexander to his brother Jonathan, greeting. We have long heard of your courage and loyalty ... We therefore elect you this day High Priest of the Jews ... I have also sent you as gifts a robe of purple and a crown of gold... On receiving this letter, Jonathan, at the time of the festival of Tabernacles, put on the High-Priestly robe, this being four years after the death of his brother Judas..." Ant XIII.45-46

To the Zadokites, obsessed with the legitimacy of the priestly line, this could not but have provoked serious reaction. The hero, who had seemed their defender, and the defender of Jewish tradition, turned around and sacrilegiously assumed an office to which he had no right. Cross writes that Simon's assumption of the High Priesthood, described

in I Maccabees XIV.25-49, was the occasion of the split between the Qumran Community and the priesthood in Jerusalem. He claims that although they did not approve of Jonathan's earlier assumption of the High Priesthood, they nonetheless held their peace, not certain if this was a permanent change. This is not especially convincing. Jonathan's assumption of the office was sacrilegious and illegitimate, and regardless of whether it was a permanent change of the High Priestly line, or not, it must have been looked upon with horror by the Zadokites. This turn of events is the most persuasive explanation of the about-face of the Community with regard to the Wicked Priest. It also explains the accusations of cultic irregularity and profanation of the temple levied against the Wicked Priest in the scrolls.

There are indications of opposition to Jonathan among the Jews. However, given the pro-Maccabee bias of our sources, this opposition is always depicted in an unfavorable light. Here are some examples of these references:

"And there were gathered together against him certain pestilent fellows out of Israel, men that were transgressors of the Law, to complain against him (Jonathan); but the king gave no heed to them." I Maccabees X.61.

"And certain lawless men of them that were of the nation made complaints against him (Jonathan); but the king did unto him even as his predecessors had done unto him, and exalted him in the sight of all his friends, and confirmed him in the High Priesthood..." I Maccabees XI.25-26.

"But the renegades and godless men, seeing that Jonathan and his followers were living in the country in the greatest security because of the peace, sent to King Demetrius and urged him to send Bacchides to seize Jonathan." Ant XIII.23.

"On obtaining this freedom of action, Jonathan made his residence in the city of Machma, and there administered the affairs of the people and punished the wicked and godless, and so purged the nation of them." Ant XIII.34.

"When the officers had done this, those men who had been prepared to accuse Jonathan and were hostile to him, seeing the honour that

"was done him by the king's proclamation ran away for fear that they might receive some further harm." Ant XIII.85.

"Nor did Demetrius give credence to the renegades who brought accusations against Jonathan..." Ant XIII.125.

"Meanwhile the High Priest Jonathan, who wished the men of the citadel of Jerusalem to leave, as well as the Jewish renegades and godless men and the garrisons in the entire country, sent envoys with gifts to Demetrius..."
Ant XIII.133.

Undoubtedly many, if not all, the references to "renegades and godless men" who opposed Jonathan Maccabaeus are not concerned with the community that produced the scrolls. Nonetheless, they are evidence that Jonathan's rule was not universally accepted in Israel and opposition did exist.

Other parallels between the account of the Wicked Priest and the career of Jonathan can be found. The Wicked Priest plundered Jews and Gentiles, amassing great wealth; Jonathan is described as taking spoils in more than one place:

"And they rose up from their ambush against them and slew them; and many fell wounded to death, and the rest fled into the mountains; and they took all their spoils." I Maccabees IX.40.

"And Jonathan burned Azotus, and the cities round about it and took their spoils..." I Maccabees X.84.

"And he (Jonathan) came to Askalon, and they of the city met him honorably. And he departed thence to Gaza and they of Gaza shut him out; and he lay siege unto it, and burned the suburbs thereof with fire, and spoiled them." I Maccabees XI.61.

"... They sprang out from their ambush and killed them all after taking as spoil the ornaments and the rest of the possessions that were then being taken along by these people, turned back."
Ant XIII.20

"He (Jonathan) therefore expressed approval of their friendly intention, and returned from there to Jerusalem, taking along much booty which he had seized in the victory over his enemies."
Ant XIII.101.

"He (Jonathan) therefore turned back from there to Arabia and made war on the Nabataeans, driving off many of their cattle and taking captives, and then went to Damascus, where he sold them all."
Ant XIII.179.

The enemies of the Qumran Community are several times referred to as the "Builders of the Wall." Jonathan's various building activities are mentioned in I Maccabees IX.62; X.11; XII.35-36; Ant XIII.41; 181-183.

In 4QpNah II.5-6 there is mention of the "multitude of corpses that will fall in the days of the 'seekers of smooth things'." A reference can be found to the 'heaps' of corpses that resulted from Jonathan's activity.

"... and the bodies scattered about, and them that had been burned, whom he had burned in the war, for they had made heaps of them in his way."
I Maccabees XI.4.

Finally the disastrous end of the Wicked Priest: given into the hands of his enemies, the violent of nations, who bring about his death in 'humiliation and bitterness of soul is a close parallel to Jonathan's tragic imprisonment and death at the hands of Tryphon.

"And when Tryphon saw that he (Jonathan) came with a great host he was afraid to stretch out his hand against him; and he received him honorably ... And he said to Jonathan: Why hast thou put all this people into trouble, seeing there is no war betwixt us? And now, send them away to their homes ... and come thou with me to Ptolemais ... And he (Jonathan) trusted him and did even as he said ... But when Jonathan entered into Ptolemais, they of Ptolemais shut the gates and took him; and all they that had come with him, they slew with the sword. And Tryphon sent forces and horsemen into Galilee and into the great plain to destroy all Jonathan's men."
I Maccabees XII.42-49.

"But when he came near to Bascama, he (Tryphon) slew Jonathan, and he was buried there. And Tryphon returned and went away into his own land."
I Maccabees XIII.23.

Antiquities XIII tells the same story:

"... and for that reason he determined to get rid of Jonathan ... And deciding to make an end of him by deceit and treachery ... When Tryphon discovered that Jonathan was ready for battle, he flattered him with presents and friendliness ... He also advised him to dismiss his army; ... He invited him, however to keep a

"few men about him and go with him to Ptolemais, saying he would deliver up that city to him ... Jonathan dismissed his army ... while he himself with a thousand went to Ptolemais with Tryphon. But the inhabitants of Ptolemais shut their gates - this they had been ordered to do by Tryphon - and he took Jonathan alive and killed all the men with him. He also sent troops against the two thousand men who had been left in Galilee, in order to destroy them as well..."

Ant XIII.187-193

"For this reason Tryphon set out from Adora, and reaching Coele-Syria, hurriedly invaded Galaaditis, where he killed Jonathan and ordered that he be buried, and then returned to Antioch."

Ant XIII.209

In all probability, the Wicked Priest of the Qumran Scrolls is Jonathan Maccabaeus.

* * *

Other elements, albeit of a less conclusive nature, point to Jonathan as the Priest. It was during the reign of Jonathan that we have the first mention of the existence of the Essenes:

"Now at this time there were three schools of thought among the Jews, which held different opinions concerning human affairs; the first being that of the Pharisees, the second that of the Sadducees, and the third that of the Essenes ... The sect of the Essenes, however, declares that Fate is the mistress of all things, and that nothing befalls men unless it be in accordance with her decree."

Ant XIII.171-172

A Mattathias/Matthias, the son of Absalom stood by Jonathan. He may have some connection with the House of Absalom mentioned in IQpHab V.9-10.

"And all they that were of Jonathan's side fled; not one of them was left, except Mattathias, the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Chalphi, captains of the forces." I Maccabees XI.70

"And so they all abandoned Jonathan, except a few, some fifty in number, who stood their ground, among them Matthias, the son of Absalom, and Judas the son of Chapsaios, who were the commanders of the entire force;"

Ant XIII.161

IV. THE LIAR

A problem peculiar to our investigation is that of determining which of the figuratively named characters in the scrolls represent the same individual. Does each new epithet refer to a distinct person, or as is more likely, do certain pairs or groups of titles indicate a single character. We know that the Teacher of Righteousness was also called the "priest" (43), the "Teacher of the Community" (44), and simply the "Teacher." (45) Moreover the first column of the Damascus Document tells us that the Spouter of Lies was the Man of Mockery (46); later we are told that the Spouter is "Zaw." (47) The Liar is also called the Spouter of Lies (48), or quite simply the Man of Lies (49). The relationship or identity of the Liar and the Wicked Priest must be examined.

