

והעברית הבתר-מקראית לא סיפקו פתרונות למתרגמים המאוחרים, הם פנו לתרגום התורה ליוונית ששימש להם מילון באותם מקרים שבהם הם זכרו כי מילה מסוימת הופיעה בתורה.⁷

כאמור, המתרגמים נעזרו במכלול ידיעותיהם בעברית ובארמית, ואלה אפשרו להם לקבוע את משמעון של המילים במקור. ברם קודם לכן היה על המתרגמים לעמוד על הצורות שלפניהן: למשל, האם מדובר בשם עצם או בפועל? ואם מדובר בפועל, מה באשר למבנה הפועל? בהתאם לתפישות שנתפתחו מימי הביניים ואילך היינו יכולים לשאול: האם ניסה המתרגם לעמוד על שורש הפועל, על הבניין, על האספקט? (שכן תפישות דקדוקיות אלה נתפתחו רק בימי הביניים ואילך). איך אחרת יכול היה להבחין בין שתי צורות הומוגרפיות כגון יִדְבֵּר, יִדְבֹּר (תהלים יח 48; מז 4),⁸ הנבדלות זו מזו רק מבחינת הבניין?

נרמה לי שאין צורך להניח, שהמתרגמים היו מודעים להפשטות כגון שורש או בניין כשקבעו את המרכיבים המשמעותיים של הפועל. הספיקה להם, כנראה, הבנה כללית של מבנה הפועל, הבנה שכללה הבחנה בין צורות הקל, ההפעיל וההתפעל של אותו השורש. ייתכן שהמתרגמים הבחינו הבחנה סמנטית בין צורה המשקפת "משהו כמו בניין קל" לבין צורה המשקפת "משהו כמו הפעיל". יָדַע זה, לצד יָדַע כללי של גזרות הפועל, סייע למתרגמים לזהות את המרכיבים המינימליים שבעזרתם אפשר לתרגם את המילים. בסופו של דבר, לצורכי התרגום הספיק לו למתרגם להבחין בין צורת "וידבר 1" (=יִדְבֵּר) הנושאת משמעות א לבין צורת "וידבר 2" (=יִדְבֹּר) הנושאת משמעות ב.

נראה שהתרגום התבסס על הבנה סמנטית של רצפים של אותיות, בעוד הגייתן (ומאוחר יותר ניקודן) של הצורות והגדרתן הדקדוקית היו מחוץ לתחום ידיעות המתרגם וגם לא העסיקו אותו.⁹

Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls & Ben Sira, Leiden 2000, pp. 115–130; idem, "On the LXX Translators' Knowledge of Hebrew", in B. A. Taylor (ed.), *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies*, Oslo 1998, Atlanta 2001, pp. 165–179; idem, "Biblical Hebrew as Mirrored in the Septuagint: The Question of Influence from Spoken Hebrew", *Textus* 21 J. Blau, "Zum 201. וגם: (לעיל הערה 4), עמ' 19. (2002), pp. 1–19 Hebräisch der Übersetzer des AT", *VT* 6 (1956), pp. 98–100

7. E. Tov, "The Impact of the LXX Translation of the Pentateuch on the מאמרי Translation of the Other Books", in P. Casetti, O. Keel & A. Schenker (eds.), *Mélanges Dominique Barthélemy (OBO 38)*, Fribourg & Göttingen 1981, pp. 577–592; גרסה מתוקנת – pp. 183–194 (n. 1 above), *Greek and Hebrew Bible*

8. במקרה זה תרגם המתרגם נכונה את צורת ההפעיל: ὑποτάσσω.
9. מובן מאליו, שהבנת המתרגמים את צורות האותיות נבדלת לפעמים מזו של בעלי המסורה או של החדשים. באופן אנכרוניסטי הבדלים מסוג זה מתוארים לפעמים כהבדלי ניקוד. ראה

החיפוש אחרי רצף האותיות בעל המשמעות במקור היה חלק אינטגרלי מהפרשנות האטימולוגית העומדת ביסוד התרגום.¹⁰ למשל, המילה מְשַׁאֲרָתָךְ (משארת – כלי קיבול ללישה) בדברים כח 5, 17 הובנה כשם עצם הגזור מן השורש שא"ר. בשלב שני איתר המתרגם שם עצם יווני המבטא את תוכן המילה, במקרה זה שם הגזור משורש יווני שווה ערך – ἐγκατάλειπω (להשאיר), דהיינו ἐγκατάλειμμα. תרגום אטימולוגי זה התבסס על היחס הפורמלי בין משארת לבין השורש שא"ר, אף על פי שהמילה ἐγκατάλειμμα אינה משמשת במשמעות 'כלי ללישה', אלא רק במשמעות 'שאריח'.¹¹

כל התרגומים משקפים פרשנות אטימולוגית, הן פשוטה (כבדוגמה האחרונה) הן מורכבת. הדיון שלהלן מתמקד בהיבט אחד של תהליך זה – זיהוי מילים (ובמיוחד פעלים) על סמך שתיים מאותיות השורש בלבד.

2. תפישה דו-עיצורית של שורשים עבריים?

אף שרוב הזיהויים הסמנטיים של צורות פועליות בתה"ש נראים "נכונים", ורובם ככולם מתייחסים לשורשים תלת-עיצוריים, המתרגמים לא בהכרח חשבו במונחים כאלה. כל שידוע הוא כי לרוב זוהו הצורות אל נכון, בדרך כלל על סמך שלוש אותיות שורש (למשל עב"ד, שמ"ר), ולפעמים די היה בשתי אותיות, למשל במקרים של הגזרות העלולות פ"א, פ"י, פ"נ, ע"א, ע"ו, ל"א, ל"י וגזרות הכפולים. לדוגמה, בצורה עשיתם הספיקו האותיות ע-ש לזיהוי המשמעות. זהו מקרה פשוט: השורש הוא עש"י, ואין בנמצא שורשים קרובים דוגמת עש"א, עו"ש, עש"ש, יע"ש.

J. Barr, "Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew among the Ancient Translators", *SVT* 16 (1967), pp. 1–11; idem, "Reading a Script without Vowels", in W. Haas (ed.), *Writing without Letters*, Manchester 1967, pp. 71–100;

J. Barr, "Guessing in the Septuagint" (n. 1 above) *TCU*, pp. 159–174

10. היבטים שונים של תהליך זה נדונו אצל U. Rapallo, *Calchi ebraici nelle antiche versioni* del "Levitico" (*Studi Semitici* 39), Roma 1971; J. Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (NAWG I), Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1979, 11 = MSU XV, Göttingen 1979, pp. 318–322

11. לפיכך כאשר המילון המרכזי של השפה היוונית מפרש את אחד המשמעים של מילה זו כלי קיבול ללישה' על סמך הפועתה בתה"ש, הוא יוצר משמעות שלא הייתה קיימת בזמנם של המתרגמים. ראה H. G. Liddell, R. Scott & H. S. Jones, *Greek-English Lexicon*⁹, Oxford 1940. מילון זה משמש בדרך כלל כלי מחקר מעולה, ומרבה לתעד באופן כזה משמעותות של מילים בתה"ש. ראה G. B. Caird, "Towards a Lexicon of the Septuagint", *JTS* 19 (1968), pp. 453–475; 20 (1969), pp. 21–41 זה תוקנו אצל E. A. Barber, *A Greek-English Lexicon, A Supplement*, Oxford 1968; P. G. W. Glare, *Revised Supplement*, Oxford 1996

כך גם השורש סב"ב – די באותיות ס ו"ב לזיהוי הפועל ומשמעותו.¹² המקרים הסבוכים הם אלה שבהם שתיים מאותיות השורש מאפשרות כמה זיהויים של שורשים. למשל פועלי ל"א ול"י, כמו במקרה של קנ"א וקנ"י, חייבו את המתרגמים לעמוד על אות השורש השלישית או להיעזר בהקשר (ראה להלן).

נראה שלעיתים נקטו המתרגמים קיצורי דרך בהתבססם על שתיים מאותיות השורש. לא קל, כמובן, לבסס טיעון זה, שכן רוב הפעלים זוהו נכונה, ובדרך כלל לא נוכל להוכיח שצורות מסוימות זוהו על סמך שתי אותיות בלבד. עם זאת, כשמדובר בזיהויים שאינם נכונים אפשר לעתים לאשש טענה זאת. בשורשים מסוימים, ובגזרות העלולות בעיקר, הזיהוי יכול להתבסס על שתי אותיות בלבד. ברם אם הקיצור הוביל לשני שורשים שונים עלול היה המתרגם לטעות, לפעמים בהשפעת ההקשר. נדגים:

א. צמד האותיות רא יכול לשקף את השורשים רא"י, יר"א:

צורות מן השורשים רא"י, יר"א הוחלפו תכופות בכתבי יד עבריים בגלל הדמיון ביניהן, ומסתבר שגם מתרגמים התלבטו בהן. למשל, הצורה ההמוגרפית יראו חייבה את המתרגמים להחליט אם מדובר בשורש רא"י (יִרְאוּ) או יר"א (יִרְאוּ או יִרְאוּ, כך בתהלים לד 10 ובמקומות נוספים). הצורה מורא (מן השורש יר"א, צורה חד-משמעית) פשוטה לכאורה, אך לא פעם תורגמה במשמע 'מראה' (מן השורש רא"י):¹³

דברים ד 34: "בְּרֹעַ נְטִיָּה (וּבְמִוֶּרְאִים) (גְּדִלִים) – καὶ ἐν ὁράμασιν (ובמראים, כך גם וולגטה visiones; השווה ת' אונקלוס ות' יונתן "חזנין"). באופן דומה דברים כו 8 "בְּרֹעַ נְטִיָּה (וּבְמִוֶּרְאִים) (גְּדִלִים) וִירְמִיָּהוּ לֵב 21 "בְּרֹעַ נְטִיָּה (וּבְמִוֶּרְאִים) (גְּדִלִים). בהתאם להקשרה נגזרה לפעמים מורא מן התבנית רא מתוך רא"י ולא מתוך יר"א.¹⁴ עירוב זה ניכר גם בתרגום נורא ל-ἐπιφανής מן רא"י:

חבקוק א 7: "אִים וְנֹרָא הוּא"

(6 τὸ ἔθνος τὸ πικρὸν... τὸ πορευόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ πλάτη τῆς γῆς τοῦ κατακληρονομηῆσαι σαρκενῶματα οὐκ αὐτοῦ) φοβερὸς καὶ ἐπιφανής ἐστίν

בחבקוק א 6–11 מתוארים הכשדים כעם אכזר. בהקשר זה העם הכשדי מכונה φοβερὸς ('איום', 'מפחיד'), וגם ἐπιφανής. מילה זאת משמעה 'נראה', ולא 'שקוף',

12. השורשים יס"ב, אס"ב, סו"ב, נס"ב, סכ"י אינם מתועדים.

13. לעומת זאת, בדברים יא 25 (פְּחָדְכֶם וּמוֹרָאֲכֶם) אותו מתרגם תרגם מילה זאת τρόμος, וכך במקומות נוספים בתה"ש.

14. הגרסאות ובמראים בתורה השומרונית בדברים ד 34, ובמראה באותו מקור שם כו 8, וכן הפרשנות במדרש הגדול לדברים ד 34 ("ואומות העולם רואין אותו") מראות, שלפעמים קשה להבחין בין התהליך האיטימולוגי-פרשני לבין הנחת גרסה עברית שונה.

‘ברור’ או ‘ידוע’, כפי שסוברים אחרים, ויש לראותה כמשקפת פירוש אטימולוגי לפי השורש רא”י.

יואל ב 11: “כִּי גָדוֹל יוֹם ה’ הַנּוֹרָא מְאֹד”

διότι μεγάλη ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου, μεγάλη καὶ ἐπιφανὴς σφόδρα

גם בפסוק זה, וכן שם ג 4, יום ה’ מתואר כ־ἐπιφανής, דהיינו ‘נראה’.¹⁵ ב. התרגום התכוף של (אהל) מועד – τοῦ μαρτυρίου (ה’ אוהל העדות) מבוסס על הבנת סוף המילה בתור ‘עד’,¹⁶ וייתכן שפסוקים דומים שבהם הופיע אהל העדות הדהדו באוזניהם של המתרגמים.¹⁷

ברוב המקרים שיידונו להלן ההתבססות על שתי אותיות שורש בלבד משתקפת בגזרות העלולות, ולפעמים גם בגזרת השלמים. למשל, הפועל מרד והשם מרמה תורגמו שניהם כאילו נגזרו מן המילה מר, השורש כל”ם הובן כאילו היה כל”א בהסתמך על הרצף כל, דמן תורגם מלשון דמ”י לפי האותיות דמ, וכיוצא בכך. את הדרך שבה תפשו המתרגמים את השורשים יש לראות כחלק אינטגרלי מגישתם. לעניות דעתי, ההסתמכות על שתיים מתוך שלוש אותיות שורש אינה מעידה על תפישה לשונית מפותחת כי אם, כאמור, על קיצור דרך ועל צורה מסוימת של ניחוש. עם זאת, נוכח הדוגמות אין להתעלם מן האפשרות שאקוויוולנטים מסוימים משקפים חילופי נוסח בכתבי יד, שכן כל העת נוצרו צורות חדשות, במיוחד בעקבות לשון חז”ל. היבטים אלה יידונו בסעיף 3 להלן.

על תופעה זו, התפישה הדו-עיצורית אצל המתרגמים, למדתי לראשונה מפרופ’ גושן המנוח, ורעותיו משתקפות באפרטים של מהדורות מפעל המקרא.¹⁸ כאן נידרש במיוחד לשאלה האם תפישה זו משקפת שיטה מודעת של המתרגמים, או שמא נוצרה מתוך חוסר הבנה של השורשים ואף עירוב שורשים שונים זה בזה. לי נראית האפשרות השנייה.

באוסף הדוגמות הלא ממצה שלהלן הדגם בן שתי האותיות ששימש, כנראה, בסיס לזיהוי אטימולוגי מוצג באותיות שמנות בכותרת. לאחר מכן מוצג השורש

15. אקוויוולנט זה חוזר בכתובים נוספים: שופטים יג 6 (כתב יד A, לעומת כתב יד B הגורס φοβερόν); מלאכי א 14; ג 22; צפניה ג 1; דברי הימים א יז 21. הסוגיה נדונה במחקרי E. Tov, “Greek Words and Hebrew Meanings”, in T. Muraoka (ed.), *Melbourne Symposium on Septuagint Lexicography* (SCS 28), Atlanta 1990, pp. 83–125.

16. כשהופיעה המילה מועד בנפרד, היא תורגמה גם μαρτύριον (ש”מ ט 24; יג 11 ועוד).

17. הן יע”ד הן עו”ד מופיעים בהקשר של אהל מועד. ראה גם (אהל) עדות בשמות ל 36; במדבר ט 15; יז 22; יח 2.

18. מ’ גושן-גוטשטיין, תורה נביאים כתובים, מהדורת האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים, ספר ישעיהו, ירושלים תשנ”ה; ע’ טוב, ש’ טלמון וח’ רבין, ספר ירמיהו, ירושלים תשנ”ז; מ’ גושן-גוטשטיין וש’ טלמון, ספר יחזקאל, ירושלים תשס”ד.

המקראי לפי התפישה המודרנית, ואחריו רצף האותיות או המילה המשתקפים בתה"ש. כך בדוגמה הראשונה, נואש, צורת נפעל של יא"ש, יוצגה בתה"ש מתוך איש או אנש. לשתי צורות אלה משותפות האותיות אש.

אש

יא"ש/איש, אנש

ירמיהו ב 25: "(וְנִתְאֲמָר) נֹאֶשׁ"

ἀνδρούμαι ('אהיה כאיש'/'אתגבר')

לפי נה"מ האישה הנואפת אומרת: "נֹאֶשׁ לֹא כִי אֶהְבֵּתִי זָרִים וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם אֵלֶּךְ". לעומת זאת לפי תה"ש היא אומרת: 'אתגבר, שכן היא אהבה זרים והלכה אחריהם'. התרגום היווני לנואש מתבסס על איש/אנש, ויוצר הקשר חדש לגמרי.¹⁹ כך גם בירמיהו יח 12: "וְנִתְאֲמָרוּ נֹאֶשׁ" – καὶ εἶπαν ἀνδρούμεθα ('ואמרו: נתגבר').

בר

ברבר/בר"ר, בריא/בר"ר

מלכים א ה 3: "(יְחֻמֹּר) וּבְרִבְרִים אֲבוֹסִים"

(תה"ש ד 23) καὶ ὀρνίθων ἐκλεκτῶν ('וציפורים נבחרות')

ברבר, מילה יחידאית במקרא, נגזרה כאן מבר"ר במשמעות 'בחר', כפי שניתן ללמוד מתוך האקוויולנט הנפוץ בר"ר – ἐκλεγεῖν, ἐκλεκτός. באופן דומה תורגמה המילה בריא באותו פסוק (וגם בבראשית מא 2–20; חבקוק א 16; זכריה יא 16):

מלכים א ה 3: "עֲשֹׂהָהּ כְּקַר בְּרָאִים"

(תה"ש ד 23) καὶ δέκα μόσχοι ἐκλεκτοί ('ועשר עגלות נבחרות')

בש

בא"ש/יב"ש

ישעיהו נ 2: "תִּבְאֵשׁ (דְּגַתָּם מֵאֵין מַיִם)"

καὶ ξηρανθήσονται ('ויתייבשו')

התרגום התבסס על האותיות בש בהתעלמות מן האות א, שכן היא נתפשה כאות

¹⁹. יש לציין שהמתרגמים של שמואל א כז 1; ישעיהו נז 10; איוב ו 26 הטיבו לתרגם את נואש מתוך יא"ש.

נחה. ייתכן שהתרגום משקף שינוי נוסח, כמו זה המשתקף במגילת ישעיהו א – תיבש.²⁰

גר

נג"ר/אג"ר

ירמיהו יח 21: "וְהָגַרְם (עַל יְדֵי חָרֹב)"

καὶ ἄθροισον αὐτούς ('ואגור אותם')

המתרגם הביא בחשבון רק שתי אותיות (ג ו-ר) של הַגְרָם והוסיף להן בדמיונו א נחה, היינו כאילו קרא 'וה(א)גרם'. באופן דומה קרא המתרגם של ירמיהו כ 10 גְרִים או מְגִרִים כנגד (מ)(א)גרים במקורו המשוער.

גו"ר (מגור) / אג"ר

ירמיהו כ 10: "(שְׁמַעְתִּי דְּבַת רַבִּים) מִגּוֹר (מִפְּכִיב)"

συναθροίζομένων ('של נאספים')

דמ

דמ"ן (דמן) / דמ"י

ירמיהו ח 2: "לְדִמֶּן (עַל פְּנֵי הָאֲדָמָה יְהִיו)"

εἰς παράδειγμα ('לדוגמה')

תרגומים דומים של דמן (גזרת השלמים) המבוססים אף הם על דמ"י מופיעים בירמיהו ט 21 (22); טז 4. אותו אקוויוולנט מופיע בדניאל כ 5. השווה גם תהלים יז 12 דמינו, תורגם בידי עקילס ל-ὁμοίως αὐτῶν (שוחזר מתוך הסירוהכספלה "דומיא דילהון").

חל

חל"י/חל"ל

מיכה א 12: "חָלָה (לְטוֹב יוֹשֶׁבֶת מְרוֹת)"

τίς ἤρξατο ('מי התחיל')

כאן ניתן לראות, שהרצף חל הובן כאילו היה מן השורש חל"ל.

20. ראה י' קוטשר, הלשון והרקע הלשוני של מגילת ישעיהו השלמה ממגילות ים המלח, ירושלים תשי"ט, עמ' 182.

חי"ל/חל"ל

גם השורש חי"ל הובן כאילו היה חל"ל:
 תהלים י 5: "יִחִילוּ (דָּרְכוּ בְּכָל עֵת)"
 (תה"ש ט 26) βεβηλοῦνται ('הם מוזהמים')
 מגוון האקוויוולנטים של הרצף חל בתה"ש נדון בהרחבה אצל ד' וייסרט.²¹
 בדוגמות שניתנו כאן יצרו המתרגמים הקשרים חדשים לגמרי.

חס

חס"ה (מחסה) / חו"ס

ירמיהו יז 17: "מַחֲסֵי אֶתָּה (בְּיוֹם רָעָה)"
 φειδόμενός μου ('בהיותך מרחם עליי')
 וכן יואל ד 16: "יָהּ" (מַחֲסֵה לְעַמּוֹ)
 φείσεται ('הוא ירחם')
 השורשים חו"ס וחס"י אינם רחוקים זה מזה מבחינה סמנטית, אולם הם משקפים רעיונות שונים. הפועל φείδομαι משקף את חו"ס בדרך כלל.

יך

יך"/יֹאזֵר

בשני מקומות במלכים ב תורגמו צורות של הורה כאילו נגזרו מן אור:
 מלכים ב יב 3: "אֲשֶׁר הוֹרָהוּ יְהוֹיָדָע הַכֹּהֵן"
 מלכים ב יז 28: "יִיָּהּ מוֹרָה אֶתָּם"
 בשני המקרים השתמש המתרגם בפועל φωτίζω, המתבסס על האקוויוולנט התכוף אור – φῶς.²² בדומה לכך, בחבקוק ב 18, 19 תורגמו המילים מורה ויורה φαντασία כאילו נגזרו מן אור. את הפרשנות האטימולוגית שמאחורי האקוויוולנטים אלה יש להשוות להבדל שבין "יורו (מִשְׁפָּטִיךְ)" בדברים לג 10

21. D. Weissert, "Alexandrian Analogical Word-Analysis and Septuagint Translation Techniques: A Case Study of חול-חיל-חול", *Textus* 8 (1974), pp. 31–44
 הערה 31 להלן.

22. שני הפסוקים נמצאים בקטעים שתורגמו בידי המתרגם האנונימי "קאיגה-תאודוטיון", ואקוויוולנטים דומים מצויים בתרגומו של עקילס שהתבסס על זה של קאיגה-תאודוטיון. ראה M. Smith, "Another Criterion for the καίτε Recension", *Bib* 48 (1967), pp. 443–445

בנה"מ לבין ציטוטו במגילת 4QTestimonia (4Q175), שורה 17 – "ויאירו".²³
דוגמה זאת מראה, שהגבול בין פרשנות אטימולוגית לבין גרסה (קיימת או משוערת)
דק ביותר.

כל

נראה שהרצף כל יצר בלכול בין שורשים שונים:²⁴

כל"ם/כל"י

שמואל א כ 34: "כִּי הִקְלָמוּ (אָבִיר)"
συνετέλεσεν ἐπ' αὐτόν ('סיים עליו')

כל"ם/כל"א

שמואל א כה 7: "לֹא הִקְלָמוֹם"
ἀπεκώλυσαμεν αὐτούς ('מנענו מהם')
שמואל א כה 15: "לֹא הִקְלָמוֹ"
οὐκ ἀπεκώλυσαν ἡμᾶς ('הם לא מנעו מאתנו')
תה"ש יצר הקשרים חדשים לגמרי.

כי"ל, כו"ל/כל"י

ירמיהו ו 11: "נִלְאִיתִי הִכִּיל"
καὶ ἐπέσχον καὶ οὐ συνετέλεσα αὐτούς ('והחזקתי ולא סיימתי אותם')
יחזקאל כג 32: "מְרַבָּה לְהִכִּיל"
τοῦ συνετέλεσαι ('לסיים')

כל"י/אכ"ל

חבקוק ג 17: "גִּזְרִי מִמִּכְלָה (צֹאן)"
(ἐξέλιπον) ἀπὸ βρώσεως (πρόβατα) ('מן האוכל')

23. פרסום ראשון: J. M. Allegro, *DJD* 5, Oxford 1968, pp. 57–60. ראה גם "מאירים
כמשפט", 4QpIsa^d (4Q164) 5.

24. ראה גם F. H. Polak, "The Interpretation of כָּלָה/כִּלָּה in the LXX: Ambiguity and
Intuitive Comprehension", *Textus* 17 (1994), pp. 57–77.

אכ"ל/כל"י

דברי הימים ב ל 22: "וַיֵּאָכְלוּ (אֶת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ)"

καὶ συνετέλεσαν ('וסיימו')

בשני המקרים הללו יצר תה"ש הקשרים חדשים לגמרי. בתרגום היווני לחבקוק נגזרה המילה מכלה מן אכ"ל.

מר

גם הרצף מר מתפרש כארבעה שורשים שונים, אחד מהם מגזרת השלמים (מר"ד):

מר"י/מר"ר

דברים לא 27: "מִמָּרִים הֵיְתָם עִם ה'"

παρ᾽απικραίνοντες ἦτε πρὸς τὸν θεόν ('הייתם ממררים/מתמרמים כלפי אלוהים')

השורש מר"י תורגם תכופות παρ᾽απικραίνω ('מירר'), על סמך האקוויולנט הנפוץ מר – πικρός. נראה שהאקוויולנטיות הושפעה מהופעתה בשירת האזינו, כתוב מרכזי בתורה.²⁵

מר"ד/מר"ר

יחזקאל ב 3: "(אֵל בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶל גּוֹיִם) הַמּוֹדִים אֲשֶׁר מְרִדּוּ בִּי"

τοὺς παρ᾽απικραίνοντάς με, οἵτινες (πρὸς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ) παρέπικρανάν με ('אל בית ישראל הממררים אותי, אשר מיררו אותי')

רמ"י (מרמה) / מר"ר

תהלים י 7: "אֶלֶּה פִּיהוּ מְלֵא וּמְרֻמוֹת יְתֵן"

(תה"ש שם ט 28) οὗ ἄρᾱς τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ γέμει καὶ πικρίας καὶ δόλου (אשר פיו מלא קללה, מרירות ומרמה')

25. ראה מאמרי "The Impact" (הערה 7 לעיל). אקוויולנט זה נדון אצל וולטרס: P. Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint – Its Corruptions and their Emendation*, Cambridge 1973, pp. 150–153. ראה גם מחקרים קודמים: M. Flashar, "Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapсалter", *ZAW* 32 (1912), pp. 185–189; R. Helbing, *Die Kasusyntax der Verba bei den Septuaginta*, Göttingen 1928, pp. 101–103.

נח

נח"ם/נח"י/נח"ח

לשלושת השורשים הללו משמעויות יסוד שונות, אך בתרגום היווני הם הוחלפו לפעמים. הדמיון בין השורשים אף יצר צורות הומוגרפיות. (כך המילה הנחם מתועדת בניקודים שונים בכתבי היד ובתרגומים העתיקים כמשקפת כל אחד משלושת השורשים – ראה שמ"א כב 4; מל"א י 26; מל"ב יח 11; משלי יא 3.) כבר בספר בראשית ניכר הקשר בין השורשים בהסבר שמו של נח: "זֶה יִנְחָמֵנוּ מִמַּעֲשֵׂנוּ וּמִעֲצָבוֹן יִדְּיֵנוּ" (בראשית ה 29).

ישעיהו א 24: "הוֹי אֲנָחֶם מְצָרִי"

οὐ παύσεται γὰρ μου ὁ θυμὸς ἐν τοῖς ὑπεναντίοις (כ'י חמתי לא תיפסק/תנוח באויבים')

παύομαι ('להפסיק') והפעלים הקרובים מתרגמים תכופות את נח"ח. נח"ם תורגם על ידי פועל זה גם בירמיהו כו (תה"ש: 33), 13, 19; לא (38), 15; מב (49), 10. ישעיהו סג 14: "רוּחַ ה' תְּנִיחֵנוּ"

πνεῦμα παρὰ κυρίου. καὶ ὠδήγησεν αὐτοῦς (שחזור: 'רוח מאת ה'. תנחנו')

נם

נא"ם/נח"ם

ירמיהו כג 31: "(הנְנִי עַל הַנְּבִיאִים...) הִלְקִיחִים לְשׁוֹנֵם וַיִּנְאַמוּ נְאֻם" $LXX^{88} L' La-w$ τοὺς ἐλαμβάνοντα (LXX^{rel} ἐκβάλλοντα) προφητείας νουμένων (אֲנִי וְנִבְיֵי יְהוָה וְכָל הָעָם הַלְקִיחִים לְשׁוֹנֵם וַיִּנְאַמוּ נְאֻם) וְכָל הָעָם הַלְקִיחִים לְשׁוֹנֵם וַיִּנְאַמוּ נְאֻם

המתרגם גזר את "וינאמו נאם" מן השורש נח"ם, כאילו גרס "וינומו נום". צורה משוחזרת זאת מזכירה את הכתיב הנפוץ במגילת ישעיהו א למילה נאם בתור נאום/נואם/נום.²⁶

ספ

הרצף ספ מייצג ארבעה שורשים שונים:

יס"ס/ף"ס

ירמיהו ז 21: "(עֲלוּתֵיכֶם) סָפוּ (עַל זִבְחֵיכֶם)"

26. ראה קוטשר (הערה 20 לעיל), עמ' 393–394.

συναγάγετε ('אספו)

ישעיהו כט 1: "סְפוּ (שָׁנָה עַל שָׁנָה)"

συναγάγετε (γενήματα ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν) ('אספו [תבואה שנה על שנה])
לאקוויוולנטים הללו השווה את החילוף בין נה"מ ואספה לבין מגילת ישעיהו א
ויספה בישעיהו לו 31.²⁷

ספ"י/אס"ף

ישעיהו יג 15: "כָּל הַנֶּסֶפָה (יפול בְּתָרְבּ)"

καὶ οἵτινες συντηγμένοι εἰσὶν ('וכל הנאספים'), בדומה לכך הפשיטתא:
"דנתוסף".

אס"ף/סר"ף

שמות כג 16: "וְיָחַג הָאֶסֶף (בְּצֹאת הַשָּׁנָה) בְּאֶסְפֵּךָ (אֶת מַעֲשֵׂיךָ מִן הַשָּׂדֶה)"
καὶ ἑορτὴν συντελείας (ἐπ' ἐξόδου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ) ἐν τῇ συναγωγῇ (τῶν ἔργων
σου τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγροῦ σου) σου (יָחַג הַסִּיּוֹם [בְּצֹאת הַשָּׁנָה] בְּאִיסוֹף [תוצרתך מן
השדה שלך])

נראה שההקשר בספר שמות (בצאת השנה) השפיע על גזירת המילה אֶסֶף
מהשורש סר"ף, ולכן ייצג מתרגם זה את השורש אס"ף בפסוק זה בשני
אקוויוולנטים שונים, פעם מלשון סר"ף ופעם מלשון אס"ף.

ראה גם:

ויקרא כג 39: "בְּאֶסְפְּכֶם אֶת תְּבוּאַת הָאָרֶץ"

ὅταν συντελέσητε τὰ γενήματα τῆς γῆς ('כאשר תסיימו את יכול הארץ')

אס"ף/יס"ף

שתי הדוגמות הבאות מראות את הקשיים שבהערכת הממצא, שכן בנה"מ יס"ף
נכתב גם כ"א.

שמות ה 7: "לֹא תֹאסְפוֹן לְתֹת"

οὐκέτι προστεθήσεται διδόναι ('לא תוסיף לתת')

המתרגם גזר את תאספון אל נכון מן יס"ף.²⁸

שמואל ב ו 1: "יִסְּף עוֹד (דָּוִד אֶת כָּל בְּחוּר)"

καὶ συνήγαγεν ἔτι (Δαυὶδ πάντα νεανία) ('ואסף עוד [דוד את כל בחור])

המתרגם גזר אל נכון את המילה ויסף מתוך אס"ף. השווה גם נה"מ של תהלים

27. ראה קוטשר, שם, עמ' 167.

28. ראה BDB, ערך יָסַף.

קד 29, תסף, וכן את פשר חבקוק V, 14, ויספהו, כנגד נה"מ של חבקוק א 15, ויאספהו.

הדוגמות שלהלן מראות את הקרבה בין אס"ף וסו"ף גם בנה"מ. ירמיהו וצפניה היטיבו לשלב צורות משני השורשים במבנה אחד (ראה גם סעיף 3 להלן). מבחינה פורמלית המילה השנייה בצמד המילים משקפת את השורש סו"ף, אך המתרגם של ירמיהו גזר את שתי הצורות מאס"ף, ובצפניה תורגמו שתיהן מלשון סו"ף:

ירמיהו ח 13: "אָסַף אָסִיפִּים"

καὶ συνάξουσιν (τὰ γέννηματα αὐτῶν) ('ויאספו [את תבואותיהם])

צפניה א 2: "אָסַף אָסִיף"

ἐκλείψει ἐκλίπεται (πάντα) ('כל דבר [כלה יתכלה])

פצ

פו"ץ/נפ"ץ

יחזקאל לד 21: "אֲשֶׁר הִפְצִיזְתֶּם (אוֹתָנָה)"

καὶ ἐξέθλιβετε ('וציערתם')

האקוויוולנט מבוסס על השורש נפ"ץ בבניין פיעל (הפועל היווני מתרגם בין היתר את השורשים כת"ת ומח"ץ), ויוצר הקשר חדש לגמרי.

תמונה הפוכה משתקפת בייצוגים שלהלן של נפ"ץ בתור פו"ץ. התפתחות זאת אולי מובנת יותר, שכן השורש המשני נפ"ץ משמש במקרא ליד פו"ץ:

נפ"ץ/פו"ץ

ירמיהו יג 14: "וְנִפְצְתִּים (אִישׁ אֶל אָחִיו)"

καὶ διασκορπιῶ αὐτούς ('ואפיץ אותם')

ירמיהו נא 20: "מִפֶּץ אֶתָּה לִי (...) וְנִפְצְתִּי בָךְ (גוֹיִם)"

(תה"ש 28:20) διασκορπίζεις σύ μοι... καὶ διασκορπιῶ ('אתה מפזר לי [...] ואפזר')

אקוויוולנטים דומים נמצאים בירמיהו נא גם בפסוקים 21, 22 ו-23, וכן בדניאל יב 7 (תאודוטיון).

צר

נצ"ר/צר"ר

ירמיהו ד 16: "נִצְרִים (בָּאִים מֵאֶרֶץ הַמִּדְבָּר)"

συστροφαί ('קבוצות/קהלים') – השווה פשיטתא "כנשא דעממא"

השווה האקוויוולנט צר"ר – ἡστροστυς בהושע ד 19; יג 12; ובמשלי ל 4 (תה"ש 24: 27).²⁹

נצ"ר/יצ"ר

משלי כד 12: "וְנִצֵּר נִפְשֶׁךָ (הוא יִדַּע)"
ὁ πλάσας πνοήν ('זה שיצר נשימה')

קנ

קנ"א/קנ"י

ישעיהו יא 11: "(יֹסִיף אֲדֹנִי שְׁנִית יְדוֹ) לְקִנּוֹת (אֶת שְׁאֵר עַמּוֹ)"
τοῦ ζῆλωσαι ('לקנא')
המתרגם גזר את המילה לקנות מתוך קנ"א. השווה פס' 13: יקנא – ζῆλωσει.
ראה גם את הקשר ההדוק בין שני השורשים בנה"מ של יחזקאל ח 3: "סִמְלָה הִקְנָאָה
הַמִּקְנָה" (וראה סעיף 3 להלן).

רא

יר"א (מורא, נורא) / רא"י

ראה לעיל (עמ' 293).

רע

רע"ע/רע"י

תהלים ב 9: "תִּרְעֶם (בְּשִׁבְט פְּרִזָּל)"
ποιμανεῖς αὐτούς ('אתה תרעה אותם', פשיטתא: "תרעא אנון")
תרעם שבנה"מ תואם את הצלע הנרדפת, "בְּכָלִי יוֹצֵר תִּנְפָצִים"; כלומר,
האקוויוולנט של תה"ש אינו מתאים. התרגום הושפע אולי ממיכה ז 14: "רָעָה עַמָּךְ
בְּשִׁבְטָךְ".

רש

יר"ש/ראש (רש)

ירמיהו מט 2: "(וְיָרֵשׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל) אֶת יִרְשִׁיו"

29. ראה את הניתוח של רבין: C. Rabin, "Nosrim", *Textus* 5 (1966), pp. 44–52.

(תה"ש 30:2) $\alpha\rho\chi\eta\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ (את שלטון) $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ ('שלטון', 'התחלה') משקף בדרך כלל את המילה ראש. האקוויולנט בספר ירמיהו מתבסס כנראה על מילה זאת, אולי לפי הכתיב הנפוץ במגילות קומראן (רוש).

שב

שב"ב/יש"ב

ירמיהו ג 6, 8, 12: "מִשְׁכַּב יִשְׂרָאֵל"
 $\eta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\alpha\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \text{I}\sigma\rho\alpha\eta\lambda$ ('מושב ישראל')
 התרגום היווני מבוסס על יש"ב (השווה מושב – $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\alpha$ ביחזקאל לד 13),
 ונראה בלתי מתאים בהקשרו. במקומות אחרים בספר ירמיהו תורגמה מִשְׁכַּב לפי
 השורש שב"ב (ב 22) או שו"ב (להלן). הצירוף יש"ב וישראל מופיע בשמות יב 40:
 "וּמֹשֶׁב בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל".

שב"ב/שו"ב

ירמיהו ח 5: "שׁוֹכְבָה (...) מִשְׁכַּב (נִצָּחַת)"
 $\alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu\ \dots\ \alpha\pi\omicron\sigma\tau\rho\omicron\phi\eta$ ('שב [...] שיבה/תפנית')
 אקוויולנט דומה מופיע בירמיהו ה 6: "רְבוּ פְּשָׁעֵיהֶם עֲצָמוּ מִשְׁבֹּתֵיהֶם".

שו"ב/יש"ב

יחזקאל כט 14: "יְהִי שְׁכַבְתִּי אִתָּם"
 $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\kappa\iota\sigma\omega\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ('ואושיב אותם')
 על הקרבה שבין שו"ב לבין יש"ב מעיד נה"מ בירמיהו מב 10: "שׁוֹב תֵּשְׁבוּ בְּאֶרֶץ
 הַזֹּאת" (ראה גם סעיף 3 להלן).

שמ

אש"ם/שמ"ם

הושע י 2: "יֵאָשְׁמוּ"
 $\alpha\phi\alpha\nu\iota\sigma\theta\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ ('הם יוחרבו')
 אקוויולנט זה חוזר בהושע יד 1 וביואל א 18. ראה גם ישעיהו כד 6 (תרגום
 ארמי) ויחזקאל ו 6 (סומכוס, פשיטתא, תרגום ארמי).

שנ

שאנ"ן/יש"ן

ירמיהו מו 27: "וַיִּשְׁקֹט וַיִּשְׁאַנֵּן"

(תה"ש 26:27) καὶ ἡσυχάσει καὶ ὑπνώσει (וְהוּא יִשְׁקוּט וַיִּשְׁנֵן)

התרגום היווני של ושאנן מתבסס כנראה על הנחת קשר בין מילה זאת (שמא גרס ושאנון?) לבין יש"ן, מתוך התעלמות מן האל"ף.

שר

שר"ר (שר"י) / יש"ר

ירמיהו ט 13: "(וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרַי) שְׁרָרוֹת לָכֶם"

(ἀλλ' ἐπορεύθησαν ὀπίσω) τῶν ἀρεστῶν τῆς καρδίας αὐτῶν τῆς κατῆς (וְהֵלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי נַעֲיֻמוֹת [תַּאוּרוֹת] לִבָּם הָרַעָה)

התרגום היווני מתבסס על האקוויולנט ישר – ἀρεστ, המופיע בכמה מקומות (שמות טו 26; דברים ו 18; יב 8, 25, 28 ועוד). תרגום זה חוזר בירמיהו טז 12; יח 30.³⁰

ירמיהו טו 11: "אִם לֹא שְׁרוּתְךָ (קִרִי שְׁרִיתִיךָ) לְטוֹב" (שורש שר"ר [כתיב] / שר"י [קרי]) κατεσθύνοντων αὐτῶν ('בְּהִיּוֹתָם מְצַלִּיחִים')

הפועל κατεσθύνω מתרגם תכופות מילים מן השורש יש"ר (תהלים ה 9; משלי א 3; ט 15 ועוד).

תשורה/שא"ר

שמואל א ט 7: "ותשורה (אין להביא לאיש האלהים)"

καὶ πλεῖον (ויותר)

תרגום זה מתבסס על ש"א(ר).

3. מסקנות אחדות

הנתונים שהוצגו כאן מדגימים היבטים אחדים של תפישתם של המתרגמים, ובמיוחד את פנייתם לצמדי אותיות כבסיס לזיהוי המשמעות. המתרגמים נדרשו לזיהויים מסוג זה בעיקר כשהייתה לפניהם צורה שהשורש שלה משתייך לאחת הגזרות העלולות, אך לעתים גם כשהיה לפניהם שורש בגזרת השלמים. קשה לדעת

30. גירזון דומה משתקף בתרגומו של סומכוס לירמיהו יא 8 ἀρεσκεία, וכן בתרגומו של תאודוטיון שם יא 8 רִיב 10: εὐθύτης.

35. W. Gesenius & E. Kautzsch, *Hebrew Grammar*², Oxford 1910, §75 qq-rr ראה

מדויקת בין הגזרות: את הצורה הובשת (בשמואל ב יט 6 ובכתובים נוספים) יש לגזור מהשורש ע"ר"ש ולא מ"ב"ש, וכך נהגו כל התרגומים, כולל תה"ש.³⁶ כל התופעות הללו מתועדות היטב במילונים ובספרי הדקדוק.

תהליך עירוב השורשים מהגזרות העלולות גבר בלשון חז"ל. אז הופיעו צורות חדשות מגזרת ע"ר"י לצד גזרת פ"י (למשל נו"ק/ינ"ק, קו"ץ/יק"ץ), ונוצרו צורות חדשות מגזרת הכפולים ליד ע"ר"י (למשל זל"ל/זו"ל). בלשון חז"ל בולטת גם התמזגותן של גזרות ל"א ור"י. כל התופעות הללו מתועדות היטב בספרי הדקדוק.³⁷

תהליך זה הניב שינויי נוסח המשקפים את עירוב הגזרות. קצת חילופים מסוג זה נזכרו לעיל, למשל "תַּבְּאֵשׁ דְּגָתָם מֵאֵין מַיִם" בישעיהו נ 2 כנגד מגילת ישעיהו א תיבש, וגרסה זו אולי משתקפת גם בתה"ש καὶ ξηραυνήσονται. החילופים בין ואספה (בנה"מ) לויספה (במגילת ישעיהו א) בישעיהו לז 31 ובין ויאספהו (בנה"מ חבקוק א 15) לויספהו (בפסח חבקוק 14 V) מקבילים ליחס שבין נה"מ לתה"ש שנרשמו לעיל (קבוצת ספ). נוסף על כך, בתיאורו המקיף של קוטשר בספרו על מגילת ישעיהו³⁸ יש דוגמות נוספות רבות שאינן קשורות לתה"ש: יח"ל/נח"ל (עמ' 199), סו"ר/יס"ר (עמ' 201), סר"ר/סר"ר (עמ' 203).