A. Information about the Liar in the Scrolls

The Liar was also known as the Spouter of Lies (IQpHab X.9) (50); the Scoffer (CD I.14-15); Follower of the Wind (CD VIII.13 and XIX.25); one who raised storms and rained down lies (CD VIII.13 and XIX.25-26); and Zaw (CD IV.19).

He was a contemporary of the Teacher of Righteousness as well as his opponent (CD I.11-14; IQpHab V.8-12).

Their opposition was based on contrasting interpretations of the Law and the Traditions; he and his followers did not accept the Teacher's

(43) 4QpPss^a II.15; cf also IQpHab II.8.

(44) CD XX.1.

(45) CD XX.28.

(46) CD I.14-15; cf also 4QpIs^b II.6,10 and CD XX.11.

(47) CD IV.19.

(48) IQpHab X.9; IQpMicah (14) X.2; CD I.15; VIII.13; XIX.26.

(49) IQpHab II.2; V.11; CD XX.15.

(50) Cf STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung, p 41.

teaching (IQpHab II.1-3; V.10-12; X.9-13; CD I. 13-20; IV.19-VI.2; VIII.4-13, 18-19; XIX.17-26; XIX.31-XX.15).

The Liar raised up supporters: a community (IQpHab II.1-2; X.9-10; CD I.14-II.1; IV.19-VI.2; VIII.12-13; 18; XIX.24-26, 31-32; XX.13-15).

The text does not really give us any more biographical information about the Liar than this.

B. The Liar and the Wicked Priest

The scroll passages that tell us about the Liar and his followers raise a series of questions that must now be considered. The first of these questions is: What was the Liar's relationship to the other great villain of the scrolls, and opponent of the Teacher of Righteousness: the Wicked Priest? Is the Liar the same individual? If so, why is he sometimes referred to as the Man or Spouter of Lies, and at other times as the Wicked Priest? If the Liar is not the Wicked Priest, who is he?

There is no passage in the scrolls which unequivocally asserts that the Wicked Priest and the Liar are identical; but on the other hand there is no statement which makes such an identification impossible. Scholars are divided in their opinions as to whether the Liar and the Wicked Priest are the same person.

The reasons generally adduced for identifying or distinguishing the two are the similarity or dissimilarity of their descriptions in the scrolls - and the proposal of some historical individual that figures in a particular solution of the problem of identifying these elusive characters.

Following the principle articulated at the beginning of this work, we shall give primary importance to what the scrolls tell us about the Wicked Priest and the Liar. The following parallels show to what extent our information about the Wicked Priest coincides with what we know about the Liar.

1) The Wicked Priest was a High Priest; he is always called a "priest" and was most likely a High Priest (cf IQpHab VIII.9-10). As a priest, he heaped iniquity upon himself, committed abominations and defilements, and defiled the temple (IQpHab VIII.12-13; XII.7-9). There are no texts which directly describe the Liar as a priest. There are, however, indications that his group contained a significant priestly element. CD IV.14-VI.2 is a catalogue of accusations addressed to the followers of the Spouter of Lies, one of which is that they profane the temple by not observing the distinction between clean and unclean (CD IV.6-7). If the opponents of the Qumran Community were not priests, this accusation would make no sense (51).

2) The Wicked Priest is a contemporary of the Teacher of Righteousness (IQpHab IX.9-10; XI.4-5); so was the Liar (CD I.11-14; IQpHab V.8-12).

3) At the beginning of his career the Wicked Priest gave the impression of being upright; later he showed his true colors. While he was High Priest, he became proud, forsook God and betrayed His commandments for the sake of wealth (IQpHab VIII.9-11); the Wicked Priest robbed and plundered the men of violence who rebelled against God (VIII.11), the peoples (VIII.12) and the community in the cities of Judah (XII.9-10).

We know that the Liar's community displayed this same attachment to gain (IQH X.23, 30; IQpHab VI.1; VIII.11-12; IX.5-6; CD XIX.17,19). In IQpHab VIII.9 we read that the Wicked Priest was called by the name of truth when he first appeared: this phrase - apart from describing the acceptable reputation of the Wicked Priest at the beginning of his career - is a not too veiled allusion to the name by which he was later known: the Man of Lies. The contrast is clear and deliberate.

(51) This same accusation is levelled at the priests in the Psalms of Solomon (VIII.12): they profane the sacrifice by having sexual congress with their wives while they are menstruating. "They trode the altar of the Lord, (coming straight) from all manner of uncleanness; and with menstrual blood they defiled the sacrifices (as those these were) common flesh." cf JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 102-103; RABIN, C., Qumran Studies (1957) Oxford, p 56.

4) The conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest, as well as the Wicked Priest's persecution of the Teacher is a repeated theme in the Habakkuk Commentary: the Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to the house of his exile; he intended to destroy the Teacher with the fury of his venom (IQpHab XI.4-6); the Wicked Priest appeared at the house of exile on the Day of Atonement and confounded the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness and caused them to stumble (IQpHab XI.6-8); the Wicked Priest committed some sort of iniquity against the Teacher and his followers (IQpHab IX.9-10); the Wicked Priest intended to destroy the community (IQpHab XII.6); he sought to slay the Teacher of Righteousness (4QpPss^a IV.8).

The things said about the Liar reveal the same opposition, persecution, and attempt on the life of the Teacher:

"... the Scoffer arose, who shed over Israel the waters of lies ... and they transgressed the covenant and violated the precept. They banded together against the life of the righteous, and all who walked in perfection they loathed; they pursued them with the sword." CD I.14-15; 20-21.

"Interpreted this concerns the House of Absalom and the members of its council who were silent at the time of the chastisement of the Teacher of Righteousness and gave him no help against the Liar ..." IQpHab V.9-11

"... those who were unfaithful with the Liar because they did not ... the Teacher of Righteousness from the mouth of God."
IQpHab II.1-3

"Interpreted this concerns the Spouter of Lies who led many astray ... who vilified and outraged the elect of God."
IQpHab X.9,13

"... they (the followers of the Liar) preached rebellion against the commandments of God given by the hand of Moses of his holy anointed ones, because they prophesied lies to turn Israel away from following God." CD V.21-VI.2

"They have taken revenge and borne malice every man against his brother, and every man has hated his fellow."

CD VIII.5-6; XIX.18

In the midst of a tirade against the builders of the wall, we read:

"Every man who vows another to destruction by the law of the gentiles shall himself be put to death." CD IX.1

5) Because of his many iniquities the Wicked Priest will be judged and punished by God (IQpHab X.3-5; XI.1,10, 14-15; XII.5-6; 4QpPss^a IV.9-10). The same fate awaits the community of the Liar (IQpHab X.12-13; CD I.21-II.1; V.14-16; VIII.2-4; XIX.14-16; VIII.11-12; XIX.23-24; VIII.13; XIX.26; VIII.18).

In all of these parallels it is true that the specific things said about the Wicked Priest are not always said about the Liar in the singular, but about his community as a whole. Moreover, in spite of the amazing similarity of statements made about them, there is ultimately no conclusive proof beyond debate that they are the same individual. We are forced to choose the more probable solution. We know that: the Wicked Priest and the Liar are both contemporaries of the Teacher of Righteousness; both represent priestly elements in the people, who oppose the Teacher of Righteousness on doctrinal grounds; both are guilty of violent attempts to do harm to the Teacher and his community; in the end both will be condemned by God; these facts indicate that the probabilities weigh in favor of the identity of the two characters. Until more conclusive evidence can be produced in favor of, or against the assumption that the Liar is the Wicked Priest, certainly the least unlikely hypothesis, the assumption most consistent with the facts we possess, is that the Wicked Priest and the Liar are the same man.

If the Liar and the Wicked Priest are the same individual, is there a reason for using the two epithets to describe him? Is there any logic behind the practice of sometimes referring to him as the

Liar and at other times as the Wicked Priest? Moreover why these two titles? Why is he specifically called the Liar and not the man of iniquity, evil or some similarly reproachful expression? What is the meaning of "lies?" Why does the Man of Lies become the Wicked Priest?

Here again we can but speculate: consequently the explanation we would propose does not enjoy the same certainty as our earlier identification of the Wicked Priest with Jonathan Maccabaeus.