ייתכן שהמתרגמים היו מודעים לתופעות ולהתפתחויות אלה, אך אל לנו לייחס להם הבנה לשונית מפותחת, שכן דווקא חוסר ידע לשוני וחוסר הבנה בולטים בתרגומים. כמו כן, תפישתם של המתרגמים שונה מאוד מן התופעות שהתרחשו בתוך הלשון: התהליכים הלשוניים התרחשו באופן טבעי, מבלי שהשתנו תוכנם של טקסטים ומשמעויותיהן של מילים. למשל, ביחזקאל ח 3 "סִמְלָה הִקְנָאָה הַמִּקְנָה" יוצג השורש קנ"א (בגזרת ל"א) כשורש קנ"י (בגזרת ל"י), אך בכל זאת נשא את המשמעות של קנ"א. לעומת זאת באותו עניין, כאשר המתרגם של ישעיהו יא 11 (לעיל עמ' 303) תרגם את לקנות מלשון קנ"א, הוא נתן תפנית לכוונתו המקורית של הכתוב.³⁹ קשה לקרוא להתפתחות זאת התפתחות טבעית, ויהיה קרוב יותר לאמת

וראה גם יחזקאל ח 3: "סִמְלָה הִקְנָאָה הַמִּקְנָה" (צוטט לעיל). המילה השנייה בצירוף זה נושאת את המשמעות של קנ"א, אך כי באופן פורמלי היא גזורה מן השורש קנ"י. למעשה, לפי שפרבר, גזרות ל"א ור"י הן קבוצה אחת ולא שתי קבוצות; ראה שפרבר (לעיל הערה 33), עמ' 595. וראה הדוגמות ויסף/ויאסף, תאספון/תוסיף (עמ' 301) – חילופי פ"ר/פ"א.

36. 37. M. H. Segal, *A Grammar of Mishnaic Hebrew*, Oxford 1927, §§185, 189; ג' הנמן, תורת הצורות של לשון המשנה על פי מסורת כתב יד פרמה (דה-רוסי 138) (מקורות ומחקרים בלשון העברית ובתחומים הסמוכים לה, 3), חל אביב תש"ם, במיוחד עמ' 422–431.

38. לעיל הערה 20.

39. נראה שקוטשר (עמ' 223–242) מזהה ביתר קלות את התהליכים הלשוניים במגילה עם מעשי ידיהם של המתרגמים: "התרגומים עצמם נוהגים בכל השיטות שהן נחלת המג... שבכולם אפשר למצוא פרשנים יהודיים בימי הביניים, שגרסו כמובן כמות הטקסט המסורתי, אך

לומר שמדובר בחוסר הבנה.⁴⁰ משום כך ציינתי לפעמים, שהמترגם יצר הקשר חדש לגמרי.

לסיכום, מתרגמי תה"ש, כמו מתרגמי מקרא אחרים,⁴¹ פנו לפעמים לצמד אותיות כבסיס לפירוש המילים, במיוחד בצורות שאינן בגזרת השלמים. גישה זאת נתפתחה בגלל הקשיים שהיו למתרגמים בזיהוי המילים, והיא משקפת פרשנות ad hoc. את גישת המתרגמים יש לראות נוכח ניחושיהם הרבים, ובהם תרגומים המתעלמים מאותיות אחדות שבמקור. מכל מקום, אין בגישת המתרגמים משום תפישה דו-עיצורית של השורשים העבריים, במיוחד משום שהם בחרו לפעמים בשורש הלא מתאים.⁴² תפישה דו-עיצורית התפתחה במועד מאוחר יותר אצל מדקדקי ימי הביניים,⁴³ והוחייתה במחקר במאה ה-18.⁴⁴

פירושם עולה בקנה אחד עם ה'חיקון' של התרגומים ועם גרסת המג' (עמ' 236); "אליבא דאמת חשיבות התרגומים גדולה הרבה יותר מבחינה אחרת: הם מסייעים לנו לעתים לעמוד על כוונת כותב המג' בשינויי גרסותיו" (עמ' 237).

מצד אחר, ייתכן שאקוויוולנטים אחדים הושפעו מהתפתחויות פונטיות, כמו במקרים של ספ, גר, גם (הצעה של נ' מזרחי). אין גם להכחיש שאקוויוולנטים מסוימים נושאים אופי מדרשי (ראה הערה 14 לעיל).

קצת דוגמות ביחס לפשיטתא נתן הלר: Ch. Heller, *Untersuchungen über die Peschitta*, zur gesamten hebräischen Bibel, I, Berlin 1911, pp. 45–47. הארמיים נתן פרייס: L. Prijs, *Jüdische Tradition in der Septuaginta*, Leiden 1948, p. 83 n. 3.

דרייבר הביע דעה אחרת: G. R. Driver, "Confused Hebrew Roots", in B. Schindler (ed.), *Occident and Orient... Gaster Anniversary Volume*, London 1936, pp. 73–83. לדעתו אין מדובר בטעויות המתרגמים בזיהוי צורות פועליות דומות, אלא השורשים עצמם היו קרובים: השורשים אב"ל, נב"ל, ואולי אף בל"י התפתחו ממקור משותף, בל (עמ' 75), כפי שניכר למשל בירמיהו יב 4: "עד מתי תאכל הארץ ועשב כל השדה ייבש" (השווה "תחרוב" בתרגום הארמי). לדעתו של דרייבר עדותם של התרגומים העתיקים תומכת בהנחה זאת, שכן, במקרה אחר, צורות של אש"ם תורגמו לפעמים כאילו נגזרו משמ"ם (ראה הנתונים לעיל), אבל למעשה מדובר בשורש אחד, אש"ם = שמ"ם. התאוריה של דרייבר צריכה להידון בהרחבה, אך לעניות דעתי עדותם של התרגומים העתיקים אינה תומכת בה.

מנחם אבן סרוק (המאה העשירית) ויהודה חיוג' (בערך 945–1000). במבוא למילונו מחברת מנחם פיתח אבן סרוק את התאוריה, שביסוד השורשים התלת-עיצוריים היה בסיס דו-עיצורי ולפעמים אף חד-עיצורי. ראה את המהדורה של אבן סרוק בידי י' פיליפוסקי, לונדון ואדינבורג 1854, וכן J. Blau, "Menahem ben Jacob Ibn Saruq", *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Jerusalem 1971, vol. 11, cols. 1305–1306.

דיון וביבליוגרפיה אצל S. Moscati, "Il biconsonantismo nelle lingue semitiche", *Biblica* 28 (1947), pp. 113–135; G. J. Botterweck, *Der Triliterismus im Semitischen erläutert an den Wurzeln GL KL KL (BBB 3)*, Bonn 1952, pp. 11–30; S. Moscati, *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages*, Phonology and Morphology, Wiesbaden 1969, pp. 72–75. ראה גם גזניוס (לעיל הערה 35), §30 f–o.

אל תקרי דוקה אלא דְבָקָה: עיון מחודש במשמעות מונח קלנדרי ייחודי בלוח השנה השמשי של עדת "הבאים בברית החדשה" מימי בית שני

שמריהו טלמון

א. מבנה לוח השנה השמשי של 364 יום

אגרון הכתבים שנתגלו במערות קומראן מצטיין בזיקה ברורה ללשון המקרא מצד אחד, ומצד שני בקרבה ללשון חז"ל. ושוב אין הדבר צריך הוכחה.¹ בעת ובעונה אחת השתמר באוצר הלשוני של בעלי המגילות שימוש רווח במילים וניבים שאינם משמשים כלל בלשון המקרא ולא בלשון חז"ל, או שהם באים בזו כבזו לעתים נדירות בלבד. דיינו להזכיר את הנפוצות של המונח יחד כשם עצם בספרות העדה, המתועד בעברית מקראית ובלשון חז"ל בהיקריות מועטות בלבד.² והוא דין המונח סרך, הנעדר לחלוטין מאגרון המקרא, ובלשון חז"ל שרד רק בהיקריות מספר. ועוד

1. ראה למשל ש' טלמון, "מגילות קומראן: בין מקרא למשנה", בתוך מ' ברושי, ש' טלמון, ש' יפת וד' שורץ (עורכים), בין מקרא למשנה: כנס ירושלים לציון ארבעים שנות מחקר של מגילות מדבר יהודה, ירושלים תשנ"ג, עמ' 10–48; א' קימרון, "מילון המקרא בראי המגילות", תרביץ נח (תשמ"ט), עמ' 297–315; הנ"ל, "לנוסחה של מגילת המקדש", לשוננו מב (1978), עמ' 136–145; ח' רבין, "לשון המקרא ולשון המגילות", חקרי לשון: אסופת מאמרים בלשון העברית ובאחיותיה, ירושלים תשנ"ח, עמ' 137–308; ש' מורג, "לשון של מגילות מדבר יהודה: קווי מבנה ומהותם", הברית העברית העולמית: הכנס העברי השישי באירופה (לונדון תשמ"ד), ירושלים תשמ"ח, עמ' 153–161; C. Rabin, "The Historical Background of Qumran Hebrew", in C. Rabin & Y. Yadin (eds.), *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1965), pp. 144–161; S. Morag, "Qumran Hebrew: Some Typological Observations", *VT* 38 (1988), pp. 148–164; מ' בראש, "לשון קומראן בין המקרא ללשון חז"ל (עיון בסעיף במורפולוגיה)", מגילות ב (תשס"ד), עמ' 137–150; י' יוסטן, "מינוח כיתתי ופרשנות מקרא: הוראת הפועל 'אות' בכתבי קומראן", מגילות א (תשס"ג), עמ' 219–226; הנ"ל, "חידושי לשון של התקופה ההלניסטית: עדות מגילות קומראן לצד עדות תרגום השבעים", מגילות ב (תשס"ד), עמ' 151–155; ש' פסברג, "העדפת צורות מוארכות במגילות מדבר יהודה", מגילות א (תשס"ג), עמ' 227–240; מ' קיסטר, "שלוש מילים מצפוני מגילות מדבר יהודה", לשוננו סג (תשס"א), עמ' 35–40.
2. ראה את מאמרי *The Sectarian*, *VT* 3 (1953), pp. 133–140, יחד "A Biblical Noun".

מגילות ה-ו (תשס"ח), עמ' 309–322

ראוי להזכיר כמה וכמה מונחי מלחמה, כמו מרדף ומשוב, שבהם מתייחדת "מגילת מלחמת בני אור בבני חושך" ואשר אינם מצויים כלל בספרות המקרא ובספרות חז"ל.³ קרוב לוודאי כי לשונות מעין אלה אינם מחידושיהם של סופרי העדה, אלא נעלמו מאוצר הלשון של כנסת ישראל מטעמים שאינם ידועים לנו אבל השתמרו בכתבים של עדת "באי הברית החדשה".⁴

סברה זו תופסת ביתר שאת בסוגיה שהייתה מן הסיבות העיקריות ושמה הסיבה המכרעת שגרמה לפרישת העדה מכנסת ישראל. הלא הוא הפולמוס של חברי העדה שהחזיקו בלוח שנה שמשי של 364 יום המתחלק לארבע תקופות בנות 13 שבועות⁵ ודחו את הלוח הירחי של 354 יום שעל פיו התנהלו חיי הפרט והציבור של כנסת ישראל. ההתעצמות בין שני הפלגים בעניין זה בשלהי ימי הבית השני הותירה רשמים ברורים בספרי היסוד של העדה,⁶ כמו במגילת סרך היחד, במגילת ברית דמשק,⁷ וראש לכול במגילת פשר חבקוק.⁸

3. י' ידין, מגילת מלחמת בני אור בבני חושך ממגילות מדבר יהודה, ירושלים 1955: "חצוצרות המרדף" (ג 2, 9; 12 ז 6); "חצוצרות המשוב" (ח 2, 13; 12 ז 10).
4. לעניין שם זה שבו מכנה בעל מגילת ברית דמשק את חברי עדתו (ב"ד ו 19; ח 29) על יסוד השימוש במונח ברית חדשה בנבואת ירמיהו (ירמיהו לא 31) ראה את מאמרי "The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity", in E. Ulrich & J. VanderKam (eds.), *The Community of the Renewed Covenant, The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Notre Dame, IN 1994, pp. 3–24.
5. לעניין לוח השנה בן 364 יום ראה י' בן-דב ו' הורביץ, "השנה בת 364 יום במסופוטמיה ובקומראן", מגילות א (תשס"ג), עמ' 3–26.
6. ראה מאמרי: "לוחות השנה של כת מדבר יהודה", מולד 103 (תשי"ז), עמ' 53–58; "מחזור הברכות של כת מדבר יהודה", תרביץ כט (תש"ך), עמ' 1–20; "חשבון הלוח של כת מדבר יהודה", ספר סוקניק, ירושלים תשכ"א, עמ' 77–105; "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect From the Judaean Desert", *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958), pp. 162–199.
7. ראה מאמרי: "שמירת השבת על פי הפרשה 'על השבת' במגילת ברית דמשק: מן הערב או מן הבוקר?", מגילות א (תשס"ג), עמ' 71–93; "Counting the Sabbath in the First and Early Second Temple Period: From the Evening or From the Morning", in J. Blidstein (ed.), *Sabbath: Idea, History, Reality*, Beer Sheva 2004, pp. 9–32.
8. ראה מאמרי: "מניין היממה בתקופת המקרא ובראשית ימי בית שני: מן הבוקר או מן הערב?", בתוך ש' יפת (עורכת), המקרא בראי מפרשי: ספר זכרון לשרה קמין, ירושלים 1994, עמ' 109–129; "לוח המועדים בשנת החמה של עדת היחד על פי רשימת שירי דוד במגילת המזמורים ממערה 11 (11QPs^a XXVII)", בתוך ג' ברין וב' ניצן (עורכים), יובל לחקר מגילות ים המלח, ירושלים תשס"א, עמ' 204–219; "Yom Hakkippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll", *Biblica* 32 (1951), pp. 540–563; "Calendars and Mishmarot", in L. H. Schiffman & J. C. VanderKam (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford 2000, pp. 108–117.

לוח השנה השמשי של הבאים בברית החדשה

יום	א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ש
חודש				1	2	3	4
I	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
IV	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
VII	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
X	26	27	28	29	30	1	2
II	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
V	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
VIII	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
XI	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
III	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
VI	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
IX	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
XI	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
XII	29	30	31				

המניין של 364 ימים בשנה מבטיח סבב סדור של מחזור העונות: היום הראשון והיום החמישה-עשר בכל חודש ראשון של תקופה חלים תמיד ביום ד' בשבוע. זהו יום בריאתם של המאורות (בראשית א 14–15), שבלעדיהם אין בסיס ללוח השמש וללוח הירח גם יחד. השבתות יחולו תמיד באותם ימים במניין ימי החודש, וכל חג יחול תמיד באותו יום בשבוע. זבח הפסח נחוג כחג בפני עצמו ביום ג', הארבעה-עשר בחודש הראשון, בין הערביים. ואילו חג המצות נחוג מיד אחריו ביום ד', החמישה-עשר בחודש. חג השבועות חל לעולם ביום א', החמישה-עשר בחודש השלישי (יובלים טו 1; טז 13; מד 1–5), חמישים יום אחרי יום א', העשרים ושישה בחודש הראשון. כך התפרשה להם מצות התורה למנות חמישים יום "ממחרת השבת" (ויקרא כג 11–16), דהיינו יום א' בשבוע הראשון שלאחר תום חג המצות. יום הזיכרון (או יום תרועה) באחד בחודש השביעי חל תמיד ביום ד', וכמוהו גם חג הסוכות בחמישה-עשר באותו חודש. יום הכיפורים חל ביום ו', העשרה בחודש השביעי, לפני השבת, ביום שלעולם לא יחול בו בלוח של כנסת ישראל. דומה, כי בני העדה ראו בסמיכות זו את הפירוש המדויק ביותר לכינוי שבת שבתון, המתאר את יום הכיפורים בספר ויקרא (טז 31; כג 32) – מעין שבת כפולה, או שבת לפני שבת.

השוני בין לוח הירח של כנסת ישראל ללוח השמש של עדת היחד בא לידי ביטוי

מובהק בתעודות קלנדריות ייחודיות שכמותן לא השתמרו בספרות המקרא ולא בספרות הבית השני לכל ענפיה. בתעודות אלה נמנו בצורות מצורות שונות עשרים וארבע משפחות כוהנים⁹ על פי רשימת שמותיהן בדברי הימים א כד 7–18:

ויצא הגורל הראשון ליהויריב לידעיה השני: לאחר השלישי לשערים הרבעי: למלכיה החמישי למימן הששי: להקוץ השבעי לאביה השמיני: לישוע התשעי לשכניהו העשירי: לאלישיב עשתי עשר ליקים שנים עשר: לחפה שלשה עשר לישבאב ארבעה עשר: לבלגה חמשה עשר לאמר ששה עשר: לחזיר שבעה עשר להפצץ שמונה עשר: לפתחיה תשעה עשר ליחזקאל העשרים: ליכין אחד ועשרים לגמול שנים ועשרים: לדליהו שלשה ועשרים למעזיהו ארבעה ועשרים:

יש תעודות שבהן תואר סדר השירות הקבוע של אותן משפחות כוהנים בבית המקדש, של כל אחת במשך שבוע אחד בכל מחצית שנה במערך כולל של שש שנים, תוך כדי ציון מיוחד של המשפחות ששירתו בימי חג ומועד, ראשי שנים וראשי חודשים (4Q320 4 vi 5–12).¹⁰ י"ת מיליק היה ראשון הדנים במסמכים אלה; הוא כינה אותם Mišmarôt.¹¹ שם זה התקבל במחקר, אף על פי שלא נמצא כלל במגילות קומראן. במקרא המונח משמר אינו ציון של משפחות הכוהנים המשרות בבית המקדש כי אם של יחידות (צבא) של שומרים (ירמיהו נא 12; איוב ז 12; נחמיה ד 3, 17; יב 24), ושל תפקידם (נחמיה יב 25; יג 14¹²), או של מקום שמירתם. שימוש זה של המונח משמר ייחודי למסורות יוסף בספר בראשית (בראשית מ 3, 7; מא 10; מב 17, 19). שם העצם משמרת מציין לרוב את תפקיד השומרים או את מושא שמירתם (שמואל א כב 23; מלכים ב יא 6–7; דברי הימים א יב 30 וכיו"ב) ולא את השומרים עצמם. ויש שהוא יוצא על מקומות המשמשים

9. ראה S. Talmon with the assistance of J. Ben Dov, *Qumran Cave 4, XVI: Calendrical Texts* (DJD 21), Oxford 2001

10. תיאור מתומצת של עיקרי לוח זה ושל סדרי השירות של הכוהנים הבאתי במאמרי "לוח השנה של בני עדת היחד", קדמוניות ל (תשנ"ח), חוברת 2, עמ' 105–114. וכן ראה מאמרי "Calendar Controversy in Ancient Judaism: The Case of the Community of the Renewed Covenant", in D. W. Parry & E. Ulrich (eds.), *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, Leiden 1999, pp. 379–395

11. ראה J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, translated from the French edition (1957) by J. Strugnell, London 1959, p. 151, Additional Notes 5 and 6

12. סביר כי זה משמעו של הכתוב "זכרה לי אלהי על זאת ואל תמח חסדי אשר עשיתי בבית אלהי ובמשמריו" (נחמיה יג 14); השווה "ואמרה ללוי אשר יהיו מטהרים ובאים שמרים השערים" וגו' (שם 22).

לצורכי שמירה (שמואל ב כ 3), כמו משמר בסיפורי יוסף (בראשית מב 17, 19). רק בהיקריות מועטות בספרות המקרא המאוחרת קשור המונח משמרת בסדרי השירות של חטיבות כוהנים בבית המקדש, כמו בכתובים "והכהנים על משמרתם עמדים" (דברי הימים ב ז 6); "ויעמד הכהנים על משמרותם ויחזקם לעבודת בית ה'" (שם לה 2) וכיו"ב. משמעות זו של המונח מובלטת במיוחד בכתובים שבהם הוזכרו כוהנים עם לוויים, כגון: "ואת התיחש הכהנים לבית אבותיהם והלויים מבן עשרים שנה ולמעלה במשמרותיהם במחלקותיהם" (דברי הימים ב לא 17, והשווה פס' 16). בכתובים אלה משמרותיהם מכון כנגד הכוהנים ומחלקותיהם כנגד הלוויים. והשווה: "והקימו כהניא בפלגתהון ולויא במחלקתהון" (עזרא ו 18). בכתבים קלנדריים אחדים מקומראן צוינה הכניסה של משמר כוהנים לשירותו בבית המקדש על ידי צירוף של הסמיכות ביאת עם שם המשמר, שהוא ייחודי לתעודות אלה:

בעשרים ושל[ו]שה בה ביאת יקים (4Q322 3)¹³
בעשרים ושמונא בוא¹⁴ ביאת מלכ[יה] (4Q324^a ii 2)¹⁵ וכיו"ב.

ב. בירור הגזרון של המונח "דוקה"

בקטעים של שני המסמכים 4Q321 ו-4Q321^a, שבהם פורטו כסדרם מועדי השירות של המשמרות במחזור של שש שנים, ורק בתעודות אלה, חוזר ונשנה המונח הטכני דוקה כציון יממה אחת בכל חודש של חודשי הירח. למשל:

באר[בעה] במלאכיה בארבעה בתשיעי ודוקה שבת באביה באחד [ועשרים בוא (4Q321 iv 4, 4–5)]¹⁶
[בחמשה במעוזה] בשבעה [חמישי [ודו]קה באח[ך] בחרים] בארבעה ועשרים בוא (4Q321^a iii 2.3.4 4–5)¹⁷.

בתעודה 4Q321 שרדו ארבע עשרה היקריות שלמות של המונח דוקה, ותשע מקוטעות שאפשר לשחזרן בנקל במלואן, מכיוון שכל האזכורים מנוסחים על פי

13. ראה *DJD* 21, p. 96 (לעיל הערה 9); ש' טלמון וי' קנוהל, "קטעים של מגילת לוח מקומראן: משמרות Ba (4Q321)", *תרכיץ ס* (תשנ"ב), עמ' 505–521.

14. התיבות בו, בוא ובה חוזרות לחודש שהוזכר לפני כן או שאפשר לשחזר אזכורו מכוח הניסוח הסטראוטיפי של התעודות הקלנדריות. ב-2 ii 4Q324^a יש להשלים במפורש "החודש השמיני".

15. *DJD* 21, p. 109.

16. שם, עמ' 74.

17. שם, עמ' 87.

דגם לשוני קבוע. ואילו ב-4Q321^a השתמרו שלוש היקרויות שלמות של המילה ואחת מקוטעת בשלושה אופני כתיב: פעם אחת (דוק) (ראה לעיל), פעם אחת דוקה ופעמיים דוקו. אקדים ואומר, כי הכתיב המקורי של המילה אכן דוקה ולא דוק, כפי שיש טוענים,¹⁸ וכי הה"א היא אות סופית של שם עצם נקבי. יש לשער כי הכתיב דוקו מטעות סופרים נולד, וכי בכתבו דוקה צירף סופר מן הסופרים את הכתיב השגוי עם הכתיב הנכון דוקה. בזה אני חוזר בי מהצעה שהצעתי בעבר, לאמור כי עניין לנו בה"א הקניין של גוף נסתר הרומז לתלות התיבה דוקה בציון הנקבי לבנה של המאור הקטן.¹⁹ וטעם הדבר, כי הכינוי לבנה אינו משמש כלל באגרון של כתבי היחד. כיוצא בזה אין לפרש את הוי"ו בסוף התיבה דוקו כוי"ו הקניין המלמדת כביכול על תלות המילה בשם העצם הזכרי ירח. ציון המאור הקטן בשם ירח בא בקורפוס של כתבי קומראן חמש פעמים בלבד, ובכולן לא בזיקה ללוח השנה,²⁰ ואף לא פעם אחת ברשימות הקלנדריות. שם העצם ירח משמש אך ורק במובאים מן המקרא של המניין הנוסחאי של גרמי השמים, כמו במגילת המקדש (11Q19): "והלך ועבד אלהים אחרים והשתחוה להמה או לשמש או לירח או לכל צבא השמים" (נה 18). וכיוצא בזה אנו קוראים בסיפור חוזר של מעשה הבריאה בקטע מגילה של ספר היובלים (4Q216 VI, 5): "את השמש ואת הירח" (השווה 2Q233, 2; 4Q392 1, 6; 4Q458 2 i 2).²¹

כאמור, המונח דוקה אין לו אח ורע במאגר הכתבים שנתגלו בקומראן, גם לא בתעודות בעלות אופי קלנדרי כמגילת האותות.²² אף לא נמצא כמותו בספרות

18. M. O. Wise, "Observations on New Calendrical Texts from the Qumran", in *Thunder in Gemini and Other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine* (JSPSupp 15), Sheffield 1994, pp. 222–239; idem, "Second Thoughts on *duq* and the Qumran Synchronistic Calendars", in J. C. Reeves & J. Kampen (eds.), *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of BZ Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Sheffield 1994, pp. 98–120; J. C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, London & New York 1998, p. 85; M. G. Abegg, "The Calendar at Qumran", in A. J. Avery-Peck et al. (eds.), *Judaism in Late Antiquity*, Part Five: *The Judaism of Qumran. A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2001, pp. 145–164; idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*. vol. 1: *The Non-Biblical Texts From Qumran*, Leiden & Boston 2002, ע"ע דוק. וראה עתה את מאמרו של י' בן-דב בסוגיה המתפרסם בחוברת זו של "מגילות". תודתי נתונה למחבר על שהעמיד לרשותי כתב יד של מאמרו לעיוני.

19. ראה DJD 21, p. 84.

20. להבדיל מחמש היקרויות של ירח/יָרַח במשמעות של "חודש/חודשים".

21. במקרא בא שם העצם לבנה שלוש פעמים, דרך קבע בצימוד עם חמה (ישעיהו כד 23; ל 26; שיר השירים ו 10), לעומת עשרים ושבע היקרויות של ירח.

22. ראה J. Ben-Dov, "4Q319 (Otot)", DJD 21 (n. 9 above), pp. 195–241.

המקרא ובספרות חז"ל.²³ כמו כן לא נודע בלשונות תרגום שבהן נמסרו ספרים מן החיצונים, בראש לכול ספרי חנוך והיובלים, שמחבריהם אינם נלאים מלשבח את לוח השמש של 364 יום ומהצגת הלוח הירחי של כנסת ישראל כטועה ומטעה. שמע מכאן כי המשמעות של דוקה אינה יכולה להתבאר משימוש המונח במערכות ספרות אחרות, מלפני הבית ומימי הבית. מכיוון שאי אפשר לקבוע בעזרת מקבילות את היום בחודש הירחי שהמונח בא לציין, ביקשו חוקרים לפרש משמעו מגיזורו המשוער. הוצעו שתי הצעות עיקריות, והן מנוגדות זו לזו בתכלית. אחת גורסת כי שם העצם דוקה נגזר מלשון דוק/דיק, המורה על הסתכלות מדויקת במהלך הירח כדי לקבוע בוודאות את תחילת הָרְאוּתוֹ בשמים.²⁴ ונחלקו בשאלה אם דוקה מסמן את מולד הירח בראש החודש,²⁵ לפי מנהג כנסת ישראל,²⁶ או שהמונח יוצא על הופעת הירח במילואו באמצע החודש, ובשלב זה הוא מסמן את ראש החודש.²⁷ מכל מקום לדעת בעלי סברות אלה דוקה מכון כנגד יממה בחודש הירחי שהיא בעליל מועד מקודש²⁸ של שמחה שנחוג בכרכות ותשבחות ובטקסי הודיה בקרב המחזיקים בלוח הירח,²⁹ והם בני מִצְרָה של חברי "עדת היחד".

23. אין רישום של המונח דוק/דוקה/דוקה במילון ההיסטורי של האקדמיה ללשון העברית, וגם לא ברשימות שעדיין לא נקלטו בו, כפי שהודיעני בטובו פרופ' אברהם טל.

24. דיון מפורט בגיזרון של דוקה הציע ויי ("Observations", לעיל ראש הערה 18). וייז מסכם דעתו בעניין המשמעות של דוקה באמרו, שקשר המונח עם השורש דוק מקרב כי פשרו צפיית הירח המלא ("observation of the full moon", שם, עמ' 228).

25. כך הציע מיליק לראשונה בספרו *Ten Years* (לעיל הערה 11), עמ' 152, הערה נוספת מס' 5: "In addition to the correspondence between the day of their solar calendar and the first day of their lunar month they also note the day of their solar month on which the new moon falls; this correspondence is called *daugah* or *duqyah*, which in Rabbinic literature means 'precision (obtained by an observation)' the root *dwq* meaning 'to examine, observe'".

26. ראה בין היתר B. Z. Wacholder & M. G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four, Fascicle One*, Washington, D.C. 1991, pp. 68, 102.

27. ראה J. C. VanderKam, "Calendrical Texts and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls Community", in M. O. Wise, N. Golb, J. Collins & D. Pardee (eds.), *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site*, New York 1994, pp. 371–388.

28. כדברי המשנה: "ראש בית דין אומר 'מקדש' וכל העם עונים אחריו 'מקדש מקדש'. בין שנראה בזמנו בין שלא נראה בזמנו מקדשין אותו" וגו' (משנה ראש השנה ב, ז; השו"ב בלי סנהדרין י, ע"ב; תוספתא סנהדרין ב, יג-יד; סופרים יט וכיו"ב).

29. ראה למשל את הדין בסוגיה של S. Gandz, "Studies in the Hebrew Calendar: Interpretation of a Difficult Passage in the Palestinian Talmud", *PAAJR* 17 (1947–1948), pp. 9–17; idem, "The Problem of the Molad", *PAAJR* 20 (1951), pp. 253–264.

אולם דא עקא, על ידי גילוי השורש האטימולוגי המשוער של מילה בלתי ידועה עדיין אין מגלים בהכרח את משמעותה בקונטקסט נתון.³⁰ מעבר לזה יש לוודא כי פירוש מן הפירושים שהוצעו מתיישב עם ההקשר הענייני וההגותי של מונח העומד לדיון במערך החברתי הרחב יותר.³¹ ההסברים "החיוביים" של דוקה אינם מתקבלים על הדעת, משום שאינם מתיישבים עם ההתנגדות ללא פשרה של חברי עדת היחד ללוח הירח הבאה לידי ביטוי בוטה בספרותם,³² וכן בספר היובלים ובספר חנוך מן החיצונים.³³ משום כך הצעתי לגזור את שם העצם דוקה/דק/דקק ולפרשו כציון שלב "שלילי" במחזור הלכנה, כלומר ראשית ההתמעטות של הירח המלא באמצע החודש, עד שבסוף החודש אינו נראה כלל. מצב זה דומה למעין ליקוי לבנה בזעיר אנפין.³⁴ אולם פירוש זה מצריך עיון מחודש. מסתבר כי כמו כל העוסקים בסוגיה טעיתי גם אני בביאור המונח האסטרונומי הנדיר דוקה משלושה טעמים: (א) מחמת ההבנה של הוי"ו כתנועה ארוכה, על פי שימושה הרווח בכל רובדי הלשון העברית; (ב) משום גזירת התיבה מלשון דוק/דיק או דק/דקק; (ג) משום התעתיק dauqah או duqyah שהציע מיליק בפרסום הראשון של התעודות שבהן מוזכר המונח. ברם העיון במקורות בניימיים שעניינם לוח השנה העברי מקרב כי בצורות הכתיב השונות של המונח הוי"ו אינה מסמנת תנועה ארוכה, כי אם עיצור היא. לפיכך אין לבטא את המילה דוקה כי אם דֻּקָּה, ואין דֻּקָּה אלא כתיב חלופי של שם העצם דֻּבָּקָה או דב(י)קה, הנגזר מלשון דב"ק. ועל אותה דרך מתפרשות הטיות שונות של דב"ק המציאות בכתבים קלנדריים עבריים מימי הביניים את מפגש הירח עם השמש

30. וייז ("Observations", לעיל הערה 18, עמ' 225) מצביע אל נכון על עניין מתודולוגי זה בקשר לבירור של משמע המונח דוקה: "When one encounters a new word in an ancient text or inscription, one does not first turn to a study of its etymology. The best way to determine its meaning is to study the context in which it is used... When context is an inadequate guide to a word's semantic range, one must then consider possible etymologies"

31. דנתי בסוגיה זו במאמר "The 'Comparative Method' in Biblical Interpretation: Principles and Problems", *Congress Volume Göttingen 1977 (SupVT 29)*, Leiden 1978, pp. 117–124

32. מיליק (*Ten Years*, לעיל הערה 11, עמ' 151 הערה 5) חש בסתירה זו אבל לא פירש. וראה לעניין את דברי וייז ("Observations", לעיל הערה 18, עמ' 223): "Perhaps his (Milik's) discomfort arose from an inability to explain why a group that adhered to a solar calendar and polemicized so strongly against its lunar rival should turn around and embrace that rival's uglier sister"

33. ראה ש' טלמון, "הפולמוס נגד לוח השנה הירחי בכתבים של באי הברית החדשה מקומראן", מגילות ג (תשס"ה), עמ' 69–84.

34. ראה 14 p. (n. 9 above), *DJD* 21; טלמון וקנוהל, "משמרות" (לעיל הערה 13).

בתום חודש ירחי ולפני מולד החודש החדש. וכך נאמר בספר העיבור לר' אברהם בר חייא הנשיא, "והוא הספר הראשון בחכמת העיבור":

וגדר המולד לדברי רבותינו ז"ל הוא הרגע אשר הלבנה והחמה נדבקין בו יחד בחלק אחד מחלקי הרקיע על מהלכן השוה והוא הנוהג על דרך אחד לעולם, והוא ראש לחדש הבא וסוף לחדש אשר עבר... ויש מהן מתחילין בחשבון ימי החדש מדביקת הלבנה בחמה כשהן נדבקין יחד בחלק אחד מחלקי הרקיע עד שהיא סובבת אל כל הגלגל וחוזרת להדבק עם החמה פעם שניה והם שאר האומות. והם מונין ימי החדש מן הדביקה אל הדביקה אשר היא בלשוננו מן המולד אל המולד.³⁵

פרק הזמן הקצר של "דביקת" השמש והירח כונה במסורת האסטרונומית היוונית σύνοδος, ובשפות מערביות-מודרניות נודע בשם conjunction. בשלב זה של תקופת המאורות "הירח הישן" של החודש שתם נמצא בדיוק מתחת לשמש בין השמש ובין הארץ ואזי אינו נראה כלל,³⁶ ויעברו לפחות שש שעות ולפעמים אפילו שני ימים מרגע הדביקה עד הרגע המוקדם ביותר של ראיית "הירח החדש".³⁷ מצב זה של דביקת הירח עם השמש תיאר אבן גבירול בדברי פיוט (כתר מלכות יב):

מי יזכיר תהלתך בעשותך הירח ראש לחשבון מועדים וזמנים, ותקופות ואותות לימים ושנים, בלילה ממשלתו, עד בוא עתו, ותחשך יפעתו, ויתכסה מעטה קדרתו, כי ממאור השמש אורו. ובליל ארבעה עשר אם יעמדו על קו התלי שניהם, ויפריד ביניהם, אז הירח לא יהל אורו, וידעך נרו... ובהדבקו בסוף החודש עם החמה אם יהיה תלי ביניהם, ועל קו אחד יעמדו שניהם, אז יעמד הירח לפני השמש כעב שחורה, ויסתר מעין כל רואיה מאורה, למען ידעו כל רואיהם, כי אין המלכות לצבא השמים וחיליהם, אבל יש אדון עליהם.³⁸

היו מחכמי ישראל שמטעמים שלא פורשו הנהיגו ליד דב(י)קה את המונח קיבוץ כציון המפגש של הירח עם השמש. כך נאמר במפורש בספר העיבור לר' אברהם בר חייא הנשיא: "ועניין הדביקה שיש לו עמה הוא שייקרא קיבוץ שני המאורות, והוא

35. צ' פיליפוסקי (מהדיר), ספר העיבור להקדמון איש צדיק וישר רבי אברהם בר חייא הנשיא, לונדון תרי"א, עמ' 34–36.

36. גנז (Molad), לעיל הערה 29, עמ' 236.

37. גנז, שם, עמ' 240: "It takes at least six hours from the moment of the conjunction until that of the earliest possible visibility of the new moon"

38. ד' ירדן (מהדיר), שירי הקודש לר' שלמה אבן גבירול, כרך ראשון, ירושלים תשל"א, עמ' 45.

הרגע אשר הלבנה והחמה נדבקין ביחד".³⁹ וכך מצינו בספר יסוד עולם לר' יצחק הישראלי:

בביאור ענין קיבוץ שני המאורות וענין הקבלתם זה לזה וענין חדש הלבנה האמצעי והאמיתי וביאור ענינים אחרים עוד שבאו לידי ונתבררו וע"ו אגב גררא כבר הודעתין בשעבר כי הירח הוא קל ומחיש במרוצתו כלפי מזרח ועל סדר המזלות כמו י"ג פעמים ויותר מעט ממרוצת החמה (ויותר מעט ממרוצת החמה)⁴⁰ וזהו שגורם שידבק הירח את החמה ויעמוד לו מתחתיה מכוון נכחה בראש כל חדש וחדש מחדשי עולם ותכף לכן מיד יסור מנכחה ויעבר לו לפניו מצד המזרח הולך ורץ לקראתה כל ימי החודש ודולק אחריה עד שידבק אותה ויתקבץ עמה שנית וכן פעם אחר פעם כל ימי עול' וענין הדביקה הזאת שיש לו עמה הוא שיקר' קיבוץ שני המאורות והוא על שתי מדות יש שיהיה קיבוצם ההוא לפי מקומם האמצעי במזל' יקרא קיבוץ אמצעי ואז הוא רגע מולד החודש האמצעי שבעלי מלאכת העיבור יקראו אותו רגע מולד הלבנה.⁴¹

הרמב"ם נוקט אך ורק את המונח קיבוץ בהקשר הענייני:

ומפני מה אין קובעין בחשבון זה בימי אד"ו לפי שהחשבון הזה הוא לקיבוץ הירח והשמש בהלוחם האמצעי לא במקומם האמיתי כמו שהודענו לפיכך עשו יום קביעה ויום דחייה כדי לפגוע ביום הקבוץ האמיתי כיצד בשלישי קובעין ברביעי דוחין בחמישי קובעין בששי דוחין בשבת קובעין באחד בשבת דוחין בשני קובעין. [השגת הראב"ד: ומפני מה אין קובעין בחשבון זה בימי אד"ו לפי שהחשבון הזה הוא לקבוץ הירח והשמש בהילוחם האמצעי לא במקומם האמיתי כמו שהודענו לפיכך עשו יום קביעה ויום דחייה כדי לפגוע ביום הקבוץ האמיתי...] (רמב"ם, יד חזקה, הלכות קידוש החודש ז ז).

ואילו אצל ראב"ע מצאנו בעניין זה את המונח מחברת:

והנה עשו חכמי ישראל כחכמי המזלות להוציא מקום מחברת לבנה עם השמש במהלך האמצעי.⁴²

מן התרגום הארמי-השומרוני של תיאורי המשכן בספר שמות אנו למדים כי בדברי

39. פיליפוסקי (מהדיר), ספר העיבור (לעיל הערה 35).

40. כפילות מילים מחמת טעות הסופר.

41. ר' יצחק הישראלי, ספר יסוד עולם, מהדורת ב' בן יעקב משקלאב, ברלין תקל"ז, מח ע"א.

42. ר' אברהם אבן עזרא, ספר העבור, מהדורת מקיצי נרדמים, Lyck תרל"ד, י ע"ב.

ראב"ע משתקפת זהות של שם העצם מחברת ושל גזורות מן השורש חבר עם דב(י)קה ודבק:

נוסח המסורה: ויעש ללאת תכלת על שפת היריעה האחת מקצה במחברת כן עשה בשפת היריעה הקיצונה במחברת השנית: חמשים ללאת עשה ביריעה האחת וחמשים ללאת עשה בקצה היריעה אשר במחברת השנית מקבילת הללאת אחת אל אחת:

הנוסח השומרוני: ויעש ללאות תכלת על שפת היריעה האחת בקצה המחברת: וכן עשה בשפת היריעה הקיצונה במחברת השנית: חמשים ללאות עשה ביריעה האחת: וחמשים ללאות עשה בקצה היריעה אשר במחברת השנית: מקבלות הללאות אחת אל אחת:

התרגום השומרוני: ועבד ענבים תכלה על ספת יריעתה אחתה באיצרה בדבקה [נ"א: בדבקה, דביקתה, בדביקתה] וכן עבד בספת יריעתה איצרה בדבקה [נ"א: בדבקה, בדביקתה] תניאנתה חמשים אנבים עבד ביריעתה אחתה וחמשים אנבים עבד באיסטר יריעתה דבדבקה [נ"א: דבדבקה, בדביקתה, דביקתה] תניאנתה מדבקן [נ"א: מקבלן] אנביה אחדה לאחדה (שמות לו 11–12).⁴³

מן הראוי להעיר, כי המסורת הקלנדרית השומרונית מספקת לנו בנוסף את המונח העברי צמות לציון המפגש σύνοδος של הירח והשמש, שעליו נאמר: "והוא רחוקה דלבין שמש וזערה"⁴⁴ בשעת צמותון". ומפרש פלורנטין:⁴⁵

הזוית היא אפוא המרחק (הזוויתי) בין השמש לבין הירח בשעת "צימותם". "צמות" (או "קבוץ" או: "האסף" [ההדגשות שלי, ש"ט], ובערבית اجتمع...) הוא כינוי למצב שבו עומד הירח בין השמש לכדור הארץ, כך שהשמש מאירה רק את צידו של הירח הפונה אל כדור הארץ. ראשית החודש השומרוני נקבעת אפוא על פי חישוב ה"צמות" ולא על פי "המולד" הנצפה על ידי יהודים וגו'.⁴⁶

הזיהוי המוצע של המונח דוקה, הנקוט בשתי תעודות קלנדריות מקומראן (4Q321 ו-4Q321^a), עם המונח הטכני דְבָ(י)קה, המשמש בספרות הקלנדרית העברית מימי

43. א' טל (מהדיר), התרגום השומרוני לתורה: מהדורה ביקורתית, כך א, תל אביב תש"ם, עמ' 376–377.

44. משמע המאור הקטן.

45. מ' פלורנטין, התולדה: כרוניקה שומרונית, ירושלים תש"ס, עמ' 73. תודתי נתונה לפרופ' אברהם טל שהסב את תשומת לבי למונח זה, שעודנו רווח בספרות הקלנדרית השומרונית.