We shall see in the following chapter that the "Righteousness" in the title Teacher of Righteousness probably had a specific meaning. It was the Teacher's peculiar interpretation of the Torah; it follows that the Liar's "lie" was his contradictory teaching. This was either a specific interpretation which excluded the Teacher's insights, or a simple denial of his understanding of the Torah. There are oblique references in the scrolls - by no means exhaustive - which indicate where the contrasts of interpretation were to be found: CD IV.14-VI.2; VIII.4-9; XIX.16-21; IQH IV.12. The general opposition between the two teachings, righteousness on the one hand, and falsehood on the other, is often mentioned: CD I.15-21; IV.14-VI.2; IX.1; VIII.4-9; XIX.16-21; IQH IV.6-18; X.31-34.)

If the Liar is Jonathan Maccabaeus, and if at a certain point in his career he began to be called the Wicked Priest - the most logical occasion for the coining of this new name is the point at which he usurped the office of High Priest. Jonathan Maccabaeus is the Liar; when Jonathan illegitimately accepted the High Priesthood at the feast of Tabernacles in 152 B.C. (I Maccabees X.20-21), an absolute and irreversible rupture took place between the two communities that had previously co-existed in the ranks of the Hasidim. This is the occasion that the Man of Lies flouted the Law (IQpHab V.8-12). From this point on the Liar was the Wicked Priest, and not the High Priest as he claimed. According to the sectaries of the Qumran Community, the Liar and his followers flouted the Law continually in a variety of ways,

but this outrage was the supreme act of disdain for the laws and customs of the forefathers: the unwarranted and illegitimate assumption of the High Priesthood and its conferral by a pagan prince. It is from this moment that we can date the separation of the community from the temple priesthood and worship. The House of Absalom that was silent and did not react in the same violent fashion to this usurpation are the Pharisees or the larger group of Jews who accepted a fait accompli and tolerated this new state of affairs.

V. THE WRATHFUL LION AND THE WICKED PRIEST

Allegro and others assume that the Wrathful Lion is yet another name for the Wicked Priest (52). Allegro gives two reasons for this assumption: 4QpNah II mentions the wealth of the last priests of Jerusalem; this reflects the accusation levelled at the last priests in IQpHab IX.5. But there is no connection ever made between the last priests of Jerusalem and the Wicked Priest.

In 4QpHos^a (53) the words "Wrathful Lion" and "last priest" appear in successive lines. This Allegro assumes is an identification of the Wrathful Lion and the last priest; the last priest would be the Wicked Priest. Once again, there is no indication anywhere in the scrolls that the Wicked Priest was the last priest. Moreover, the text of 4QpHos^a is really too fragmentary for this to be anything more than conjecture.

There is no apparent connection between 4QpNah and the Wicked Priest,

(52) ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) p 93; ROWLEY, H.H., JBL (75/1956) p 192; PEQ (88/1956) p 94; CARMIGNAC, J., Le Docteur de Justice et Jésus-Christ (1957) Paris, p 54 note 1; VAN DER WOUDE, A., Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran (1957) Assen, p 45; MAIER, J., Die Texte vom Toten Meer (1960) Munich, vol II, pp 146 and 162.

(53) ALLEGRO, J.M., JBL (75/1956) pp 89-95.

the Teacher of Righteousness or the Liar (54).

If the Wrathful Lion is Alexander Jannaeus, as seems to be the case, this is even a reason for excluding Jannaeus from consideration as a candidate for the Wicked Priest or the Liar (55).

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- (54) "Im 4QpNah - soweit er bisher veröffentlicht ist - ist von der Gemeinde, von dem Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit und von dem Frevelpriester mit keinem Wort die Rede, und es ist nicht erlaubt, Anspielungen auf sie in den Text zu lesen." JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 138; "The Wrathful Lion and the events of his time discovered in the prophecy of Nahum by the sectarians certainly belong to 'their history,' i.e. to the 'end of days.' This is the pattern of exegesis in the commentaries. However, we have no way of knowing whether the terrible events in the reign of one of the illegitimate priests of Jerusalem (to speak from an Essene point of view) belong early or late in the history of the sect. There is no mention of the Righteous Teacher in connection with the events, and no reason to connect the Wrathful Lion with the figures of the era of Essene origins such as the wicked priest par excellence whose biblical sobriquet seems to be the False Oracle (כֹּהֵן אֱשֵׁר) or more simply the False One (כֹּהֵן שֶׁרֶר). Just as we cannot date the foundation of the sect in the Roman era because of references to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in the Habakkuk Commentary or the mention of Aemilius Scaurus in the calendar from Cave IV, so we are not obliged to date the beginning of the movement in the time of Jannaeus. On the other hand we are quite near the minimal date fixed on archaeological and palaeographical grounds, and cannot absolutely exclude a date for the rise of of the sect in the early reign of Jannaeus. (Josephus' testimony to the prophecy of Judas the Essene in the reign of Aristobulus I (104-103 B.C.) argues strongly for a pre-Jannaeus date for Essene origins." CROSS, F.M., Ancient Library, pp 94-95.
- (55) "Par contre le commentaire de Nahum (4QpNah) concerne une autre période. Les noms Antiochos et Demetrios qu'on trouve dans le texte du Commentaire doivent s'appliquer à Antiochos IV Epiphane (176-164 av.n.e.) et à Demetrios III Eukairos (95-88 av.n.e.) qui luttait contre Alexandre Jannée (103-76 av.n.e.) Ce dernier est appelé dans ce commentaire 'Lion furieux'. Le contenu de ce peser ne s'attache pas à l'histoire interne de la communauté essénienne, mais il y a question d'autres groupements du judaïsme contemporain de la communauté de Qumran." TYLOCH, W., RocZOr (32/1968) p 26.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

The term "Teacher" (מורה) appears in the non-biblical Qumran scrolls thirteen times (1). In CD we find it twice expressed as יורה (2). It is linked with the word צדק to form the phrase: מורה הצדק - usually translated "the Teacher of Righteousness" - six times in the Habakkuk peshar as well as in the commentaries on Micah and Psalm XXXVII. In the Habakkuk Commentary the word צדקה is once substituted for צדק (3), which does not change its meaning. In the Damascus Document it appears twice without the definite article as מורה צדק - Teacher of Righteousness (4). In CD XX.1 and 14 the

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- (1) IQpHab I.13; II.2; V.10; VII.4; VIII.3; IX.9; XI.5; IQ14 (Commentaire de Michée) X.4; 4QpPss^a III.15; CD I.11; XX.1; XX.28; XX.32.
- (2) CD VI.11; XX.14; "That יורה הצדק of the 'Damascus' Fragments is a variant form of מורה הצדק, found in the Peshar to Habakkuk, Micah and Psalm XXXVII, is clear from the fact that the Fragments use יורה (XX.14) and מורה (XX.1) interchangeably as constructs to היחיד; moreover, immediately before the occurrence of מורה היחיד at XX.1 of this work, the scribe wrote and crossed out the first three letters of יורה, then proceeded to write מורה. Thus, the author of the 'Damascus Fragments' regarded the masculine singular participles gal and hiph'il from the verb ירה as synonyms. There is biblical warrant for so doing: at I Chron. X.3, for instance, both המורלים and היורלים are used synonymously in the meaning of "the archers", "those shooting (with the bow);" interestingly enough, the parallel passage, I Sam XXXI.3, the Chronicler's source, uses המורלים only. Along with his modern counterpart, an ancient student of the Bible could also note that יורה and מורה are used synonymously in the sense of 'early rain'; compare for example, Deut XI.14, where we have יורה, with the two occurrences of מורה in Joel II.23. At this last mentioned place, incidentally a number of Hebrew codices show a reading יורה for the second occurrence." RABINOWITZ, I., VT (8/1958) p 393.
- (3) IQpHab II.2
- (4) CD I.11; XX.32

Teacher is described as מורה היחיד - translated variously as "the Teacher of the Community" and "the Unique Teacher;" in CD XX.28 he is indicated simply as the Teacher. The context would seem to indicate that the same person is being spoken about in these last three instances.

Whoever the individual, if indeed it is an individual (5) being described by this expression, he is undoubtedly a figure of extreme importance in the history of the Qumran Community narrated in the scrolls. In this chapter we will attempt to determine:

a) the meaning of the expression: מורה הצדק;

b) whether, in fact, it refers to a single individual or to a series of people;

c) what the scrolls tell us about the historical role of the Teacher of Righteousness that may help us to determine his identity;

d) who the Teacher of Righteousness is.

I. THE TITLE

A. מורה (Teacher)

The word מורה and its synonym יורה appear in the Old Testament with three distinct but possibly related meanings: archer (6); first rain (7); and teacher (8).