46. שם, הערה 5; ההדגשות שלי (ש"ט).

הביניים, ששורשי שימושו יורדים אולי עד לימי רבותינו ז"ל, כדברי אברהם בר חייא הנשיא,⁴⁷ ושם עד לתקופת המקרא,⁴⁸ נסמך על ההיגיו של וי"ו כבי"ת רפה בתקופות שונות של השפה העברית ובמערכי ספרות שונים. חילופים רבים של ב/ו בכתבי חז"ל נרשמו בידי חוקרים, ראש לכול בידי י"נ אפשטיין: אור/אביר; אוז/אבז; וילון/בילון; גיל/גביל; הוי/הבאי; המחובר/המחזור, מובאת/מובת/מוות; מובל/מוול; כבינתי/כוינתי; ענוה/ענבה; שוה/שבה; יבנה, יובנה, יבני/יוונה.⁴⁹

דוגמאות נוספות הציע ק' לואיס:

נבטא/נוטאי; מרביתא/מרויתא; נבל/נול; הלבי/הלואי; הבה/הוה; מעלבי/מעילוי; בחיבון/וחייבון; מבתר/מותר; בותרן/וותרן; טביסת/טוסת; באנון/ואנון; הבון/הון.⁵⁰

שלמה נאה מוסיף דוגמאות של חילוף ב/ו ממסורת הנוסח של הספרא:

חלון לחש עיניו, צ"ל עינב; נירוות – נרביתא; [סג 16] ומה אם אביב אינו טעון סמיכה, ברור שכאן צ"ל אביו... לנוסח אביב יש ביסוס גם בכ"י אחרים. א: אביב – אביו; ג: אבוב?, כלומר: החילוף ב/ו נשתרש כאן במסורות שונות של הסיפרא... כתיב זה מעיד גם על הגייה עיצורית של ו"ו החיבור לפני שוא, ולא כבנ"ס בשורוק. אפשר שיש כאן עדות להגייה בבליית, המנקדת את ו"ו החיבור בחיריק במצב זה?⁵¹

דוד רונטל דן בפרוטרוט בחילוף של (איצטרוכלין ובנות שוח) בפטוטרויתיהן ופטוטרויתיהן, והוא מעיר כי

החילוף ב-ו קטן מאד, והוא אף ניתן להסבר עפ"י דרכי הלשון... אלא שהחלוקה ברורה: כל הענף הארצישראלי גורס בפטוטרויתיהם/ן בבי"ת; לעומת הענף הבבלי כולו שגורס בוי"ו. ונראה לומר, שלאחר שהחילוף

47. פיליפוסקי (מהדיר), ספר העיבור (לעיל הערה 35).

48. לדוגמה: שול(ים) (שמות כח 34; לט 25–26; ישעיהו ו 1; ירמיהו יג 22) לעומת שבל (ישעיהו מז 2, מגילת ישעיהו השלמה: שולך); מצור (תהלים ס 11) לעומת מבצר (שם, קיח 11); דברי הימים ב ח 5 ערי מצור לעומת יהושע יט 35 ערי מבצר.

49. י"נ הלוי אפשטיין, מבוא לנוסח המשנה: נוסח המשנה וגלגוליו למימי האמוראים הראשונים ועד דפוס ר' יו"ט ליפמן הדר, ירושלים תש"ח, חלק ב, עמ' 1223–1225.

50. ק' לואיס, דקדוק הארמית הגלילית לשפת התלמוד הירושלמי והמדרשים, הוסיף מבוא מ' סוקולוף, ניו יורק תשמ"ו, עמ' 21–22. וראה עוד ח' ילון, פרקי לשון, ירושלים 1971, עמ' 415; מ' סוקולוף, "העברית של בראשית רבה לפי כ"י ואטיקן 30", לשוננו לג (תשכ"ט), עמ' 42–25, בפרט עמ' 30.

51. ש' נאה, לשון התנאים בספרא על פי כתב יד וטיקאן 66, עבודת דוקטור, האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים, תשמ"ט, עמ' 37–38.

הלשוני נמסר בצורה שונה במסורת המשנה של בבל וארץ ישראל, הוא נדון אף בצורה שונה בבבלי ובירושלמי.⁵²

עפרה תירוש-בקר תיעדה חילופים של ב'ו בתעתיקים לערבית של מילים עבריות בספרות הקראים, כגון בשביל/בשויל; מכבר/מכור; ליכנה/ליני.⁵³ אלישע קימרון מביא עדות מקומראן לדמיון שבין שני העיצורים, אולי רק בתנאים פונטיים מסוימים, בציטטה מכתוב מקראי בפשר נחום מקומראן:⁵⁴

נחום ג 3: יכשלו (ק': וכשלו) בגויתם, לעומת 4 ii 3-4 Q169: וכשלו וגויתם.⁵⁵

סוגיה זו באה על ביטוייה המובהק בדברי שאול ליברמן:

הראשונים ז"ל כבר עמדו על חילוף אותיות אל"ף עין, ה"א חי"ת, פ"א ב"ת, מ"מ נו"ן, ב"ת וי"ו וכדומה. ודוקא בזה הייתה "סטטיסטיקה" מדויקת מועילה מאד. כן, לדוגמה, החילוף בין "אוריר" ל"אביר" הוא כמעט נורמלי.⁵⁶

בדיון דלעיל ביקשתי לזהות את שם העצם הייחודי דוקא, שנודע אך ורק משתי תעודות קלנדריות מקומראן, עם המונח האסטרונומי דב(י)קה, המציין בספרות קלנדרית בתרמקראית את מפגש הירח עם השמש בסוף החודש הישן ולפני מולד הירח החדש, כלומר "המולד", שהוא לגבי הבאים בברית החדשה לעולם בבחינת "מולד עולה".⁵⁷ מפגש זה גם נקרא "קיבוץ" שני המאורות⁵⁸ או מחברת, והוא זמן

52. ד' רוזנטל, משנה עבודה זרה: מהדורה ביקורתית, עבודת דוקטור, האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים, תשמ"א, עמ' 243-244.

53. ע' תירוש-בקר, לשון חכמים הנמסרת בספרות הקראים, עבודת דוקטור, האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים, תש"ס, עמ' 204-207.

54. א' קימרון, דקדוק הלשון העברית של מגילות מדבר יהודה, עבודת דוקטור, האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים, 1976, עמ' 90. וכן ראה S. Talmon, "The Transmission History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible in the Light of Biblical Manuscripts from Qumran and Other Sites in the Judean Desert", in L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov & J. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25 1997*, Jerusalem 2000, p. 48.

55. ראה לעניין את דברי ר' ויס, "הערות לדפים הנוספים בפשר נחום", בית מקרא יד (תשכ"ב), עמ' 60: "מעניין כי בפשר לפסוק (ש' 6) באה גרסת המס': ואף בגוית בשרם יכשלו".

56. ש' ליברמן, "חשבון אותיות", בתוך מ' בראשור ואחרים (עורכים), מחקרי לשון מוגשים לזאב בן חיים בהגיעו לשיבה, ירושלים תשמ"ג, עמ' 332; ההדגשות שלי (ש"ט).

57. ראה מה שכתבתי בעניין זה במאמרי "הפולמוס נגד לוח השנה הירחי" (לעיל הערה 33).

58. ר' יצחק הישראלי, ספר יסוד עולם (לעיל הערה 41), ג 11, מח ע"א.

ה־σύνωδος או ה־conjunction. בפרק זמן זה הירח אינו נראה כלל משום האפלת אורו על ידי אור השמש. הזיהוי של המונח הקומראני דוקה קרי דִּוְקָה עם המונח דב(י)קה המשמש בספרות קלנדרית ביניימית מסייע לטענתי, כי האזכור של דוקה בשתי תעודות מקומראן לא בא לשם סינכרוניזציה של לוח השמש של "הבאים בברית חדשה" עם לוח הירח של כנסת ישראל, כדעת רוב החוקרים,⁵⁹ כי אם כדי לתארך באמצעות הלוח השמשי יממה של אופל הרת אסון בתקופת הירח ולהזהיר מפניה את בני העדה.

59. ראה למשל את דברי וייז ("Observations", לעיל הערה 18, עמ' 228): "Thus I think it possible that דוקה may refer to the moon's first crescent, but not to the time of its astronomical conjunction, its invisibility"

על משמעות הביטוי "תורה ותעודה" בספר היובלים

מיכאל סיגל

חוקרים רבים כבר שמו לב לחשיבות הביטוי תורה ותעודה בספר היובלים.¹ לאור הימצאותו בכותרת הספר, וכן ארבע (או חמש) פעמים בסיפור המסגרת בפרק א, ביטוי זה נתפס בצדק כאחד מן המפתחות להבנת החיבור כולו. הביטוי מבוסס על שני כתובים בישיעיהו ח: "צור תעודה וְתוֹרָה תַּתֵּן לְעַמְּךָ" (פס' 16); "וכי יאמרו אליכם דַּרְשׁוּ אֶל הָאֲבוֹת וְאֶל הַדִּיעֻנִּים הַמַּצְפָּצִים וְהַמְהִיגִים הַלּוֹא עִם אֵל אֱלֹהֵי יִדְרֹשׁ בְּעַד הַחַיִּים אֶל הַמֵּתִים. לְתוֹרָה וּלְתַעֲוִדָּה..." (פס' 20). המונחים תורה ותעודה באים בתקבולת, וכנראה מתייחסים לתוכן של נבואות ישעיהו. אין למונח תורה בישיעיהו ח משמעות של חוקים;² עד לנקודה זו בספר לא נמסרו לנביא שום חוקים או משפטים להעביר לעם. ה' ציווה על ישעיהו לכתוב את הנבואות שמסר לו, ולגנוז אותן אצל תלמידיו (פס' 16 – "בְּלִמְדֵי")³ עד שיגיע זמן מתאים יותר לפרסומן (פס' 17). לפי תיאורו של הנביא ה' מזהיר אותו מלכת בדרך העם, ומפרט את העונש הצפוי לעם כתוצאה ממעשיהם (פס' 11–15). בעקבות מעשי העם יסתיר ה' את פניו מהם (פס' 17). המסמך שישעיהו כתב וחתם יעיד על דברי ה' אליו, ויאמת את הנבואות בתקופה מאוחרת יותר.⁴ אולם קשה

1. ברוק 1997; ורמן תשנ"ט; קוגל 2000; קיסטר תשס"א.
2. ראה ינסן 1973; ויליאמסון 1994, עמ' 88–89.
3. להוראה דומה של המילה לימודים ראה ישעיהו נ 4; נד 13.
4. גם בישיעיהו ל 8–11 נזכר שהנביא כותב (וכבר ויליאמסון [1994, פרק ה] וורמן [תשס"א, עמ' 234] שמו לב לקשר בין שתי הפסקאות): "עתה בוא כתבה על לוח אתם ועל ספר חקה ותהי ליום אחרון לְעַד [לפי עדותם של "השלושה", הפשיטתא, תרגום יונתן והוולגטה] עד עולם..." (שם 8). ה' ציווה על ישעיהו לכתוב את דבריו על לוח או לחקוק אותם בספר, והם יהיו עדות "עד עולם" ו"ליום האחרון". העם אינו מוכן לשמוע את "תורת ה'" (= הנבואות שמסר ה' אל ישעיהו), ורוצה לשמוע רק "חלקות". כדי לשמור על הנבואות ישעיהו חייב לכתוב אותן עד "יום אחרון". כפי שציינה ניצן (תשמ"ו, עמ' 138), ישעיהו ל 10 הוא המקור לכינויים של הפרושים בידי כת מדבר יהודה – "דורשי החלקות"; ראה ברית דמשק א 18: "בעבור אשר דרשו בחלקות ויבחרו במהתלת". ייתכן שהיה אצלם פשר סמוי על הפסקה הזאת בשלמותה, שלפני הפרושים לא היו מוכנים לקבל את התורה הגנוזה והסודית, ולא קיבלו את ה"ראים" או את ה"חזים" של הכת. שני קטעים מקראיים נוספים שמופיע בהם הרעיון של כתיבה כעדות ליום מאוחר יותר הם דברים לא 7–30 וחבקוק ב 2–3. הקטע הראשון הוא אחד המקורות המרכזיים של יובלים א,

מגילות ה-י (תשס"ח), עמ' 323–345

להגיע לפירוש מדויק יותר של הביטוי תורה ותעודה בכתובים אלה בגלל מיעוט החומר.⁵

הצירוף תורה ותעודה מופיע בספר היובלים לעתים קרובות, ואילו תעודה או עדות כשלעצמן מופיעות פעמים רבות עוד יותר. לכן ראוי לבחון את כל הופעות המילה בספר היובלים כדי לנסות להגיע להגדרה מדויקת של הביטוי. הביטוי תורה ותעודה מופיע שבע (או שמונה) פעמים לאורך הספר, ארבע (או חמש) מהן בפרק א (הפרולוג, 4, 26, 29, ואולי 8). אולם הכתובים בפרק א אינם מסייעים להבנת הצמד תורה ותעודה. בכולם המחבר מתאר את נתינת ספר היובלים, שהוא מכנה "מחלקות העתים לתורה ולתעודה (לשבועות היובלים)". כינוי דומה מוכר ממגילות אחרות מקומראן, וגם בהן הוא מציין שם חיבור, לכאורה ספר היובלים,⁶ אולם דווקא הצמד תורה ותעודה חסר בכל המקומות. בנוסף, ההקשר בכל ההיקריות אינו מסייע להבנת משמעות הביטוי. קיסטר העיר, שהמפתח להבנתו נמצא דווקא במקומות

המשלבו עם ישעיהו ח 16–1 (ראה צ'רלס 1902, עמ' 2–10; דונפורט 1971, עמ' 19–29; ברגר 1981, עמ' 313–320; ונדרקס ומיליק 1994, עמ' 7, 10–11; ברוק 1997, עמ' 50–53; ורמן תשנ"ט; ונדרקס 2001, עמ' 269–273). הקטע מחבקוק עומד ביסוד תפיסת הפשרים האמורה בפרק חבקוק ו 12 – ז 14. ארבעת המקראות מצטרפים אפוא למעגל סגור של כתובים אשר מתפקדים כבסיס למושג הפשר, המשותף לספר היובלים ולספרות הכיתית שנשתמרה בקומראן.

5. כתוב שלישי המזכיר תעודה הוא רות ד 7: "וזאת לפנינו בישראל על הגאולה ועל התמורה לקים כל דבר שלף איש נעלו ונתן לרעהו וזאת התעודה בישראל". ההקשר שם מאפשר כמה אפשרויות לפירוש המונח תעודה, וכולן שאובות מן העולם המשפטי. שליפת הנעל היא (1) מעשה סמלי המשמש ידועת משפטית לקניין (תה"ש, וולגטה; רש"י, ראב"ע); (2) המנהג, לפי הערבית עאדה (ראב"ע בשם "יש מפרש"; התרגום של NJPS [practice]; זקוביץ תש"ן, עמ' 108); (3) בהתאם להצעתו לפירוש תעודה בספר היובלים הציע קיסטר (תשס"א, עמ' 296 הערה 43) שהמילה תעודה ברות ד 7 סובלת גם את ההוראה "חוק" (אך לא דווקא כמשמעותה המקורית); (4) לאור המסקנה בהמשך הפרק (תעודה = ברית), אפשר לפרש שתעודה יוצאת על הכניסה להסכם בין שני צדדים. לפי הפירוש האחרון המשפט "וזאת התעודה בישראל" חוזר אל ראשית הפסוק, "וזאת... על הגאולה ועל התמורה לקים כל דבר", ויוצר inclusio סביב מעשה הקניין, "שלף איש נעלו ונתן לרעהו" (השווה זקוביץ תש"ן, עמ' 108).

6. ראה ברית דמשק טז 4–2, "ופרוש קציהם לעורון ישראל מכל אלה הנה הוא מדוקדק על ספר מחלקות העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם". הטקסט נשתמר באופן מקוטע במגילת 4Q271 ii 5 (באומגרטן 1996, עמ' 178): "הנה הוֹאֵל [מדן] קֹדֶק עַל סִפְרָן [מח] לְקוֹת העתים ליובליהם ובשבועותיהם"; 4Q228 i 9, פרגמנט 1, טור i, שורה 9 (ונדרקס ומיליק 1994, עמ' 178–179): "כִּי כֵן לְתוֹב בַּמַּחְלָקָתָן" (ועוד שלוש פעמים באותו טור [שורות 2, 4, 7]); 4Q384, פרגמנט 9, שורה 2 (סמית 1995, עמ' 144): "[בספר מ]חלקות העתים". המילה ספר במקור האחרון היא שחזור מתקבל על הדעת של המהדיר. הביטוי תורה ותעודה אינו מופיע (או לפחות לא נשמר) כחלק מכותרת החיבור.

אחרים בספר היובלים.⁷ אם מגבילים את הבדיקה למקרים שבהם מופיע הצירוף תורה ותעודה בשלמותו, שלוש ההופעות של הביטוי בפרקים ב-ג מצביעות על הקשר כללי של חוקים:

ב 24 – "וזאת התעודה והתורה הראשונה" (4Q216 vii 17). זה המקום היחיד בספר שהצירוף נשתמר במקורו העברי בקומראן. בתרגום לגעז הצירוף משמש סומך ל"ברוכים וקדושים". אך הנוסח שנשתמר בקומראן עם ו' החיבור לפניו ("וזאת...") מראה שנפתח כאן משפט חדש.⁸ משפט זה בא כהקדמה להלכות השבת שבסוף תיאור הבריאה.⁹ הניסוח בפסוק דומה לניסוח הכהני בפתיחת חוקים, "וזאת תורת..."¹⁰, תוך הרחבתו בתוספת היסוד תעודה מן הביטוי בישעיהו ח 16, 20.

ב 33 – "זאת התורה והתעודה אשר ניתנה לבני ישראל חק עולם לדורותם". פסוק זה מסיים את הלכות השבת, וסוגר את הפסקה שנפתחה בפסוק 24.¹¹

ג 14 – "וזאת התורה והתעודה אשר נכתבה לישראל לשמור כל הימים". ההתייחסות כאן היא לחוק היולדת מויקרא יב, שלפי הקטע ההלכתי ביובלים ג 14–8 הוא מבוסס על פרטים מסיפור הכניסה לגן עדן. הפסוק בא כסיום לדרישת החוק מן הסיפור, ומקביל בניסוחו ליובלים ב 33.

ניסוח הביטוי ביובלים ב 24, שנשתמר חלקית במגילת 4Q216, "וזאת התעודה והתורה הראשונה" (vii 17), מלמד על המעמד הדקדוקי של הצמד. השימוש בכינוי הרמז ליחידה מראה, שהמחבר תפס את הצירוף כהנדיאדיס.¹² בדומה לצמדי מילים מקראיים, ששני המרכיבים ביחד מבטאים בהם רעיון אחד, כאשר מרכיב אחד

7. קיסטר תשס"א, עמ' 294–295. רביד (תשנ"ט, עמ' 468) קובעת כי "צירוף זה הוזכר רק בפרולוג של היצירה ולא בגופה". ככל הנראה רביד כוללת את פרק א כמנוח "פרולוג" (אף שמונח זה מתייחס בדרך כלל למשפט הפתיחה לפני א 1). אולם שוללת את קביעתה הדוגמה שהיא עצמה הביאה בעמ' 467, דהיינו יובלים ב 24: "וזאת התעודה והתורה הראשונה" (4Q216 vii 17). הביטוי מופיע גם ביובלים ב 33; ג 14.

8. ונדרקם ומיליק (1994, עמ' 22) מסבירים שהנוסח בגעז -za, היוצר את הסמיכות, הוא שיבוש של ze- = זה, זאת.

9. דורינג 1997, עמ' 186–187, ובמיוחד הערה 35.

10. ויקרא ו 2, 7, 18; ז 1, 11; יא 46; יב 7; יג 59; יד 2, 32, 57; טו 32; במדבר ה 29; ו 13, 21; יט 14; יחזקאל מג 12 (פעמיים). פעמיים מופיע הביטוי "זאת חקת התורה" (במדבר יט 2; לא 21).

11. גם במקור הכהני שבתורה בא לפעמים הניסוח "זאת תורת..." בתחילת פסקה ובסופה (ויקרא יד 2, 32, 57; במדבר ו 13, 21).

12. לכירור המושג hendiadys ראה מלמד תש"ה. מלמד הביא שם (עמ' 176) את הדוגמה תושב ושכיר, אשר בא בלשון יחיד (מבחינה דקדוקית) בשני כתובים: שמות יב 45: "תושב ושכיר לא יאכל בו"; ויקרא כב 10: "תושב כהן ושכיר לא יאכל קדש". מלמד העיר (שם, עמ' 178, 189), כי למעט שני כתובים אלה ברוב המוחלט של מקרי "שניים שהם אחד" במקרא הפועל הקשור לצמד בא בלשון רבים. השימוש בכינוי רמז ליחידה בולט אפוא עוד יותר.