The diversity of these meanings, along with the things predicated about the Teacher in the scrolls, leaves us in no doubt about the way the word is being used: מורה is Teacher. However, the ambiguity between the concept of "rain" and "Teacher" may not be entirely without significance.

Jeremias points out that there is a conscious contrast drawn between

(5) Cf pp 208-210 of this work.

(6) Proverbs XXVI.18; I Chron X.3; II Chron XXXV.23; I Sam XXXI.3; II Sam XI.24.

(7) Deut XI.14; Hos VI.3; Jer V.24; Joel II.23; Psalm LXXXIV.7.

(8) II Kings XVII.28; Isaiah IX.14;XXX.20; Proverbs V.13; VI.13; Job XXXVI.22; II Chron XV.3; Hab II.18.

the Spouter of Lies (מַטְרֵי הַכֶּזֶב) and the Teacher of Righteousness (9). He argues that the contrast is not only to be found between "falsehood" and "righteousness" but between "teacher" and "spouter" as well.

Teacher is connected to rain, and מַטְרֵי derives from the root מַטַּר = to spout, drip (10). Neither Teacher nor Spouter have altogether lost the semantic link with water. In IQH VIII.16, we read: "You have put into my mouth, rain ..." This hymn is usually attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness (11). The fact that Spouter still calls to mind its original image is even more apparent: "... when the Scoffer arose who shed over Israel the waters of lies." (12)

The closest biblical parallel to מַטְרֵי הַצְדִּיק appears in Joel II.23 (13):

"And Sons of Zion rejoice
And delight in Yahweh your God
For He gives you the former rain for righteousness (מַטְרֵי לְצִדְקָה)
And sends down rain for you,
The former and the latter rain as of old."

The phrase "former rain for righteousness," is ambiguous in the Hebrew text. It could be read "the Teacher for Righteousness." Although the context and the parallel words seem to indicate clearly that the word "rain is more appropriate, the phrase "for righteousness" lessens the

(9) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 79-126; LEANEY, A.R.C., HANSON, R.P.C., POSEN, J., A Guide to the Scrolls. Nottingham Studies on the Qumran Discoveries (1958) London, p 121; BETZ, O., Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte (1960) Tübingen, p 55.

(10) JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 313.

(11) "Par suite, l'auteur de notre hymne, en parlant de la 'pluie automnale' que Dieu a mise dans sa bouche, fait lui-même allusion, semble-t-il, au titre même dont ses fidèles se servaient pour le désigner." DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Semitica (7/1957) p 65. "L'image de la pluie d'automne paraît particulière aux Hymnes; par contre celle des eaux vives, qui dans le contexte lui est intimement liée, est une image courante pour désigner celui qui enseigne la Loi." JAUBERT, A., RB (65/1958) p 239.

(12) CD I.14-15

(13) GRESSMANN, H., ZDMG (66/1912) p 501.

certainty of this interpretation (14). Several translators have understood מורה לצדקה as Teacher of Righteousness (15).

A parallel passage is in Hosea X.12:

"For it is time to seek the Lord, that he may come and rain righteousness upon you."

The phrase "rain righteousness" is יורה צדק. Here too, translators have differed in their renderings of the prophet's words. Although the context is about sowing, reaping, and plowing, and would seem to indicate clearly enough that the prophet was speaking about rain, nevertheless, Jerome and the Syriac version have "teach righteousness," instead of "rain righteousness."

The expression מורה/יורה צדק is not to be found in the Mishnah or the Gemarah (16). It is, however, used in Karaite works. Daniel Al Kumisi (IX century) commenting on Joel II.23, says:

"According to my view it is the Moreh Zedeq, Elijah, who will be sent to Israel to teach them laws as it says (Hos. X.12) 'Till he come and teach righteousness unto you' and it also says (Mal. III.24) 'And he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children,' and this will be before (the coming of) God as it says (ibid III.23) 'Before the coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord.'" (17)

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- (14) Sellers would translate this verse of Joel omitting entirely the word "righteousness." O.Proksch suggests this reconstruction of the text in the third edition of the Kittel Bible, on the basis of meter. Sellers goes on to ask: "How then did LZDQH ever get into the text? The hypothesis here proposed is that the scribe responsible for it came from the circle which produced the Zadokite Fragments and the Habakkuk Commentary in the Qumran scrolls, or at least was familiar with the teachings of the sect. So when he saw the word MWRH he automatically thought of the Teacher of Righteousness." SELLERS, O.R., IEJ (5/1955) pp 93-95.
- (15) Jerome in the Vulgate; Martin Luther; SMITH, H.J., The Bible. An American Translation (1927) Chicago.
- (16) Cf WEINGREEN, J., From Bible to Mishna (1976) Manchester, p 112.
- (17) The text is quoted from an article: WEIS, P.R., JQR (NS 41/1950) pp 135-136; cf ibid note 34.

Jeremias suggests that the infrequent use of MWRH in the Talmud (18) may be the deliberate avoidance of a term which had so particular a meaning for the heterodox Qumran sect. This would parallel a practice adopted with regard to certain concepts which early Christianity had appropriated (19).

Dalman claims that the word MWRH was not used for "Teacher" at the time of Christ (20). But we read in Matthew XXIII.10: "And you must not let men call you master, for you have only one master, the Christ." Many scholars believe that the Semitic word behind "master" in this verse is MWRH (21). Spicq suggests that this verse may have been a specific reference to the community of Qumran and their MWRH (22).

Another interpretation of MWRH is "judge." (23) Lehmann says that the word MWRH and HWR'H in the Talmud always refer to pronouncing judgement (24). The examples he cites, however, can equally well be translated "Teacher" or "teaching." Considering the Teacher of Righteousness a "just judge" as Lehman would have it, is based on tenuous evidence, and in the last analysis does not really provide any additional biographical information. On the other hand, it could be pertinent to any consideration of the theological identity of the Teacher, but that is beyond our scope.

(18) B.Keth 79a; 23a; J.Shabb 11b; J.Shek 47c and 51a.

(19) "Die geringe Verwendung von MWRH ist doch sehr auffällig. Wodurch ist sie bedingt? Ist sie eine bewusste Abwehr gegen den Titel, der von der Qumrangemeinde so speziell in Anspruch genommen wurde? Haben wir hier eine Polemik vor uns, wie sie in starkem Mass auch gegen Begriffe die das junge Christentum für sich in Besitz genommen hatte, angewandt wurde? Man wird die Frage nur stellen, sie aber nicht beantworten können." JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, p 317.

(20) DALMAN, G., Die Worte Jesu I (2nd ed. 1930) Leipzig, p 276.

(21) SPICQ, C., RB (66/1959) p 392; cf ibid for further literature.

(22) ibid.

(23) Weingreen cites numerous uses of MWRH and concludes: "the meaning conveyed was that of 'one who gives authoritative legal decisions.'" WEINGREEN, J., From Bible to Mishna (1976) Manchester, pp 108-112.

The term, MWRH, may shed further light on our investigation. It is used in the Old Testament to describe one of the functions of the priest (25). Teaching is similarly a priestly function in the Qumran texts:

"The Master shall bless the sons of Zadok, the priests, whom God has chosen to confirm His covenant forever, and to inquire into all His precepts in the midst of His people and to instruct them as He commanded." IQS^b III.22-24

The texts of 4QpPss^a and IQpHab II.8 indicate very strongly that the Teacher of Righteousness was a priest. The appropriateness of combining the function of Teacher with the office of priesthood confirms this association.

B. PTZ (Righteous/Righteousness)

The second part of the Teacher's name - the word PTZ is in a construct relationship with QRT, i.e. the phrase signifies the Teacher of Righteousness. Grammatically this could be either an objective genitive (the one who teaches righteousness) or a qualitative genitive (the righteous teacher). Obviously these are neither contradictory, nor mutually exclusive terms (26); there are, however, nuances of distinction that derive from the meaning assigned to the word PTZ (27).

1. Qualitative Genitive

The arguments in favor of interpreting PTZ as a qualitative genitive can be briefly summarized:

- Throughout the scrolls a variety of words are found in a construct relationship with the word PTZ. In many of these cases it is impossible to understand PTZ as an object; its use in these combinations is

(25) II Kings XVII.28; II Chron XV.3

(26) "The title 'teacher of righteousness' - or as it may equally be translated 'rightful teacher'..." BURROWS, M., The Dead Sea Scrolls (1956) New York, p 144.

(27) HYATT, J.P., NTS (2/1955-56) p 277 note 2.

adjectival and represents "the righteous" or "the good" (28). The word becomes a by-word that describes the community and its works in contrast to its adversaries who are designated by the words רשע and עוול (29).

- The מורה הצדק is contrasted to the Wicked Priest, the false preacher, and the lying man throughout the scrolls. The phrase must therefore mean the True Teacher, the Righteous Teacher or the Legitimate Teacher (30).

- מורה stands for "judge" in Talmudic literature. The מורה הצדק is the opponent of the מורה שקר (Isaiah IX.14) the lying or deceitful judge. The term is to be translated "just judge." (31)

- (28) "Dieser verflachte Sprachgebrauch von ZDQ, der es nur noch zu einem religiösen Beiwort werden liess, das die positive Ausrichtung einer Sache zeigt, beherrscht weitgehend den Gebrauch von ZDQ in den Q.-Texten. In diesen Zusammenhang gehören auch alle oben angeführten Stellen. Deutlich tritt dies heraus, wenn man einmal die Substantiva zusammenstellt die in konstr. Verbindung mit ZDQ stehen. Es ist die Rede von משפטי (IQH I,23.26; IQS^b II,26; CD XX.31; IQS III.1; IV.4) עצת (IQS I.13); מחשבת (IQS II.24); דרכי (IQS IV.2); עבודת (IQS IV.9; IQH VI.19); בחירי (IQH II.1,3); נמהרי (IQH V.22); מוכיחי (IQH VI.4); מעמד (IQH XVI.5); נתיבות (CD I.16); עידות (CD III.15); כני (IQS III.20,22; IX.14); ניחוח (IQS IX.5)." JEREMIAS,G., Der Lehrer, p 311.
- (29) "Der Lehrer, der auf der Seite des ZDQ, d.h. des zu Gott gehörigen steht." Der Lehrer wird dann durch das Wort ZDQ mit einem religiös-positiven Kennwort charakterisiert. Der beste Beleg für die Möglichkeit dieser Auffassung ist der Ausdruck בני צדק als Bezeichnung für die Gemeinde, wie sie in IQS III.20,22; IX.14 vorkommt, deren Gegensatz die Charakterisierung der Gegner als בני עוול (IQS III.21) darstellt. Hier ist deutlich, dass ZDQ den religiös bestimmten Bereich kennzeichnet, in den die Gemeinde gehört. Sie ist auf der Seite Gottes und damit in Gebiet des ZDQ. Sie hat die Qualität des ZDQ, denn sie setzt sich zusammen aus תמימי דת (IQS IV.22 u.a.)." JEREMIAS,G., Der Lehrer, p 312.
- (30) CROSS,F.M., Ancient Library, p 83 note 3; BLACK,M., The Scrolls and Christian Origins (1961) London p 20; WEINGREEN,J., From Bible to Mishna (1976) Manchester, pp 104-108.
- (31) Cf LEHMANN,M.R., RQ (1/1959) p 400.

2. Objective Genitive

The fact that the word ZDQ is undoubtedly used in an adjectival sense with many words in the scrolls, does not preclude the possibility that the Teacher taught righteousness, and that righteousness was something fairly specific in the mind of the scroll authors. A good many of the examples cited above could be equally comprehensible with ZDQ meaning a specific doctrine taught by the Teacher. Judgements, counsel, ways, service, etc., would even seem to confirm the idea that ZDQ was a teaching.

One of the opponents of the MWRH HZDQ is the Wicked Priest (not the Priest of Wickedness), but if the MWRH HZDQ was to be translated in a similar fashion, one would expect to find הַמִּוֹרֵה הַצַּדִּיק; the Wicked Priest is always designated as הַכֹּהֵן הַרָשָׁע (32). The Preacher of Lies (מְדַבֵּר הַכֶּזֶב) moreover, is an exact parallel of the Teacher of Righteousness understood as an objective genitive, i.e. he is the one who spouts lies.

Lehmann's argument - that MWRH HZDQ = "just judge" - is by no means convincing. The MWRH ŠQR of Isaiah IX.14 could just as easily be the Teacher of Falsehood.

In CD VI.10-11 we read: "until he comes who will teach righteousness at the end of days." This passage is perhaps the most convincing argument in favor of considering ZDQ an objective genitive. Obviously something is going to be taught - ZDQ, and just as certainly it will be the MWRH HZDQ who will teach that "righteousness." (33)

3. The Meaning of קִדְשׁ

Since ZDQ is an objective genitive, we must turn our attention to what the Teacher teaches. A detailed examination of the theological

(32) RABINOWITZ, I., VT (8/1958) p 393 note 3.

(33) ZDQ as an objective genitive: JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 311-312; RABINOWITZ, I., VT (8/1958) p 393; JAUBERT, A., RB (65/1958) pp 238-239; HYATT, J.P., NTS (2/1955-56) p 277 note 2.

content of that teaching would exceed the limits and goals of this work (34); our primary concern here is with the historical identity of the Teacher. The meaning of ZDQ is important to our investigation to the extent that it can contribute to determining that identity. Rabinowitz (35) interprets the phrase MWRH HZDQ as the "Guide of the Righteous" (i.e. the leader of the community.) So much is clear from the texts - the Teacher is the leader of the community; he then goes on to state that this was the title of various leaders of the community who succeeded one another. In other words, the Teacher of Righteousness in the scrolls is not a single person, but several different individuals. The whole question of whether MWRH HZDQ refers to one or a series of leaders can be more fruitfully examined after we have studied the passages that describe the Teacher.

The MWRH HZDQ is a teacher. The peculiar doctrine that he imparted to his followers came to him directly from God, and was termed "righteousness." The acceptance and practice of this "righteousness" was the constitutive element of the Qumran community. They were the "Sons of Righteousness." (Cf IQS III.20, 22; IX.14)

Our next task is to examine the passages in the scrolls that speak about the Teacher of Righteousness specifically to determine who he might be, who he cannot be, or if it is possible to give him a name at all.

II. IS THE TEACHER AN INDIVIDUAL

As was the case with the Wicked Priest, there are some who believe that the Teacher of Righteousness in the pesharim is not a reference to an individual, but rather to a type, or the title of the leader of the community. If it is the title of the leader of the community it stands to reason that it may refer to anyone of a succession of leaders.

(34) Cf note 8 on p 63 of this work.

(35) RABINOWITZ, I., VT (8/1958) pp 393-398.

A. Type

Gaster believes that the Teacher of Righteousness is a stock mask:

"What we have to realize is that the commentators were surely fitting a stock set of masks ("the Righteous Man", "the Wicked Man", "the Foreign Invader") upon a stock set of characters ("the Teacher of Righteousness", "the Wicked Priest", "the Kittim") differently identified at different epochs." (36)

There is of course no direct argument that can be brought against this assertion - likewise there is no direct proof that can support it. With regard to indirect arguments, the presupposition that the Teacher is an individual is more likely:

The Teacher of Righteousness is described in the same terms, involved in the same events, viewed from the same theological perspective, related to the same characters on more than one occasion. We will go into this in more detail in the following section (III. INFORMATION IN THE SCROLLS). There we will find a long list of affirmations and assertions concerning the Teacher of Righteousness. Many of these affirmations are found in more than one place - the inference being that the same individual is being spoken about in various places. It is unlikely that a series of different individuals who were leaders of the community would be described in exactly the same terms, depicted as participants in the same events, opponents of exactly the same individuals, in short, each leader would be indistinguishable from his predecessor or successor.

And this leads us to the second indirect argument in favor of the proposition that the Teacher was not a type or a series: the statements made about him are too fragmentary and uninformative to make much sense, unless they can be referred to an individual whom the readers already know, and with the circumstances of whose life they are already familiar.

(36) GASTER, T.H., The Scriptures of the Dead Sea Sect (1957) London, p 37.

B. Title

The possibility that the term "Teacher of Righteousness" does not denote an individual, but rather an office, has been brought up more than once (37). And indeed, it may well be that this term was a title and more than one individual bore it in the course of the community's history, but for the same reasons put forward above, it is more likely that the person described in the pesharim was an individual; he was one specific Teacher of Righteousness, even if he was not the only one that ever existed.