מתאר את השני, כך גם אפשר לפרש שתורה ותעודה הוא מושג אחד, שהשם השני מתאר בו את השם הראשון: "תורת התעודה"¹³. תמימות דעים שוררת בין החוקרים שהיסוד תורה בביטוי תורה ותעודה מתייחס להלכות הרבות שבספר. ההקשר של ב 24, 33; ג 14 (פתיחה או סיום של רשימת הלכות) מסייע לפירוש זה. המחלוקת בין החוקרים מתמקדת במשמעות המרכיב השני, תעודה, וכמה הצעות הועלו בשנים האחרונות כדי לפרשו:

ברוך תרגם את תעודה במילה testimony (על פי הגעז sēmaʿ), והסביר את המונח כהתייחסות לסודות שמימיים הקשורים ללוח ולמחזוריות של תולדות העולם, שנתגלו ליחידים בעולם.¹⁴ הסברו של ברוך מתאים לחלק מן ההופעות של תעודה/עדות, שאכן באות בהקשר של מערכת הזמנים הקבועה. אך הוא אינו מתאים לרוב הכתובים, ובמיוחד לא ליובלים ב 24, 33; ג 14, העוסקים בענייני חוק והלכה. גם הצעתו לגבי "מחזוריות תולדות העולם" אינה עולה בקנה אחד עם הכתובים עצמם.

ורמן פירשה שעניינו של המונח תעודה הוא מהלך ההיסטוריה והמאורעות המתרחשים בה. לדעתה "נראה שהביטוי תורה ותעודה עצמו מציין את מהלך ההיסטוריה... התורה והתעודה היא מהלך המאורעות מראשית עד אחרית... התעודה היא מהלך המאורעות החזוי מראש, והתורה היא ההלכות, המצוות המשולבות בתעודה".¹⁵ הסבר זה מבוסס על פירושה למונח בספר ישעיהו,¹⁶ אך הוא מושפע גם מן התפיסה הכללית של ספר היובלים לגבי התגלות מצוות במשך הדורות על לוחות השמים. אולם הצעתה אינה מתאימה לרוב הכתובים שבהם מופיע התרגום sēmaʿ.¹⁷

קוגל הציע פירוש אחר למונח תעודה, על סמך המשמעות של השורש עו"ד בבניין הפעיל.¹⁸ לצד המשמעות testify, bear witness יש כתובים רבים שהפירוש המתאים בהם הוא להזהיר, admonish, exhort solemnly, protest, warn.

13. אבישור (תשל"ז) התמקד בדוגמאות של צמדי המילים במקרא ובספרות הכתר-מקראית המופיעים בסמיכות. החומר הרב שאסף מדגים ומדגיש את היחס בין שני מרכיבי הצמד, כאשר הסומך מתאר את הנסמך.

14. ברוך 1997, עמ' 52.

15. ורמן תשנ"ט, 478, 480.

16. ורמן תשס"א.

17. כפי שהעיר קיסטר (תשס"א, עמ' 298 הערה 49): "איני רואה איך הצעה זו יכולה להשתלב ברוב פסוקי הספר שהובאו".

18. קוגל 2000, עמ' 169–170.

19. מלכים א כא 10, 13; מלאכי ב 14; איוב כט 11. כמו כן יש מקרים שאפשר לעמוד בהם על משמעות קאוזטיבית – cause to testify, take or call as witness, invoke (דברים ד 26; ל 19; לא 28; ישעיהו ח 2; ירמיהו לב 10, 25, 44); ראה BDB, עמ' 729–730, ערך עוד.

charge.²⁰ ספר היובלים, שהוא ה"תעודה", מתייחס לעתים קרובות ל"תעודת לוחות השמים", שהיא לדעתו, the solemn warning contained in the tablets, the same warning that is being transmitted by the book of *Jubilees* itself. התעודה כוללת אזהרות מפני מעשים שונים האסורים מן התורה. בלי אזהרה או איום על עושה מעשים אלה אי אפשר להעניש את החוטא בהם.²¹ כך, למשל, לפי יובלים לג 15–16 לא נענשו ראובן ובלהה "כי עוד לא נגלו התורה והמשפט והחוק כתמם לכל כי בימך היה לחוק עת וימים". מבלי לדעת שמעשה מסוים אסור וגורר עונש ספציפי אי אפשר להוציא את העונש אל הפועל. לדעת קוגל הצורך בהתראה מסביר את ריבויין בספר היובלים של ההתראות שאינן מופיעות בתורה עצמה.²² הצעת קוגל מתאימה אפוא גם מבחינה פילולוגית וגם מבחינה רעיונית לתפיסה הכללית של ספר היובלים, אך פירושו אפשרי רק בחלק מן הכתובים הכוללים את המונח עדות/תעודה; בדוגמאות לא מעטות אין שום התייחסות לאזהרה או להתראה מפני העונש, אלא לחוקים עצמם (כהצעת קיסטר שלהלן). בשני מקרים (ל 19; לא 32) קוגל עצמו מודה ש"תעודת לוחות השמים" אינה מתייחסת לאזהרה, אלא לגורלם ולמעמדם של בני לוי.²³

לפי קיסטר "במקרים רבים... המשמעות המתבקשת היא תורה, חוק ומצווה", "בין שהכוונה לדין במשמעות המשפטית המדויקת ובין שהכוונה לחוק הזמנים בשמים (ו 32)".²⁴ לדעתו קיבלה המילה תעודה את משמעותה מן המרכיב הראשון של הצמד, תורה, בעקבות מעתק סמנטי במשמעות המילה

20. כך בראשית מג 3; שמות יט 21, 23, כא 29 (הופעל); דברים ח 19, לב 46; שמואל א ח 9; מלכים א ב 42; מלכים ב יז 13, 15; ירמיהו י 10, יא 7, מב 19; עמוס ג 13; זכריה ג 6; תהלים נ 7, פא 9; דברי הימים ב כד 19; נחמיה ט 26, 29, 30, 34; יג 15, 21; ראה BDB, עמ' 730.
21. יפת (תשל"ז, עמ' 160–166) עמדה על החשיבות של מושג ההתראה, המתועד היטב בספרות חז"ל, כדי להבין את תפיסת עולמו של בעל ספר דברי הימים בנוגע להענשת חוטאים. קוגל (1990, עמ' 223–231) התחקה אחר רעיון זה בפרשנות היהודית הקדומה. ראה גם אנדרסון 1994 באשר לספר היובלים ולמגילת ברית דמשק.
22. קוגל (2000, עמ' 169–170) מביא את ז 20, "ויעד [נח] בבניו כי יעשו צדק...", כדוגמה להטפה. לפי הניתוח המוצע אצל סיגל תשס"ד, עמ' 142–147 צוואת נח ביובלים ז 20–39 אינה מעשה ידיו של העורך של ספר היובלים, אלא קטע מן המוכן שהעורך הכניס אל תוך חיבורו. קוגל אינו מפרט את הכתובים שבהם נוספו ההטפות, המשקפות לדעתו ניסיון לספק התראה לכל איסור. אולם מן הדוגמה היחידה שהביא מצוואת נח נדמה, שהתכוון לצוואות הרבות שבחיבור. אך ידועות לנו צוואות רבות מתקופת הבית השני (לתיאור הז'נר ראה קולינס 1984), ומטרת החלקים ההטפתיים שבהן היא לרוב דידקטית-מוסרית. ניתן אפוא לפקפק אם המרכיב ההטפתי בצוואות שבספר היובלים שונה בתכלית מספרות הצוואות המקבילה.
23. קוגל 2000, עמ' 170 הערה 8. כמו כן שני הכתובים אינם מתאימים להצעת קיסטר תשס"א (ראה להלן).
24. קיסטר תשס"א, עמ' 295, וכן שם הערה 34.

המקראית עדות בתקופת הבית השני, מאזהרה לחוק ותורה; כמו כן פעלה כאן ההקבלה למונח תורה בישעיהו ח 16, 20.²⁵ המשמעות שהוצעה מתאימה בהחלט לרוב ההקשרים של *šmāʿ*, אך קיסטר מודה שבשני כתובים (ל 19–23; לא 32) אין הבנת עדות/תעודה כ"חוק" מתאימה להקשר, שכן שניהם עוסקים במעמדם ובגורלם של אנשים – לוי (בשני הכתובים) ויהודה (לא 32). לדעתו ההבדל במשמעות בשני הכתובים נובע מהסתמכות על מסורות שונות.²⁶

"תעודה/עדות" בהוראת "ברית"

כנגד ההצעות הקודמות רצוני להציע ששני הכתובים, הכוללים את המונח עדות/תעודה ואינם מתפרשים בנקל לפי ההצעות של קוגל וקיסטר, הם המפתח להבנת עדות/תעודה בספר היובלים, ויש בהם אפוא סיוע לפירוש הביטוי החשוב תורה ותעודה, שממנו התחיל הדיון.

ל 18–23

(18) ויבחר זרע לוי לכוהנים וללויים לשרת לפני ה' כמונו בכל הימים. ויתברך לוי ובניו לעולם כי קָנָא לעשות צדק ומשפט ונקמה מכל אשר קמים על ישראל. (19) וכן יעלו לו כעדות/תעודה בלוחות השמים ברכה וצדק לפני ארון הכל. (20) ואנחנו נזכור את הצדקה אשר עשה האדם בחייו בכל עתות השנה, עד אלף דור יעלו ויבוא לו ולדורותיו אחריו, ונכתב אוהב וצדיק בלוחות השמים. (21) וכל הדבר הזה כתבתי לך ואצוך להגיד לבני ישראל כי לא יעשו חטא ולא יעברו חוק ולא יפרו את הברית אשר הוקמה להם למען עשותה וייכתבו אוהבים. (22) ואם עברו ועשו מכל דרכי הטומאה ונכתבו שונאים בלוחות השמים ונמחו מספר החיים וכתבו בספר האובדים ועם הנכרתים מן הארץ.

הקטע מופיע לאחר השכתוב של סיפור אונס דינה (יובלים ל || בראשית לד), ומתמקד בתגובת לוי (ושמעון) למעשה. כנגד הגישה החריפה כלפי לוי ושמעון המופיעה בבראשית מט 5–7, המגנה את אפם ועברתם, יובלים ל דווקא משבח אותם, ובמיוחד את לוי, על תגובתם המהירה והחד־משמעית לאונס אחותם. הסיפור מוצג בספר היובלים כפרדיגמה לאיסור על חיתון עם הגויים.²⁷ לאחר הדיון ההלכתי על נישואי תערובת (המתאפיין במונחים המופיעים בקטעים ההלכתיים האחרים

25. שם, עמ' 295–296.

26. "הדבר אינו מפתיע, שכן, כפי שראינו לעיל, גם למונח לוחות השמים בספר היובלים הוראות וגוני הוראה שונים, היונקים ממסורות שונות" (שם, עמ' 298).

27. אנדרס 1987, עמ' 133–147; ורמן 1997.

שבספר) מתמקד הטקסט (פס' 18–23) בבחירת לוי, שהיא שכר לקנאתו, כפי שהיא באה לידי ביטוי בסיפור שכר ודינה. נוסף להסתמכות על בראשית לד תיאור בחירת לוי מבוסס על הסיפור המקראי של חטא בעל פעור (במדבר כה 1–15).²⁸ אנדרס עמד על שלושה מוטיבים משותפים בין סיפור אונס דינה ביוב' ל סיפור חטא בעל פעור:

1. הזדווגות עם נכרים/נכריות;
 2. שבח על קנאה לה' (במדבר כה 11, 13; יובלים ל 18);
 3. השכר של חלק בכהונה לעולם (במדבר כה 13; יובלים ל 18).
- מוטיב חשוב נוסף בסיפור חטא בעל פעור הוא הברית, שפינחס זכה בה כשכר על מעשיו: "הנני נתן לו את בריתי שלום" (במדבר כה 12); "והיתה לו ולזרעו אחריו ברית כהנת עולם" (שם 13).²⁹ מוטיב זה חסר לכאורה בשכתוב בספר היובלים, אך השוואה בין יובלים ל 18–20 לסיפור חטא בעל פעור בבמדבר כה מגלה אותו גם ביובלים ל:

יובלים ל	במדבר כה
(18) ויבחר זרע לוי לכוהנים וללויים	(13) והיתה לו ולזרעו אחריו ברית כהנת עולם
לשרת לפני ה' כמונו בכל הימים ויתברך לוי ובניו לעולם	
כי קנא לעשות צדק ומשפט ונקמה מכל אשר קמים על ישראל.	תחת אשר קנא לאלהיו...
(19) וכן יעלו לו בעדות/תעודה בלוחות השמים ברכה וצדק לפני אדון הכל.	(12) לכן אמר הנני נתן לו את בריתי שלום.
(20) ואנחנו נזכור את הצדקה אשר עשה האדם בחייו בכל עתות השנה,	
עד אלף דור יעלו ויבוא לו ולדורותיו אחריו, ונכתב אוהב וצדיק בלוחות השמים.	(13) והיתה לו ולזרעו אחריו ברית כהנת עולם...

נציין שלוש נקודות מגע בין יובלים ל לבמדבר כה: א. הברית הנזכרת בבמדבר כה 13, "ברית כהנת עולם", שהיא השכר על קנאת פינחס לה', התפרשה ביובלים ל 18 כבחירת לוי וצאצאיו לכוהנים ולוויים המשרתים לפני ה' לעולם.

28. הנגל 1989 (1976), עמ' 178–179; קולינס 1980, עמ' 96 הערה 14; אנדרס 1987, עמ' 150–151.

29. מוטיב הברית נזכר גם במקבים א, ב 24–27, שהוא תיאור של מעשי מתתיהו המעוצב גם הוא על פי הדגם של קנאת פינחס בסיפור חטא בעל פעור.

ב. יובלים ל 20–22 קושר את ההבטחה של ברית עולם לפינחס להבטחת ה' לשמור את בריתו עד אלף דור "לאוהביו ולשומרי מצוותיו" בדברים ז 9–10:

(9) וידעת כי ה' אלהיך הוא האלהים האל הנאמן שמר הברית והחסד לאהביו ולשמרי מצותו לאלף דור. (10) ומשלם לשנאיו אל פניו להאבירו לא יאחר לשנאו אל פניו ישלם לו.

יובלים ל 20 המיר את שמירת הברית והחסד כשכר לאוהבי ה' (על פי דברים ז 9) ברישום על לוחות השמים "לו ולדורותיו אחריו". ביובלים ל 18, בפרשו את הביטוי "ברית כהנת עולם" (במדבר כה 13), נוסף הרכיב "ויתברך לוי ובניו לעולם". הכינוי אוהב ללוי ביובלים ל 20 מבוסס על הוראת הפועל אהב בהקשר של דברים ז: נאמנות לברית עם ה'. הוראה זו מופיעה בכתובים אחרים בספר דברים ו 5; י 12–13; יא 1, 22; ל 16–20), ולקוחה מעולמן של בריתות במזרח הקדום.³⁰ כמו כן במגילת ברית דמשק ג 2–4 כתוב: "אברהם לא הלך בה ויע[ל] או[הב] בשמרו מצות אל ולא בחר ברצון רוחו וימסור לישחק וליעקב וישמרו ויכתבו אוהבים לאל ובעלי ברית לעולם". ההסתמכות על הקטע מדברים ז מסבירה את ההמשך ביובלים ל 21–22, דהיינו את האזהרה לאלה המפירים את הברית עם ה' ומוגדרים כשונאים בלוחות השמים; זו פרשנות לדברים ז 10, שאין לה קשר ישיר למעמדו ובחירתו של לוי, שדווקא ציית לדברו של ה'.

ג. "ברית שלום" בבמדבר כה 12 מקבילה ל"תעודה/עדות בלוחות השמים ברכה וצדקה". מן התקבולת בין שני הביטויים, שלום || ברכה וצדקה,³¹ אפשר להסיק ש"ברית" מקבילה ל"תעודה/עדות בלוחות השמים".

החילוף בין המילים עדות וברית מתועד היטב במקרא עצמו: במקום לוחות העדות בספרות הכוהנית ספר דברים גורס לוחות הברית;³² למול ארון העדות בספרות הכוהנית אנחנו מוצאים בספרות המשנה תורתית את ארון הברית.³³ נוסף על כך, שני המונחים באים בתקבולת או בקרבה זה לזה בכתובים מקראיים אחדים (תהלים

30. השווה מורן 1963; ויינפלד 1991, עמ' 351–352.

31. הצירוף ברית שלום מופיע גם בישיעהו נד 10; יחזקאל לד 25, לו 25. ביחזקאל לד 25–26, כחלק מ"ברית שלום" שנכרתה בין ה' לישראל, ה' מבטיח: "ונתתי אותם וסביבות גבעתי ברכה... גשמי ברכה יהיו". כמו כן השלום הוא מושא של הפועל בך בתהלים כט 11. צדק/צדקה ושלום באים בתקבולת בישיעהו לב 17; ס 17; ובתהלים עב 3; פה 18.

32. לוחות העדות – שמות לא 18; לב 15; לד 29. לוחות הברית – דברים ט 9, 11, 15.

33. ארון העדות – שמות כה 22; כו 33, 34; ל 6, 26; לט 35; מ 3, 5, 21; במדבר ד 5; ז 89; יהושע ד 16. ארון הברית – במדבר י 33; יד 44; דברים י 8; לא 9, 25, 26; יהושע ג 3, 6, 8, 11; ד 7, 9, 18; ו 1, 8; ח 33; שופטים כ 27; שמואל א ד 3, 4, 5; שמואל ב טו 24; מלכים א ג 15; י 19; ח 1, 6; ירמיהו ג 16; דברי הימים בא טו 25, 26, 28, 29; טז 6, 37; יז 1; כב 19; כח 2, 18; דברי הימים ב ה 2, 7.

קלב 12; כה 10; מלכים ב יז 15; כג 3). יתר על כן, המילים עדות, עדות, עדות, מופיעות לעתים קרובות בספרות המשנה-תורתית עם מונחים שמשמעותם חוקים, לרבות חוקים, משפטים ומצוות (דברים ד 45; ו 17, 20 [עם הפועל צוה]; מלכים א ב 3; מלכים ב כג 3; ירמיהו מד 23). בתהלים קיט המילה עדות מופיעה פעמים רבות כחלק ממכלול רחב יותר של מונחים, כולל חוקים, מצוות, משפטים, פקודים ותורה. לאור הנתונים האלה הציעו חוקרים, שהמילים עדות ועדות מורות במקרא על ברית או על חוקים ומצוות שהם תנאי הברית.³⁴ כך גם הוראת המונחים המשפטיים המקבילים בשפות שמיות אחרות. בכתובות הארמיות מספירה מופיעה הצורה עדיא (מן השורש עד"י), במשמעות "ברית".³⁵ המילה מופיעה שם תמיד בצורת רבים, וייתכן שהדבר מלמד שהמונח מכונן לתנאי הברית ולהתחייבויות שבה.³⁶ באכדית מופיע המונח *adē* (גם הוא תמיד בצורת רבים).³⁷ ההקשר האשורי שהמונח מתועד בו מתאר הסכם חד-צדדי, "למעשה 'שבועת אמונים' שנשבע הואסל למלך אשור, אדוניו".³⁸

במסגרת תוספת ארוכה לסיפור המקראי (יובלים לא 1–3א מקביל לבראשית לה 1–7, 14; יובלים לב 30 מקביל לבראשית לה 8) מספר יובלים לא 32–33 שיעקב הביא שניים מבניו, את לוי ואת יהודה, לבקר אצל יצחק אביו. בזמן הביקור בירך יצחק את שני נכדיו, ולאחר מכן גם את יעקב בנו. הברכות ללוי וליהודה מבטיחות להם תפקידים שימלאו במשך הדורות: כהונה³⁹ (פס' 14: "וקרב אותך וזרעך אליו מכל הכשר לשרתו במקדשו כמלאכי הפנים וכקדושים כן יהיה זרע בניך"; פס' 16: "נלוה לה' תהיה... שולחנו לך יהיה ואתה ובניך תאכלו עליו")

34. קרוס 1973, עמ' 300; פרנס תשל"ו; ויולה 1976; סיאור 1984, עמ' 192–193.

35. פיצמאיר 1995 (1967), עמ' 57–59; גרינפלד תשכ"ג/תשכ"ד, עמ' 308; פולקוויץ 1969, עמ' 34–37; פרנס תשל"ו, עמ' 239–240.

36. ויינפלד תשל"ב, עמ' 87 הערה 17.

37. תדמור (תשמ"א/תשמ"ב, עמ' 165 הערה 76) העיר, שצורת היחיד *adû* הנוכרת במילון *CAD* אינה קיימת למעשה, והיא שחזור של עורכי המילון.

38. הציטוט מתדמור תשמ"א/תשמ"ב, עמ' 165. ראה גם גלב 1962; ויינפלד תשל"ב, עמ' 95; פרנס תשל"ו, עמ' 240–244. *CAD*, כרך 1A, עמ' 133 מסביר: "The agreement called *adû* was drawn up in writing between a partner of higher status (god, king, member of the royal family) and servants or subjects".

39. לפי הברכה בני לוי אינם מוגבלים לשירות במקדש, אלא משמשים גם "נשיאים, שופטים ואדונים" (פס' 15). צ'רלס (1902, עמ' 187) הציע קשר בין התפקיד הכפול בברכה ללוי ביובלים לא ובין ההנהגה הפוליטית-דתית בתקופת המקבים. אך כפי שציין דוונפורט (1971, עמ' 63), אין צורך להניח שהברכה מתארת עובדות היסטוריות, והיא יכולה לשקף את התפקידים השונים של לוי ושל לוויים הנוכרים במקרא. דוונפורט גם טוען שיובלים לא 14 (תיאור של שירות הלוויים במקדש) הוא בבחינת תוספת לטקסט. אולם לאור ריבוי התפקידים של בני לוי בברכת משה ללוי (דברים לג 8–11) אין יסוד להשמטת פס' 14 מן הטקסט.