III. INFORMATION IN THE SCROLLS

One could say that the Teacher of Righteousness is the hero of the Qumran scrolls. Not only does he frequently appear in the texts, but many authors hold that he wrote certain parts of them. This is particularly true of the Hymns (IQH). Often the author of the Hymns speaks in the first person - and what he says reflects the information we have about the Teacher from the Habakkuk Pesharim and the Damascus Document. Many of the scholars who have studied this question believe that the Teacher of Righteousness is indeed the author of at least those parts of IQH which speak in the first person: IQH II.1-19; 31-39; III.1-18; IV.5-V.4; V.5-19; V.20-VII.5; VII.6-25; VIII.4-40. (38) There are,

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- (37) Cf RABINOWITZ, I., VT (8/1958) pp 393ff; BUCHANAN, G.W., RQ (6/1967-69) pp 553-558.
- (38) BARDTKE, H., RB (63/1956) pp 232f; DUPONT-SOMMER, A., Aperçus préliminaires, p 86; Semitica (7/1957) pp 10ff; GRUNDMANN, W., RQ (2/1959-60) p 238; HUPPENBAUER, H.W., Der Mensch zwischen zwei Welten (1959) Zurich, p 66; HYATT, P., NTS (2/1955-56) p 277; MICHAUD, H., Bulletin trimestriel de la Faculté libre de Théologie protestante de Paris (19/1956) pp 67-77; MOLIN, G., Die Söhne des Lichtes (1954) Vienna-Munich, pp 103ff; MOWINCKEL, S., JBL (75/1956) p 276; RABINOWITZ, I., JBL (71/1952) p 25; SCHUBERT, I., ZKTh (74/1952) p 23; SCHULZ, S., ZThK (56/1959) p 173; SEGAL, M., JEL (70/1951) p 135; SUTCLIFFE, E.F., The Monks of Qumran (1960) London, p 60; TOURNAY, R.J., RB (57/1950) p 618; VAN DER PLOEG, J., Funde in der Wüste Juda (1959) Cologne, pp 77-79; YADIN, Y., The Message of the Scrolls (1957) London, p 121; more titles can be found in BURROWS, M., More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls (1958) New York, pp 324ff.

however, authoritative voices that would contest this (39).

Unfortunately these texts tell us nothing concrete about the identity of their author, although they contain a wealth of information about the religious feelings and insights of the Teacher. The attempts which have been made to discover biographical information in these psalms - often very detailed - are not convincing (40).

Elliger suggests that the Teacher of Righteousness may even be the author of IQpHab (41), but as far as our quest is concerned this does not change the nature of the information about the Teacher we can already garner from the Peshar to any extent.

In an effort to avoid an excessively speculative characterization of the Teacher of Righteousness which would leave us no more certain about his identity, we shall limit ourselves to a consideration of those passages in the scrolls where the Teacher is in fact named.

What in fact do the scrolls tell us about the Teacher of Righteousness?

- He was a priest: 4QpPss^a III.15; IQpHab II.8
- He founded the Essenic sect of the New Covenant: 4QpPss^a III.1
- He received his message from God: IQpHab II.2-3; VII.4
- His message explained the prophets: IQpHab II.8-9; VII.5
- The message told what would happen at the end of days: IQpHab II.9-10

(39) LICHT, J., The Thanksgiving Scroll (in Hebrew) (1957) Jerusalem, pp 22-26; HOLM-NIELSEN, S., Hodayot. Psalms from Qumran (1960) Aarhus, passim; BURROWS, M., More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls (1958) New York, p 324.

(40) MICHAUD, H., Bulletin trimestriel (19/1956) pp 67-77; CARMIGNAC, J.J., RQ (2/1959-60) pp 205-222; cf critique of these two articles in JEREMIAS, G., Der Lehrer, pp 264-266.

(41) "Vielleicht ist der Verfasser des Habakuk-Kommentar übrigens sogar identisch mit dem Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit. Jedenfalls ist der Umstand, dass der Verfasser dann nicht in den ersten Person von sich reden würde, kein entscheidender Einwand gegen diese Annahme, die immerhin erwägenswert ist. Im andern Falle möchte man an einen Schüler denken, dessen Werk gewiss nicht unbeeinflusst blieb von den Ideen des Meisters, wenn es nicht einfach dessen Gedanken reproduzierte." ELLIGER, K., Studien, p 171.

- The Teacher was chastised by the Liar who flouted the Law in the midst of the congregation: IQpHab V.10-12
- The Teacher was not assisted by the House of Absalom at the time of his chastisement: IQpHab V.9-10
- Those who observe the Law in the House of Judah will be saved at the end of days because of their faith in the Teacher: CD XX.27-34; Peshet Micah; IQpHab VIII.1-3
- The Wicked Priest committed an iniquity against the Teacher: IQpHab IX.9-10
- The Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher to the house of his exile to confuse him with his venomous fury: IQpHab XI.4-6
- God raised up the Teacher to guide the plant root: CD I.7-11
- The Teacher guided the plant root in the way of God's heart: CD I.11
- From the death of the Teacher of Righteousness to the coming of the Messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel there would pass forty years: CD XX.13-15
- The Teacher of Righteousness was a contemporary of the Wicked Priest, the Liar and the Scoffer: IQpHab IX.9-10; XI.4-6; V.9-10; CD I.11-15

IV. IDENTITY OF THE TEACHER

In spite of the many passages in the scrolls which speak about the Teacher we do not really possess very much information that sheds light on his identity. We know that he was a priest (42), possibly a High Priest (43); he founded or revitalized an Essenic sect (44); he had a prophetic message about the end of days, as well as a peculiar interpretation

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- (42) BRUCE, F.F., "Teacher of Righteousness" in Encyclopaedia Judaica (1971) Jerusalem, vol 15 col 887; HENGEL, M., Judentum und Hellenismus (1969) Tübingen, p 408; DENIS, A.M., "Evolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân" in Aux origines de l'Eglise (1964) Bruges, p 27 note 1; LIVER, J., RQ (6/1967-69) p 12.
- (43) BUCHANAN, G.W., RQ (6/1967-69) p 554; MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) p 230.
- (44) HENGEL, M., Judentum und Hellenismus (1969) Tübingen, p 407.

of the Law of God; he came into direct conflict with the Wicked Priest - Jonathan Maccabaeus. Some scholars have seen even more information in the allusions: the Teacher's personal name was Zadok (45); he lived abroad (46); he was the author of the pesharim (47); and he died during the reign of John Hyrcanus (48). All of this is guesswork.

A. Onias III

According to Rowley (49) the most probable explanation of why the Qumran Sect, or at least its priests called themselves the Sons of Zadok, is that they were loyal to the priestly house of Zadok and considered it the only true High Priestly house. This persistent loyalty to the house of Zadok is also the explanation of their disregard for the Jerusalem Temple and its priesthood once the house of Zadok had been deposed. The last legitimate Zadokite High Priest was Onias III, whose office was usurped by Jason; Jason was displaced by Menelaus, who was not even a Levite, but a Benjaminite (50). Onias III was put to death at the instigation of Menelaus (51). Probably Daniel IX.26 is speaking about the murder of Onias (52). Onias was the Teacher of Righteousness (53).

(46) HENGEL, M., Judentum und Hellenismus (1969) Tübingen, p 408.

(47) op.cit., p 413.

(48) BROWN, R.E., "The Teacher of Righteousness and the Messiah(s)" in The Scrolls and Christianity (1969) London, p 39.

(49) ROWLEY, H.H., BJRL (49/1966-67) pp 219-221; The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls (1952) Oxford, pp 61ff; BJRL (35/1952-53) pp 140ff; ETL (28/1952) pp 269ff; BJRL (40/1957-58) pp 137ff; MICHEL, A., Le Maître de Justice (1954) Avignon; GREIG, J.C.G., NTS (2/1955-56) pp 119ff.

(50) Cf II Macc IV.7ff; IV.23ff; (Josephus says that Menelaus was a brother of Onias, and thus an Aaronite: Ant XII.238)

(51) II Macc IV.32ff.

(52) "And at the end of the times, after the sixty-two weeks, the anointed one shall be cut off, leaving no one to succeed him."

B. Jose ben Joezer

Stauffer (54) would identify the Teacher of Righteousness with Jose ben Joezer who died during the Syrian persecution: 175-169 B.C. (55) Jose ben Joezer is one of the 'pairs' mentioned in Aboth. He appears in the Mishnah five times:

"Jose ben Joezer says: (On a festival day a man) may not lay (his hands on the offering before it is slaughtered.)" M.Hagigah 2.2

"Joseph ben Joezer was the most pious in the priesthood, yet for them that ate of Hallowed Things his apron counted as suffering midras-uncleanness." M.Hagigah 2.7

"When Jose ben Joezer of Zeredah and Jose ben Johanan of Jerusalem died, the grape clusters ceased, as it is written, there is not cluster to eat, my soul desireth the first ripe fig." Sotah 9.9

"R. Jose ben Joezer of Zereda testified that the Ayil-locust is clean, and that the liquid that flows in the shambles of the Temple is not susceptible to uncleanness; and that he that touches a corpse becomes unclean. And they called him Jose the Permitter." M.Eduyoth 8.4

"Jose ben Joezer of Zeredah and Jose ben Johanan of Jerusalem received the law from them. Jose ben Joezer of Zeredah said: Let thy house be a meeting-house for Sages and sit amid the dust of their feet and drink in their words with thirst." Aboth I.4

From these passages, Stauffer draws attention to the similarities between Jose ben Joezer and the Teacher of Righteousness: he was a priest (Hag 2.7); he belonged to the Hasidim (Hag 2.7 and B.Hag 20a); he was a Teacher of the Law (Aboth I.4); he fought for a stricter interpretation of the distinction between pure and impure (cf B.Sabb 14b). These and other similarities Stauffer mentions fit so many rabbis in the Mishnah and the Talmud that it is impossible to draw any conclusions that might serve as a basis of positive identification.

(54) STAUFFER, E., ZRGG (8/1956) pp 250-253.

(55) JEREMIAS, J., Jerusalem in the Time of Jesus (1969) London, p 125.

C. Onias the Just

In line with Dupont-Sommer's interpretation of the historical background of the Habakkuk Commentary, Goossens starts with the theory that the Teacher was put to death between 65 and 63 B.C. He identifies the Teacher of Righteousness with Onias the Just (56), the only recorded "martyrdom" to take place at that time. The story of Onias' death can be found in Ant XIV.22-24:

"Now there was a certain Onias, who being a righteous man and dear to God, had once in a rainless period prayed to God to end the drought, and God had heard his prayer and sent rain; this man hid himself when he saw that the civil war continued to rage, but he was taken to the camp of the Jews and was asked to place a curse on Aristobulus and his fellow-rebels, just as he had, by his prayers put an end to the rainless period. But when in spite of his refusals and excuses he was forced to speak by the mob, he stood up in their midst and said, 'O God, king of the universe, since these men standing beside me are Thy people, and those who are besieged are Thy priests, I beseech Thee not to hearken to them against these men nor to bring to pass what these men ask Thee to do to those others.' And when he had prayed in this manner, the villains among the Jews who stood around him stoned him to death."

On the strength of this account, Goossens attempts to demonstrate the similarities between Onias the Just and the Teacher of Righteousness. Once again, these similarities are either so contrived that they fail to convince, or so general that they could fit any one of a number of individuals.

D. Judah the Essene/Eleazar the Pharisee

Brownlee takes as a point of departure for his suggested identification of the Teacher of Righteousness, IQpHab V.8-12 (57). He interprets the passage in the sense that the Teacher administered the rebuke rather than

(56) GOOSSENS, R., NCl (1-2/1949-50) pp 336-353.

(57) BROWNLEE, W.H., BASOR (126/1952) pp 17-20.

receiving it. Brownlee thinks this refers to the incident recounted in Ant XIII.289-296. There a certain Pharisee named Eleazar urged Hyrcanus I to give up the High Priesthood. Eleazar would be the Teacher of Righteousness and Hyrcanus I the Man of Lies. The House of Absalom which stood by silent, not helping the Teacher, would be the other Pharisees. The same story can be found in the Talmud, but there instead of Eleazar, the reprover was Judah the son of Jedidiah. Brownlee further identifies Judah ben Jedidiah with Judas the Essene, and proposes this composite: Eleazar/Judah/Judas as the Teacher of Righteousness.

E. Unknown High Priest

Stegemann (58) thinks that the Teacher of Righteousness was the unnamed legitimate High Priest who held office prior to Jonathan Maccabaeus' usurpation in 152 B.C. No source whatever mentions such a High Priest; this suggestion therefore remains in the realm of pure hypothesis (59).

V. CONCLUSION

The conjectural and speculative nature of the identifications proposed for the Teacher of Righteousness bring home clearly the difficulty we are faced with. Nowhere in the Scrolls is the Teacher given a name. Nowhere in Josephus, Philo, the rabbinic sources or the apocrypha is any individual qualified as the Teacher of Righteousness, or even the founder of the Essenes. If there is an indication of the Teacher's identity in any of the sources, it is not immediately or unequivocally recognizable. We know too little about the few Essenes Josephus mentions by name to be in a position to identify them as the Teacher of Righteousness.

At the moment all we know about the founder of the Qumran community, the Teacher of Righteousness, is what we can learn from the scrolls.

(58) STEGEMANN, H., Die Entstehung, pp 198-252.

(59) Cf also MURPHY-O'CONNOR, J., RB (81/1974) pp 215-244; BROWN, R.E., in The Scrolls and Christianity (1969) London, pp 37-44.

In this work we have endeavored to explore two closely related problems that confront anyone who attempts to derive historical information from the peshar allusions. Briefly these problems can be stated as follows:

a) Are the allusions in the pesharim in any way references to events which really took place, and to individuals who actually lived and took part in these events, or are these passages something in the nature of an allegory or a symbol?

b) Can we identify the principal characters referred to in these texts (the Wicked Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness, the Liar) with historical individuals known to us from outside contemporary sources?

Nearly all the scholars who have written on the history of the Qumran Community have mentioned the first of these problems, although few have attempted to study it systematically. They have either made the tacit assumption that these allusions are references, however cryptic, to real events and characters, or they have excluded any possibility of deriving historical information from texts which are so obviously unlike historical narrative, and were clearly not written to convey information.

The second of these problems, the identification of the Wicked Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness and the Liar, with known historical individuals, has been the object of extensive study and research since the very discovery of the scrolls.

I. Historicity of the Allusions

Although there has been considerable debate about the nature and purpose of the pesharim, there is no one who would claim that they are straightforward historical narratives. It is immediately apparent from the style and content of these commentaries, that they were not intended to provide historical information. They have been described variously as

simple commentaries: the authors really believed that the primary meaning of the prophetic texts was the one they expounded; or as propaganda: the fact that the prophets spoke about the community in the distant past is an indication of its divine election and destiny. Others claim that the pesharim do not refer to the past, but to the future and are predictions or auguries: the texts of the prophets serve as sortes virgilianae which will guide the men of the community in their decisions and interpretations of the Law. Finally the pesharim have been construed as polemical pamphlets written to discredit adversaries.

Whatever the case may be, our primary interest in this genre, is not with a view to analyze and understand the pesharim, but rather to examine its literary conventions in order to determine and assess the historical credibility of the information it contains.

We have attempted to determine if, for the sake of apologetics or polemic, the events have been edited, falsified, or created out of whole cloth to fit pre-existing schemes or to match the words of the prophets: in short, to determine to what extent fact has been subordinated to literary device. We then tried to establish whether the characters involved in the events were historical individuals or types.

With regard to the finality or purpose of the commentaries, we have discerned two possibilities:

a) the pesharim were written and destined for the edification of the faithful, those who were already believers in the teachings of the Teacher of Righteousness;

b) or they were written as apologetic, missionary documents intended to convince and possibly convert outsiders.

The authors of these commentaries believed that God had revealed the secrets of the prophets to the Teacher of Righteousness. These secrets concerned the proper and peculiar interpretation of the Law to which the

sectaries adhered; and a special understanding of the meaning of, and divine purpose in history, particularly with regard to the end of days, a period they believed already in progress.

Whatever goal these authors had in mind, it is fairly clear what they are doing in the commentaries. They are turning the statements of the prophets into explanations of known events of the past and the present, as well as finding indications of what was to happen in the future. They work with two set of data: the words of the prophets, and the events of sect history.

There are two types of manipulation going on in the pesharim: sequential and interpretative. On the one hand, the events of Qumran history are being rearranged to fit the sequence of the prophet's words. Certain words are connected to definite characters and events. Whenever these words appear in the prophet's text, the character or event with which they are associated, appears in the pesharim. Hence the disorder, repetition, and strange juxtaposition of elements which may be widely separated in time.

However, the interpretative manipulation is practiced entirely on the text of the prophets. It is not the history of the community that is tailored to fit the dicta of the prophet, but rather the words of the prophet that are contorted to connect them with the characters and events of the community's history.