ומלוכה (פס' 18: "נשיא תהיה אתה ואחד מבניך לבני יעקב"; פס' 20: "ובשבתך על כסא כבודך"). לאחר שיעקב מגיע לבית-אל, מתייחס המספר לתגובתו על ברכות אביו (לא 31–32):

ויזכור יעקב את הברכה אשר בִּרְכוּ אביו ושני בניו לוי ויהודה... ויאמר עתה ידעתי כי תקוות עולם לי ולבְּנֵי לפני אדון כל, וככה הוחק על אודות שניהם וייתב להם בעדות/תעודת עולם בלוחות השמים כאשר ברכם יצחק.

פרשנים סברו שהביטוי "עדות עולם בלוחות השמים" יוצא על רישום שמימי של ברכות יעקב ללוי ויהודה, רישום המתאר את גורלותיהם של לוי ויהודה לעתיד לבוא.⁴⁰ אך לאור הניתוח שהוצע כאן (עדות במשמעות של "ברית") הפסוק מתבאר היטב – גם לוי וגם יהודה זכו בברית עולם. המוטיב של ברית הקיימת לעולם מופיע במקרא בקשר לבני לוי ולבית דוד, מזרעו של יהודה. על פינחס, צאצאו של לוי, נאמר: "לכן אמר הנני נתן לו את בריתי שלום. והיתה לו ולזרעו אחרי ברית כהנת עולם תחת אשר קנא לאלהיו ויכפר על בני ישראל" (במדבר כה 12–13). בברכת משה בדברים לג שבט לוי זכור לטוב, "כי שמרו אמרתך ובריתך ינצרו" (פס' 9). בנבואת מלאכי אל הכהנים הוא מאשים אותם בהשחתת "ברית הלוי" (מלאכי ב 8). "עדות/תעודת עולם" עם יהודה ביובלים לא 32 מתייחסת ל"ברית עולם" עם בית דוד הנזכרת כמה וכמה פעמים במקרא. למשל, בשמואל ב כג 1–5 מצוטטים דברי דוד עצמו: "(1) ואלה דברי דוד האחרונים נאם דוד בן ישי... (5) כי לא כן ביתי עם אל כי ברית עולם שם לי...". כמו כן ה' מבטיח בגוף ראשון: "(4) כרתי ברית לבחירי נשבעתי לדוד עבדי. (5) עד עולם אכין זרעך ובניתי לך דור כסאך סלה... (29) לעולם אשמור לו חסדי ובריתי נאמנת לו. (30) ושמתי לעד זרעו וכסאו כימי שמים" (תהלים פט). נבואת ישעיהו השני משתמשת ב"ברית עולם" שנכרתה עם בית דוד כדימוי לשכר לאלה השומרים את דבר ה' והולכים בדרכיו (ישעיהו נה 1–5). הבטחת יצחק ליהודה "נשיא תהיה אתה ואחד מבניך" יוצרת את הקשר בין יהודה, אבי השבט, לדוד צאצאו (ובית מלכותו), שזכה לברית עם ה'.⁴¹

יובלים כג 32: "ואתה משה כתוב את הדבר הזה כי כן הוא כתוב ויעלו בעדות/תעודת לוחות השמים לדורות עולם".

הפסוק חותם קטע אסכולוגי (כג 11–31),⁴² המבאר את מצבה העגום של האנושות (לרבות תוחלת החיים הקצרה) בתוצאת חטאותיהם. כדאי לשים לב,

40. גרסיה מרטינו 1997, עמ' 249–250.

41. כך טסטו 1960, עמ' 68. דונופורט (1971, עמ' 64–65) סוקר הצעות שונות שהועלו לפירוש המילים "ואחד מבניך", רובן עם נימה משיחית (יהודית או נוצרית), אך לאור הפירוש המוצע כאן ל"עדות/תעודה", והקשר לברית עם בית דוד, קשה לקבלן.

42. ראה דונופורט 1971, עמ' 32–46.

שהקטע כולו מדגיש את הצורך של העם לשמור את הברית. הפרת הברית גוררת תוצאות הרסניות: "(14) כל אלה יבואו בדור הרע אשר יחניף את הארץ טומאה זנות תבל ותועבה מעשיהם... (16) ...בגלל החטא והחמס ובגלל אמרי פיהם ובגלל הרעה הגדולה אשר יעשו ועל עוכם את הברית אשר כרת ה' ביניהם ובינו לשמור ולעשות כל מצוותיו וחוקותיו וכל תורתו ולא יסורו ימין ושמאל".

רק כשהבנים יתחילו "לדרוש את החוקים ולדרוש המצוות ולשוב לדרך הצדק" (פס' 26) יהפוך העולם לאוטופיה שאין בה זקנה ואין איש רע, רק שלום, שמחה וברכה (פס' 27-30). עם שובם לדרוש את מצוות ה' ילמדו "כי ה' עושה משפט ועושה חסד למאות ולרבבות ולכל אוהביו" (פס' 31). כאמור לעיל, השורש אה"ב בהופעותיו בספר דברים (בהשפעת בריתות ממסופוטמיה) משמעותו "נאמנות", ובמיוחד נאמנות לברית עם ה'. האפוקליפסה מרחיבה אפוא את הברית בין ה' לעמו עד לעידן האסכטולוגי.

לפי הנוסח של פס' 32 המשתקף לעיל (על סמך נוסח הפנים של ונדרקם) פירושו של הפסוק גופו ("ויעלו בתעודת לוחות השמים") עדיין אינו ברור מספיק. אולם כתב יד 12 בגעז⁴³ (לפי האפרט של ונדרקם) גורס סדר שונה של מרכיבי הפסוק: "ויעלו בלוחות השמים לעדות לדורות עולם".⁴⁴ חיזוק לנוסח זה, עם סידור מחדש של מרכיביו, בא מפסוק אחר המתייחס ללוחות השמים, "(וככה הוחק על אודות שניהם) וייכתב להם בעדות/תעודת עולם בלוחות השמים..." (לא 32), שגם הוא מתאר בריתות נצחיות, ללוי וליהודה. סדר זה תואם את המשמעות המוצעת כאן למרכיב תעודה/עדות: הברית בין ה' לעמו תקפה לעולם ורשומה בלוחות השמים. העל-זמניות של הברית לפי יובלים כג מתבטאת בדרישה לשמירת המצוות עד עולם, ובחיאור של העולם בעידן האסכטולוגי, בלי זקנה ובלי מלחמה, גמול להתנהגות הראויה.

43. למרות ההשתייכות של כ"י 12 לענף כתבי יד אמינים פחות (inferior), ונדרקם (1989), חלק ב, עמ' xx-xix) עדיין מצביע על חשיבותו בגלל עתיקותו (המאה ה-15) ובגלל כמה גרסאות חשובות שיש בו. ברצוני להציע שהפסוק הנדון מדגים את חשיבות הקריאות בכתב היד שעליה הצביע ונדרקם.

44. כך תרגמו צ'רלס 1902: "and they record (them) on the heavenly tables for a testimony for the generations for ever"; רבין 1984: "and recorded on the heavenly tablets as a testimony for each generation for ever". גולדמאן (תש"ז) לא גרס את המילה תעודה/עדות כלל (אך העיר שצ'רלס הוסיף אותה). הוא כנראה הסתמך על כתבי יד 38 (לפי הרישום של ונדרקם 1989 = כ"י D לפי הרישום של צ'רלס 1895) ו-51 (ונדרקם 1989) רשם כאן כ"י 58, אך כנראה הוא חייב להיות 51 = כ"י C לפי צ'רלס 1895), שבו המילה *soma* חסרה. ברגר (1981, עמ' 446) מציג תרגום הדומה לטקסט הפנים של ונדרקם, אך הזכיר גם את האפשרות המוצעת כאן (שם, הערה c).

“תורה ותעודה” – תנאי הברית

בשני קטעים (יובלים ב 24–33; ג 8–14) ההלכות מוגדרות בביטוי תורה ותעודה. ההקשר של ב 24, 33, פסוקים המשמשים פתיחה וסיום של רשימת הלכות, מקרב אל הדעת את הצעת קיסטר, שהמשמעות של תעודה היא חוקים או הלכות. אך הניתוח בסעיף הקודם הראה, שאפשר להמיר את עדות/תעודה במונח המשפטי ברית. כמו כן, הן לפי השימוש המקראי הן לפי השימוש במילים המקבילות בארמית ובאכדית, אפשר לפרש את המילה לא רק כמובן “ברית”, אלא גם בהוראת “תנאי הברית”. האם המשמעות המוצעת מתאימה לכתובים המובאים לעיל? לפי האמונה המשתקפת ברובד העריכה של ספר היובלים⁴⁵ קבע ה' בבראו את העולם את כל סדריו מראשיתו. הִסְדֵּר כולל את כוחות הטבע שבעולם, וכן את חלוקת האנושות ובני השמים לכוחות הטוב והרע. כחלק מגישתו הדואליסטית, המבחינה בין אלה השייכים ל“ברית ה'” (טו 26) ובין “בני בלעל” (טו 33), סומנו מלאכי הפנים ומלאכי הקודש בשמים למן היום הראשון של הבריאה כשייכים לה' (ב 2; טו 27).⁴⁶ במישור הארצי נבחרו בני ישראל להיות עם סגולה ובנו בכורו של ה' כבר בשבוע הראשון לבריאת העולם:⁴⁷

(ב 19) [ויאמר לנו הנה אני מבדיל לך] עם בתוֹךְ עַמִּי ו[שבתו הם וקדשתו אתם לי לעם וברכתם והיו עמי והייתי לאלהיהם] (20) ובחר בזרע יעקב בְּכָל מַאֲשֶׁר רֵאִיתִי וכתבתי אתו לי לבן בכור וקדשת אתו לי לעולם ועד ואת היום ה[שביעי] אגיד להם לשובתם בו מכל (21) כאשר ברכם וקדשם לו לעם סגולה] מכל הגוים ולהיות יחד] עַמִּנו שובתים].

מהי המשמעות של בחירת בני ישראל מבין העמים? הביטוי עם סגולה מפסוק 21 לקוח מן ההקשר של בריתות במזרח הקדום בכלל, ומתיאור המעמד המיוחד של בני ישראל בברית עם ה' במקרא בפרט. כפי שהראה ליונשטם, הכינוי עם סגולה לקוח מן המונח הפוליטי sig/kiltu, המציין בטקסטים מאוגרית את הווסל שהשליט מעדיף. כאשר המחברים המקראיים אימצו את המונח, הומר המישור הפוליטי במישור הדתי כדי לתאר את היחס בין ה' לווסל המועדף שלו, ישראל.⁴⁸ מתוך שמונה היקרויות

45. לדיון רחב יותר בקיומו של רובד עריכה בספר היובלים, לתיאורו ולבדיקה של האמונות והדעות המשתקפות בו ראה סיגל תשס"ד. בכל אופן, אפילו מי שלא יקבל את השערתו שם לגבי קיום רובד עריכה בספר, יכול לקבל את טענותיו כאן לגבי העמדה המובעת בספר היובלים על מקור החוק בעולם.

46. ראה ביתר הרחבה סיגל תשס"ד, עמ' 202–214.

47. לפי מגילת 4QJubilees^a (4Q216), טור VII, שורות 9–13 (ערכו ונדרקם ומיליק 1994, עמ' 19).

48. ליונשטם תשמ"ג.

במקרא חמש מתייחסות במפורש למעמד המיוחד של בני ישראל (שמות יט 5; דברים ז 6; יד 2; כו 18; תהלים קלה 4).⁴⁹ לארבעת הכתובים מן התורה משותפים שלושה מוטיבים:

1. שמירת הברית על ידי בני ישראל באמצעות עשיית המצוות;
2. מעמד ישראל כסגולה מכל העמים;
3. הגדרת ישראל כעם קדוש.

בכל הכתובים מעמדו המיוחד של ישראל כעם המועדף בעיני ה' קשור בשמירת הברית, כלומר שמירת תנאי הברית, המצוות והחוקים. האזכור הראשון בתורה לשילוב של הברית, הסגולה והקדושה מופיע ממש לפני מעמד הר סיני בשמות יט, שהוא ההתגלות הראשונה בתורה של קובץ חוקים.⁵⁰ לפי התפיסה שבתורה בחירת עם ישראל באמצעות ברית עם ה' מחייבת לקבל את תנאי הברית (שמות יט 8; כד 7).⁵¹ אך לפי תפיסת ספר היובלים זכו בני ישראל למעמד המיוחד לעומת העמים האחרים כבר בשחר ההיסטוריה, בסוף השבוע הראשון לבריאת העולם (יובלים ב 17–21א).

יש לתת את הדעת, שלפי התפיסה המקראית המתוארת לעיל אין ברית או בחירה על ידי ה' בלי תנאים. יוצא אפוא כי אילו נחשבו בני ישראל "עם סגולה" של ה' מסוף השבוע הראשון לבריאת העולם, אז גם החוקים וחובת הציות לדברי ה' היו מחייבים מאותה עת. אבל בסיפור המקראי לא ניתנו חוקים בשלב קדום זה בהיסטוריה. סיפור הבריאה המקראי מספר לנו שה' שבת ביום השביעי (שם ב 2), אך אין לכך שום השלכה מעשית מדידת על האנושות. המעשה האלוהי אינו תקדים המחייב את האנושות בתקופה הקדומה, משום שאין ברית בין ה' לאנושות מראשית העולם. יתרה מזו, אין קשר מיוחד או מפורש בין השבת הראשונה לבני ישראל.⁵²

49. מלאכי ג 17 מתאר את הצדיקים כ"סגולה", לכאורה מתוך בני ישראל, אך אין בו זיהוי מפורש בין הצדיקים לישראל. דברי הימים א כט 3 וקהלת ב 8 משתמשים בכינוי במשמעות "אוצר". גרינברג (1951), בהתבססו על מקורות מסופוטמיים ועל ספרות חז"ל, פירש את המילה כ"אוצר", ומשמעות זו מתאימה לשני הכתובים האחרונים.

50. מצוות בודדות ניתנו לפני מתן תורה, כגון האיסורים על אכילת דם ורצח (בראשית ט 4) וחובת המילה (בראשית יז, המקביל ליובלים טו), ושתייהן באות בהקשר של ברית, הראשונה עם נח (בראשית ט 9–17; השווה יובלים ו 4) והשנייה עם אברהם, שבה המילה משמשת "אות" לברית; ראה פוקס 1980. שתי הפרשיות, יובלים ו והקטע ההלכתי בסוף פרק טו, שייכות לרובד העריכה ההלכתית של החיבור, והן משקפות את תפיסת העולם של העורך: בחירת ישראל וכפיפותו לברית מחייבת אותו בתנאים מסוימים, הלא הם מצוות התורה.

51. בשמות יט 4 יציאת מצרים משמשת נימוק לשכנע את ישראל לקבל עליהם את תנאי הברית. המוטיב של יציאת מצרים בהקשר של בחירת בני ישראל חוזר בדברים ז 8.

52. דורינג 1997, עמ' 185–191 והספרות המובאת שם.

המצווה לשבות ביום השביעי והזכרת התקדים שקבע ה' בשבוע הראשון באות לראשונה רק במתן התורה בסיני, בעשרת הדיברות שבשמות כ 8–11:

זכור את יום השבת לקדשו. ששת ימים תעבד ועשית כל מלאכתך. ויום השביעי שבת לה' אלהיך לא תעשה כל מלאכה אתה ובנך ובתך עבדך ואמתך ובהמתך וגרך אשר בשעריך. כי ששת ימים עשה ה' את השמים ואת הארץ את הים ואת כל אשר בס וינח ביום השביעי...

בשמות לא 12–17, לאחר שנכרתה הברית בין ה' לישראל, חוזר התקדים של שביתת ה' כמקור לחובת ישראל לשבות ביום השביעי:

(16) ושמרו את בני ישראל את השבת לעשות את השבת לדלתם ברית עולם.
(17) ביני ובין בני ישראל אות הוא לעלם כי ששת ימים עשה ה' את השמים ואת הארץ וביום השביעי שבת וינפש.

בניסוח של חוק השבת בשמות לא 12–17 בולט מינוח הברית בין ישראל לה': "כי אות הוא ביני וביניכם" (פס' 13), "לעשות את השבת לדלתם ברית עולם" (פס' 16), "ביני ובין בני ישראל אות הוא לעלם" (פס' 17). ניסוח החוק בטרמינולוגיה של בריתות מתאים לתפיסה הפרטיקולריסטית של השבת כחוק, תפיסה הבאה לידי ביטוי במיקומו לאחר בחירת בני ישראל מן העמים. לעומת הנימה האוניברסליסטית של סיפור הבריאה בבראשית א – ב 4, חוק השבת בשמות לא 12–17 מכוון רק לישראל, ואל היחס המיוחד של ה' אל עמו.

חוק השבת בספר היובלים מובא כחלק מסיפור הבריאה בפרק ב. בראשית ב 1–3, הכולל תיאור של מנוחת האל, קידוש השבת וברכתה, הפך ביובלים ב 24–33 תקדים הלכתי לחובת ישראל לשמור את השבת. כאמור לעיל, לפי יובלים ב 17–21 בחר ה' בישראל מבין כל העמים כבר בסוף השבוע הראשון לתולדות העולם, ולאור הבחירה יש צורך בנתינת חוקים שימשו תנאים לברית. הפירוש ההלכתי הניתן לתיאור הראשון של השבת נובע אפוא מכניסת ישראל לברית באותה עת. בתורה עצמה לא באה הבחירה לידי ביטוי אלא בתקופה מאוחרת יותר. אך בספר היובלים, שלשיטתו נבחרו בני ישראל בראשית תולדות העולם, ה' חייב להציג בפניהם את התנאים למעמד המיוחד שהעניק להם. זאת הסיבה למתן מצוות השבת מיד לאחר בחירת ישראל, והמניע להעברת החוקים לתקופת האבות, במקום מעמד הר סיני. נראה לי אפוא, כי שלושה גורמים מסייעים בידינו לפרש נכונה את הביטוי החשוב תורה ותעודה:

1. ההכרה שברית היא מסגרת ההקשר ביובלים ב;
2. הניתוח הפילולוגי של עדות/תעודה;
3. ההבנה התחבירית-סגנונית שהצירוף תורה ותעודה הוא דוגמה של hendiadys. אם נמיר את שני המרכיבים בביטוי למונחים מקבילים, אפשר לתרגמו לביטוי חוק

וברית, או בצורת הסמיכות חוק(י) הברית. התורה והתעודה בלשון של ספר היובלים פירושה תנאי הברית, כלומר המצוות שהאל קבע כבר בשבוע הראשון. פתיחת הלכות שבת במשפט "וזאת התעודה והתורה הראשונה [ונה]" מלמדת שנתינת החוקים אינה אירוע חד-פעמי, אלא זוהי הפעם הראשונה שישאל קיבלו תנאים לברית בינם לה'. חוק טומאת היולדת, שנקשר לסיפור הכניסה לגן עדן, גם הוא מוגדר במפורש בביטוי תורה ותעודה (ג 14). חוקים אחרים שניתנו בתקופת האבות מכונים עדות/תעודה, בלי המרכיב הראשון תורה. אך, כאמור לעיל, המונח המקראי עדות יכול להתפרש הן "ברית" הן "תנאי הברית". כך אפשר לפרש את הקטע הזה:

12-10 ו

(10) וישבע נח ובניו לכל יאכלו כל דם לכל בשר ויכרות ברית לפני ה' האלוהים לעולם לכל דורות הארץ בחודש הזה. (11) על כן אמר לך כי תכרות ברית אתה עם בני ישראל... בעבור כל דברי הברית אשר כרת ה' עמם כל הימים. (12) ותיכתב העדות/תעודה עליכם למען תשמרוה כל הימים לכל תאכלו...

לאחר שיצא מן התיבה הקריב נח קרבן עולה לה' מבעלי החיים הטהורים, ובעקבות זאת החליט ה' שלא להרוס עוד את העולם (בראשית ח 15-22). בעולם שלאחר המבול התיר ה' לבני אדם לאכול בעלי חיים, אך אסר על האנושות לאכול את דמם. לצד האיסור על אכילת דם של בעלי חיים נאסר גם רצח בני אדם (שם ט 7-1). האיסורים על אכילת דם ועל רצח נזכרים לפני הברית בין ה' לנח, שה' הבטיח בה לא להביא עוד מבול על הארץ (שם ט 9-17). לא ברור מן הסדר המקראי אם האיסורים הם תנאים לברית, או שמא הברית היא חד-סטורית ואינה מותנית במעשי האנושות.⁵³ אולם בשכתוב הסיפור ביובלים ו אין ספק שהאיסורים הם תנאים מפורשים לברית: תיאור הברית הועבר תכף לאחר הקרבת הקורבן על ידי נח (יובלים ו 4), וכן נח ובניו נשבעו לא לאכול דם כחלק מן הברית (שם 10). האיסור לאכול דם בפסוק 12, שהפך תנאי מפורש של הברית, אכן מכונה עדות/תעודה, בהתאם למשמעות שהוצעה כאן למונח.

חוקיות מאורות השמים

מלבד ההיקריות של עדות/תעודה המתפרשות במונח "ברית" או "תנאי הברית" יש לא מעט היקריות של המילה בספר המכוונות למערכת הזמנים שקבע האל, כלומר הלוח הנכון והתאריכים הקבועים בו (ד 30; ו 23, 32, 37; טז 28; לב 29). מה

53. ורמן תשנ"ה, עמ' 191-196. סקינר (1930, עמ' 173-174) וקנוהל (תשנ"ג, עמ' 132, 135) תפסו את האיסורים בבראשית ט על אכילת דם בעלי חיים ועל רצח בני אדם כתנאי הברית.