There are three reasons why this is necessarily the case. All the allusions are so fragmentary and basically uninformative that they would be meaningless unless they called to mind people and occasions that were well known to the readers. The readers could then supply an explanation to events they already knew, but perhaps did not understand. In any event, they could see clearly that all had been foreordained by God and revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness.

Secondly, the fact that the readers already knew the events to which the pesher author is referring, would not permit the possibility of his falsifying these events. He could not state that someone was a priest or a ruler, if this were not true, nor could he claim that someone had been killed if that were not the case. That his readers had necessarily to be conversant with the facts to which he was alluding, limited his license in recounting the events.

Finally, the author tortured the texts to show that history had been foretold; if both the texts and the history could be contrived at will, the whole exercise would lose its power to convince. The impact of these commentaries lies in their demonstration that facts which had occurred recently and were known to the readers had been foretold by the prophets in the distant past. The author did not manipulate history to fit the prophetic texts, but rather did violence to the texts to make them fit the history.

Whether the audience for whom these texts were composed were members of the community or not, does not much affect the veracity of the information. The fragmentary nature of that information presupposes that the reader or hearer was already familiar with the individuals involved and the details of the events narrated.

It is clear from all of this that the historical information in the pesharim is fundamentally reliable. The whole purpose of the pesher requires that its information be both truthful and verifiable. The allusions in the pesharim are references to real individuals who took part in real and known events. Those statements which reflect a purely moral judgement - that someone was wicked or righteous - may well be the product of the author's bias, but those that refer to the verifiable events of a character's life cannot be just the expression of loyalty or prejudice. Moreover, the fragmentary nature of the information in the allusions precludes the eventuality that they referred to a type or a series of individuals. If they could not be completed by what was known about the life of a particular individual, they make no sense and serve no purpose.

II. Identification of the Principal Characters

The second part of this work concentrated on identifying the principal individuals referred to in the pesharim: the Wicked Priest, the Teacher of Righteousness, and the Liar. They are the pivotal characters who act in most of the events described in the commentaries. Any indication of their identity is a key to the history which is reported in so fragmentary a fashion.

We began by investigating the background of the scrolls determined by elements outside the pesharim. Archaeology has established a link between the documents found in the caves and the ruin, Khirbet Qumran, on the northwestern shore of the Dead Sea. It has further shown that Khirbet Qumran was inhabited by a community from some time in the middle of the second century B.C. until A.D. 68 when the occupation came to an abrupt end.

From a comparison of material in the scrolls and descriptions found in Josephus and other classical authors, it seems fairly safe to assume that the community that occupied Khirbet Qumran was Essene.

There are, undeniably, discrepancies between the classical descriptions of the Essenes and the life and beliefs of the Qumran Community as they are depicted in the scrolls. However, closer examination will reveal that the same inconsistencies can be found in the classical sources alone, and to some extent there are contradictory elements in the scrolls themselves (cf CD and IQS). The explanation of these difficulties is probably to be found in an understanding of what Essenism was. It is anachronistic and historically unjustified to perceive and treat it as a rigidly monolithic and unchanging sect. Very likely Essenism was a movement, a current, or a tendency. In it one would find the same variety that we know existed among the Pharisees. The many groups that made up the Essene movement were united by their common concern with priestly purity, asceticism, a peculiar interpretation of the Law and the Prophets, a

heterodox calendar, etc. The Qumran Community was a particular sect within the movement, possibly the principal or largest group.

The most important result of this exploration of the background in which the scrolls were written is the establishment of a terminus a quo and a terminus ad quem for their composition: the middle of the second century B.C. to A.D. 68.

The procedure we followed in identifying the Priest, the Teacher and the Liar was fairly simple. First we assembled all the references to an individual to be found in the pesharim, and then endeavored to distinguish those statements that concerned verifiable facts: position, death, etc., from those which could be simply the expression of the author's devotion or animosity. We then compared this information with elements that could be found in outside sources: Josephus, the Books of Maccabees, and early rabbinic literature. In this comparison, we bore in mind the inevitable shift in ideological and chronological perspective. Ideologically, the characters and groups described as villains in the scrolls are just as likely to be depicted as heroes in outside literature and vice versa. Chronologically, the groups mentioned in the pesharim - the community and its opponents - are being described at a stage prior to their full and definitive form. The Essenes, Pharisees, Sadducees or Zealots had not yet developed the unmistakable identity and characteristics we will find in Josephus or the New Testament.

A. The Wicked Priest

The first, and from the point of view of our investigation, the most important character who appears in the pesharim is the Wicked Priest. He has been called the lynch-pin of any historical reconstruction of the events of Qumran history. The reason is this: he was probably a High Priest, and we have a list of the High Priests of Israel for this period. This limits considerably the range of possible candidates.

The scrolls give us quite a bit of information about the Wicked Priest. He was a High Priest who began his career with a good reputation. Once

in office, however, greed and arrogance led him into ways that caused the Qumran Community to define him as "the Wicked Priest." God punished the Wicked Priest: he was delivered into the hands of his enemies, who are called "the violent of nations;" they put him to death. The scrolls tell us many other things about the Wicked Priest: he plundered Jews and Gentiles; he committed cultic abominations, profaned the temple; he persecuted the Teacher and his community; and was given to drunkenness and carousal. The fact that the Wicked Priest started his career with a good reputation and met his death at the hands of his enemies, the wicked of nations, limits our search. Within the period we have considered: the middle of the second century B.C. to the conquest of Jerusalem, 63 B.C. only three High Priests met with a violent end: Menelaus, Jonathan Maccabaeus and his brother Simon. Of these three, only the Maccabee brothers are likely candidates. They alone of the High Priests of this era could be said to have begun their career with anything like a good reputation. Although both Jonathan and Simon are possible identities for the Wicked Priest, one element tips the scales in favor of Jonathan. Jonathan was imprisoned and put to death by Tryphon. His brother Simon was treacherously murdered by his son-in-law, Ptolemy. It is more convincing that the designation, "the wicked of nations," would refer to the foreign power represented by Tryphon, than to a member of the family. For this reason the most probable identification for the Wicked Priest is Jonathan Maccabaeus.

B. The Liar

The second identification made in this work rests on the assumption that the Wicked Priest and the Liar are the same individual. The texts provide no absolutely conclusive information to make this assumption or to deny its possibility. We venture to claim that probability weighs in favor of identifying the two. They are both contemporaries of the Teacher of Righteousness; both represent priestly elements in the people; both opposed the Teacher of Righteousness on doctrinal grounds; and in the end, both will be condemned by God. Until more conclusive evidence can be produced in favor of or against the assumption that the Liar and

the Wicked Priest are identical, the least unlikely hypothesis, and the one most consistent with the elements we possess, is that the Liar is another name for Jonathan Maccabaeus.

C. The Teacher of Righteousness

Finally we come to the hero of the Qumran pesharim: the Teacher of Righteousness. The first problem to be considered is whether he is an individual or is the Teacher of Righteousness merely a type, or a title.

Many of the statements made about the Teacher of Righteousness are repeated in different places. It is improbable that a series of leaders of the community, each known as the Teacher of Righteousness, would be described in exactly the same terms, depicted as participating in the same events, and the opponent of the same individuals, in short, each leader of the sect would have been indistinguishable from his predecessor and his successor. It may well be the case that more than one individual was known as the Teacher of Righteousness, but the statements made about the Teacher in the pesharim are too fragmentary and uninformative to make any sense, unless they can be referred to a specific individual, the circumstances of whose life were known to the reader. The Teacher of Righteousness in the pesharim was one specific Teacher, even if he was not the only one who ever existed.

The pesharim tell us many things about the Teacher: he was a priest; he was the founder, or an early member of the Essenic sect of the New Covenant; God revealed to him the secrets of the prophets, which contained a peculiar interpretation of the Law and information about the end of days. The Teacher of Righteousness was persecuted by both the Liar and the Wicked Priest. He was not assisted by the House of Absalom when the Liar flouted the Law in the midst of their congregation. He was a contemporary of the Liar, the Scoffer, and the Wicked Priest. Finally, all those who observe the Law in the House of Judah, will be saved at the end of days because of their faith in the Teacher of Righteousness.

Various tentative identifications have been made, but the Teacher remains the enigmatic figure he has always been. There is too little information in the outside sources to warrant any identification that is not purely conjectural. The nature of his position in the community, as well as the esteem in which his followers held him has been studied extensively, but until and if further information should come to light, the identity of the Teacher of Righteousness will remain a mystery.

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