המשמעות של תעודה, המאפשרת להבינה בתור קביעת מערכת הזמנים האלוהית? לפי הצעת קיסטר שתעודה עניינה "חוק" או "מצווה", אפשר להבין את השימוש במונח לשם תיאור חוק תסיבתם (the orbit) של מאורות השמים.⁵⁴ אך אפשר גם להצביע על קשר מפורש בספר היובלים בין תנועת מאורות השמים למושג הברית. בסוף סיפור המבול המקראי, בעקבות הקרבן שהקריב נח, הבטיח ה' לא להביא עונש קטקליזמי נוסף על העולם, הן באשר להשמדת האנושות כולה הן באשר להשעיית איתני הטבע, ובמיוחד מאורות השמים:

וירח ה' את ריח הניחח ויאמר ה' אל לבו לא אסף לקלל עוד את האדמה בעבור האדם כי יצר לב האדם רע מנעריו ולא אסף עוד להכות את כל חי כאשר עשיתי. עד כל ימי הארץ זרע וקציר וקר וחם וקיץ וחרף ויום ולילה לא ישבתו (בראשית ח 21–22).

בשלב זה בסיפור אין אזכור מפורש של הברית בין ה' לנח. ברית זו נזכרת לראשונה בבראשית ט 8–17, לאחר ההיתר לאכול בעלי חיים והאיסורים המפורשים על אכילת דם ועל שפיכות דמים (שם 1–7). הבטחת ה' בברית, "ולא יפרת כל בשר עוד ממי המבול ולא יהיה עוד מבול לשחת הארץ" (שם 11), דומה בחלקה לדבריו בסוף פרק ח המצוטטים לעיל. מצד אחד, דברי ה' שלא יביא עוד מבול נאמרו בשני השלבים, קודם בעקבות הקרבן ואחר כך בברית, אך מצד שני אין בברית עצמה התייחסות ברורה לקביעות של מאורות השמים. בשכתוב המופיע ביובלים ו אפשר לזהות שני הבדלים הנוגעים לענייננו, שהוכנסו לתוך הסיפור מספר בראשית:⁵⁵

1. הברית בין ה' לנח נזכרת לראשונה כבר ביובלים ו 4 (המקביל לבראשית ח 21–22): "וירח ה' את ריח הניחוח ויכלת עמו ברית לבל יהיו מי המבול על הארץ לשחתה כל ימי הארץ זרע וקציר...". אין ספק שלפי גרסת ספר היובלים לסיפור בבראשית ח–ט יציבות מאורות השמים היא חלק מ"ברית עולם" (ט 16) שהובטחה לנח בספר בראשית.

2. בסוף הרשימה הפיוטית מבראשית ח 22, המתארת את איתני הטבע שלא ישבתו בעתיד, נוסף משפט קצר: "...יום ולילה לא ישנו חוקם (šar'ātomu) ולא ישבתו לעולם" (יובלים ו 4). המונח חוק מתייחס למערכת הזמנים הקבועה מראש, שעל פי הבטחת ה' בברית לא תשתנה לאחר המבול. המונח šar'at מופיע פעמיים בסוף יובלים ו, בתיאור הלוח: "...ישחיתו את זמניהם... ועברו את חוקיהם (šar'ātomu)" (פס' 33); "ושכחו חודש ושבת וחג וכל חוק (šar'āta) השנים יתעור" (פס' 34). ההקשר שם הוא של פולמוס נגד אנשים הנוקטים לוח "מוטעה", המבוסס על הירח ולא על השמש (שם 36). התנהלות החיים על פי הלוח הנכון של 364 ימים תמנע את

54. קיסטר תשס"א.

55. ראה ונדרקם 2000.

השחתת המועדים, משום ש"הכל יבוא אליהם לפי תעודתם" (פס' 32). אפשר לזהות אפוא בין "חוקי" מאורות השמים ו"תעודת" הזמנים, ושניהם מעוגנים בברית בין ה' לנח ביובלים ו 4.

מערכת הזמנים שהעולם פועל על פיה נקבעה לאחר המבול כחלק מן הברית עם ה'.⁵⁶ השימוש במילה עדות/תעודה, שמשמעותה "ברית", מתאים אפוא לתיאור הלוח המבוסס על הברית עם נח, וגם למועדים השונים המופיעים לאורך לוח השנה.

כתוב אחד אינו מתאים להגדרה שניתנה כאן למונח עדות/תעודה – יובלים ד 19–18, שהוא תיאור של מעשי חנוך:⁵⁷

(18) הוא הראשון לכתוב עדות ויעד לבני האדם בתולדות הארץ ושבועות היובלים אמר, ויודיע את ימי השנים ויסדר את הירחים ויאמר את שבתות השנה כאשר הודיענוהו. (19) וירא את אשר היה ואת אשר יהיה במראה שנתו את אשר יהיה לבני האדם בדורותם עד יום הדין הכל ראה וידע ויכתבהו לעדות וישימהו בארץ על כל בני האדם לדורותם.

56. הנביא ירמיהו (לג 19–26) משווה את בריתו של ה' עם מאורות השמים לבריתותיו עם בית דוד ועם בני לוי (ירמיהו לג 14–26 אינו מופיע בתה"ש, וחוקרים רבים כבר עמדו על כך שהנבואה נכתבה בגלות או בתקופת שיבת ציון):

(20) כה אמר ה' אם תפרו את בריתי היום ואת בריתי הלילה ולבילתי היות יומם ולילה בעתם: (21) גם בריתי תפר את דוד עבדי מהיות לו בן מלך על כסאו ואת הלויים הכהנים משרתי... (25) כה אמר ה' אם לא בריתי יומם ולילה חקות שמים וארץ לא שמת: (26) גם זרע יעקוב ודוד עבדי אמאס...

כשם שחוקי מאורות השמים (שעל פיהם באים יום ולילה בעתם) מובטחים בברית עם ה' וקיימים לעולם, כך הבריתות בין ה' לבית דוד ושבט לוי קיימות לעולם. הרעיון מופיע גם בירמיהו לג 34–36 (בלי שימוש מפורש במילה ברית). רש"י זיהה בפירושו לירמיהו לג 20 את הברית בנבואת ירמיהו בברית עם נח ובניו: "אם תפרו את בריתי היום – אם תוכלו להפר את בריתי אשר כרתי את הברית את היום ואת הלילה להיותם בעתם אשר כרתי לנח ובניו יום ולילה לא ישבתו". הקביעות של מאורות השמים מתפקדת בספרות היהודית מימי הבית השני כפרדיגמה הטפתית, הבסיס להכרת בני ישראל בצורך לשמור את המצוות – ראה חנוך ב-ה; בן סירא טז 26–28; צוואת נפתלי ג 2–5; ספרי דברים, פסקה שו; ובמחקרים של סטון 1987; קיסטר תשנ"א, עמ' 190–199 (ובמיוחד 196–199); פראד 1991, עמ' 153–154. השימוש בספר היובלים במונח אחד (עדות/תעודה) הן למצוות הן למערכת הזמן האלוהית מצביע לכאורה על תפיסה דומה. מן הפירוש המוצע כאן למילה עדות עולה כי המכנה המשותף בין שתי הקבוצות, מאורות השמים וישראל, הוא הברית שלהם עם ה' (בדומה לנבואות בירמיהו לא ו-לג, המכוונות לקבוצות מצומצמות יותר בתוך ישראל).

57. בסקירת המקורות דנתי רק בצורות השמניות עדות, תעודה, ולא בפועל העיד. אפשר לזהות שתי הוראות של פועל זה לאורך הספר. הוראתו העיקרית היא "להזהיר" (א 12; ו 38; ז 20, 31, 39; כ 7; ל 11, 17; לו 11), ואילו בתיאור של מעשי חנוך הוראתו "לתת עדות" (testify; ד 22, 24; י 17), אך ייתכן ששימוש זה משקף תלות ספרותית במקורות מספרות חנוך.

חנוך היה הראשון מבין בני האדם שכתב "עדות" הכוללת את תולדות הארץ, שבועות היובלים, ימי השנים, סדר הירחים ושבתות השנה. התחומים הנכללים בקטגוריה "עדות" רחבים בהרבה מהגדרת המונח דלעיל, ובמיוחד בולט עניין הכתיבה של מאורעות העתיד בטרם התרחשו. ההבדל בשדה הסמנטי של המילה עדות ביובלים ד לעומת הופעותיו בשאר הספר נובע כנראה מהסתמכות הקטע על מקורות קדומים יותר. ונדרקם ניתח פסוקים אלה (ד 16–25), והראה שהם מבוססים על מסורות הידועות מספרות חנוך שקדמה לספר היובלים.⁵⁸ דימנט הראתה שהמסורת המשתקפת ביובלים ד 21 אינה המצאת המשכתב של ספר היובלים בהסתמכה על הבדל בהגדרת אורכה של תקופת ה"יובל".⁵⁹ היא הסיקה מן הדוגמה שספר היובלים משתמש במקורות שונים, לעתים קרובות בלי לפתור את הסתירות והמתחים הנובעים ממוצאם השונה. באותה מידה אפשר לראות בשימוש השונה במונח עדות/תעודה ביובלים ד 18–19 (לא במונח "ברית" או "תנאי הברית", אלא testimony על הדורות הבאים) ראייה נוספת המצביעה על מוצאו השונה של הקטע המופיע ביובלים ד 16–25.

מסקירת הכתובים שמופיעה בהם המילה תעודה אפשר להסיק שפירושה "ברית, תנאי הברית", ומשמעותו של ביטוי המפתח תורה ותעודה היא אפוא "תנאי הברית". כינוי החוקים (הראשונים) בספר בשם תורה ותעודה נועד להגדירם כברית. "התעודה והתורה הראשונה" (ב 24), דהיינו הלכות השבת, ניתנו מיד לאחר בחירת ישראל, בהתאם לתפיסה המקראית שראינו לעיל, שעל פיה כריתת ברית מלווה בקבלת תנאיה. מסירת המצוות ושמירתן בתקופת האבות הן תוצאה ישירה של קיום הקשר המיוחד בין ה' לבני ישראל כבר בתקופה הקדומה. ההנחה הבסיסית של ספר היובלים היא, שלאורך התקופה שלפני מעמד הר סיני ניתנו מצוות לישראל כחלק מן הברית עם ה'.⁶⁰ אפילו במקרים שאין בהם שום רמז לקיום של חוק בסיפור המקראי ניתוסף המוטיב כדי להדגיש את תמידות הברית עם ישראל ואת נצחיותה.

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Preface

In fall 2001 I was invited to be a member of a research group devoted to Qumran literature at the Institute of Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, headed by Devorah Dimant. I was delighted to join this group. At the time I voiced my surprise at the absence of a Hebrew scholarly periodical on such important, broad-branched Jewish literatures as the Qumran scrolls and the Apocrypha. I suggested to Devorah that she organize a yearly workshop at the University of Haifa devoted to these issues, to be accompanied by publication of a Hebrew annual on these themes.

To my delight, Devorah was kind enough to accept and implement my suggestion. Both workshop and annual, *Meghillot*, came into being. Five workshops have been held (2002–6) and, to date, four volumes of *Meghillot* have appeared. The present double volume (5–6) and the sixth workshop, to be held in December 2007, honor Professor Dimant. The seventh workshop is scheduled for May 2008, and the editorial board has already collected sufficient material for *Meghillot* 7 and 8. Both the workshops and *Meghillot* volumes testify to Devorah's skills, modesty, and hard work, for which she has our gratitude.

Thanks to Devorah's diligence the University of Haifa has become a center for Qumran studies. Two years ago I proposed to the University of Haifa that my friend Emanuel Tov and I undertake the production of a double volume of *Meghillot* to be dedicated to Professor Dimant upon her retirement. We departed from our usual policy in including a separate section with English and French articles; this both to enable the participation of non-Israeli scholars and as a reflection of Devorah's international standing. Twenty-nine scholars contributed to this volume, marking their appreciation of, and friendship for, Devorah. I apologize to the additional scholars who wished to participate but were unable to meet the deadline. Although their contributions would undoubtedly have enriched this collection, they would also have delayed its publication.

With Devorah's permission a brief autobiographical summary has been

included in this collection. I thank her for her kindness. I think that many will find this sketch of interest.

* * *

I wish to thank all those who assisted in the preparation of this volume: the devoted editorial secretary Ariel Feldman; the Hebrew editor, Avraham Ben-Amitay; the English editor, Dick Bruggeman; and Reimond Setbon, who edited the French articles. Special thanks to the Publishing Division of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, especially Liza Mohar, Sol Cohen, and Katy Moyal, and to Orit Wertheim Eliraz of the Bialik Institute.

Moshe Bar-Asher

Fall 2007

Devorah Dimant's Scholarship: An Overview

Emanuel Tov

Professor Devorah Dimant fits the paradigm of the broad, interdisciplinary scholar, whose work encompasses several fields of research. Well versed in various literatures and distant disciplines, Professor Dimant possesses the rare ability to bring them into closer proximity. Moreover, on reading Devorah's academic biography, one cannot but admire the ease with which she moves between branches of study and with which she learns new areas. Her mastery of new tools and topics continues, and her fields of knowledge range from Jewish philosophy and Kabbalah, to the Qumran scrolls, and languages, such as Ge'ez.

Devorah began her academic studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in a field far removed from her current work – Jewish philosophy and Kabbalah. Her unpublished master's thesis, supervised by Professor Gershom Scholem, analyzed Shabbetai Zvi's prophet, Nathan of Gaza. Inspired by Professor David Flusser's scholarship and charisma – encountered in her first classes on Qumran literature – Devorah turned to ancient Jewish literature for her doctoral dissertation. The influence of her exposure to Flusser's profound knowledge of Qumran, rabbinic, and Christian literature is still visible in her choice of research topics, which has since encompassed nearly every aspect of Scrolls studies.

In the late 1960s Devorah began writing commentaries to several scrolls, an activity that she still pursues. Her initial attempt, a commentary to the *Genesis Apocryphon* as her doctoral dissertation topic, did not come to fruition not because of academic difficulties, but because of the publication of Joseph Fitzmyer's comprehensive commentary to this scroll. Devorah ceased writing her commentary and instead utilized some of the material she had already gathered for her

Meghillot 5–6 (2008), pp. XIII–XIX

dissertation: “The Fallen Angels’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphic Books Related to Them” (1974). Although never published in its entirety, parts of the dissertation appeared as articles, such as, “Sons of Heaven: Angels in the Book of Jubilees in Light of the Qumran Community’s Writings”, in *Tribute to Sara: Studies in Jewish Philosophy and Kabbala Presented to Professor Sara O. Heller Wilensky* (Hebrew; 1994; no. 28).¹ Other topics covered in her dissertation that Devorah continues to pursue are the Book of Enoch (6, 9, 11, 12, 47, 51) and the parabiblical nature of some of its parts (Enoch 6–11; items 6, 47), alongside the closely related Qumran “Book of Noah” (1Q19), dealt with extensively in additional studies (42, 60). In a groundbreaking study on a different subject (68), Dimant was the first to identify links in the editing and transmission of three sectarian scrolls – the *Community Rule*, the *Thanksgiving Scroll*, and the *War Scroll*. Her main contention is that the Cave 1 copies of these works are the official, original (or almost original), and oldest extant copies of these compositions. Dimant suggests that the Cave 4 fragments of these works are later revisions, and sometimes abbreviated versions, of the Cave 1 compositions. She postulates that the Cave 4 scrolls were personal copies of Yahad members. The comparative analysis of the Cave 1 and 4 copies also sheds light on the development of sectarian notions.

The Qumran scrolls represent multifaceted genres. Some scholars specialize in particular genres, such as apocalyptic, halakhic, or calendrical literature. Professor Dimant, on the other hand, is conversant with most of the literary genres represented in the Qumran corpus as well as with their non-Qumranic parallels. In an impressive succession of studies, beginning in 1979, she not only addressed most aspects of this literature but also published new texts. Her study of the Qumran literature integrates the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, both the compositions found in the Qumran corpus as well as those that are not. Dimant maintains that the study of the Scrolls and the Apocrypha necessitates proficiency in the languages in which these books have been preserved, including Aramaic, Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Ge’ez. In her view, Qumran literature and the Apocrypha represent distinct aspects of

1. The numbers refer to items in the bibliography.

Second Temple literature; nonetheless, she and other scholars continue to use the conventional terms Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha to describe the main Jewish literature of this period known prior to the discoveries at Qumran. Devorah's 2006 survey of all the fragments found at Qumran that can be classified as Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha – "Old Testament Pseudepigrapha at Qumran" (58) – uses this terminology. Some of these works belong to previously known apocryphal books; others have been classified as such by virtue of their literary features. This survey clarifies the relationship between the Qumran corpus and the previously known bodies of literature. Although aware of inadequacy of the terms Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Dimant continues to use them, as does VanderKam, whose contribution to the Charlesworth volume, in which Dimant's article appeared, was on a similar topic.²

Dimant treats other aspects of the Apocrypha, such as the Testament as a literary genre (10). Another is the use and exegesis of the Bible in the Apocrypha (17). This study, like item 16, which preceded it, exemplifies Dimant's methodology: she first locates and classifies all the relevant passages in the Apocrypha, and then develops models for their use of biblical writings, ranging from explicit biblical quotations, to references to people and events, and to implicit allusions. She shows how varied needs fuel the different books' use of allusions – rhetorical and exegetical, among others. Her studies of the contents of the scrolls in each cave (36) and her classification of the Aramaic Qumran scrolls (69) utilize a similar methodology. In the latter, Dimant offers a preliminary classification of the Aramaic texts according to six themes: the flood and the patriarchs (the majority), visions, legends and court tales, astronomy, magic, and miscellaneous topics.

Devorah's philological studies as well as her role in the Hebrew University Bible Project produced several textual studies of the Septuagint and the Aramaic Targumim (4, 5, 8, 16, 26). Devorah participated in the Bible Project at the highest level of data analysis,

2. J. VanderKam, "The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha at Qumran", in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community*, vol. 2 of *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2006), 469–91.

editing the critical apparatus of the ancient translations alongside the late Professor Moshe Goshen-Gottstein (120).

Devorah's interest in Qumran literature also produced many profound studies of individual texts, such as her work on 4QFlorilegium (15).³ Of these, the most extensive studies are the ones devoted to the text known as the *Apocryphon of Joshua* (49, 53), which provide a detailed commentary to the document and to its biblical exegesis. In study 49, which deals with this apocryphon, Dimant maintains that the dichotomous classification of the scrolls into sectarian and nonsectarian be expanded to include an intermediate category: semisectarian texts. To this category, she ascribes the *Apocryphon of Joshua*, the *Temple Scroll*, and the book of *Jubilees*.⁴ The *Apocryphon of Joshua*, claims Dimant, reflects the ideas of the Yahad and their calendar but does not employ sectarian terminology.

Devorah's long-standing interest in the book of Daniel is closely related to her work on the literature of the Yahad, on which she intends to write a commentary. She has so far published several studies of this book (27, 37). Item 27 analyzes the "Seventy Weeks" prophecy in Dan. 9:24–27 not only in light of the peshar technique but also in light of the calendars of Qumran and *Jubilees*.

Among Professor Dimant's outstanding achievements are her surveys of Qumran literature (13, 36, 44). The first survey (13) appeared in 1984 as part of the *Compendia Rerum Judaicarum* series, and its seventy pages provide a detailed description of all the serakhim, pesharim, eschatological, hymnic, liturgical, and halakhic texts at Qumran. It should be noted that her categorization of "sectarian literature" includes some nonsectarian texts, such as the *Copper Scroll* and "New Jerusalem". In another, no less important, survey (36), Dimant both lists all the sectarian and nonsectarian scrolls and attempts to establish their interconnections. Dimant was the first scholar to sketch the interrelationship between the sectarian and nonsectarian scrolls, which are itemized in detailed lists by cave (1995). In broad terms these lists are still valid today. One aim of this research was to demonstrate the Qumran corpus' internal unity. Dimant shows, among other things, that

3. See items 7, 23, 24, 33, 35, 39, 48, 50, 55, 57, 61, 63.

4. See item 49, pp. 106–7.

the ratios between the scroll types – biblical and nonbiblical as well as other scrolls – are similar for all the caves. Similarly, every cave contains at least one scroll also found in Cave 4, the cave that housed the central depository.

In Hebrew, English, and French studies Dimant reviews the state of Scrolls research as well as everything related to the Yaḥad and to the archeology of the Qumran site (38, 43, 54). In other studies, she discusses the religious views of the Yaḥad. The first discussion of this type was part of a review of Qumran literature (13); others dealt with dualism (40), the perception of time (59), resurrection (46) and the evil forces opposing Israel (56).

The crowning achievement of Dimant's academic work is her publication of new texts from Qumran (4Q385–390), initially in interim publications,⁵ and eventually in an impressive volume issued by Oxford University Press in 2001. Unpublished texts require unique skills and methodologies. The researcher must classify and decipher dozens of fragments. Physical difficulties hamper this process: indecipherable handwriting, blackened leather, fragmentary preservation of the text, and so on. In this case, compounding the difficulty was the fact that these Pseudo-Prophetic texts were also *terra incognita* at the time of their discovery. The researcher who publishes such texts must make some basic decisions: determination of their literary genre, and the number of the copies and the relationship between them, on the basis of only a few fragments. Devorah mastered these techniques, first in conjunction with John Strugnell, the editor-in-chief of the international publication team in the 1980s, and then independently. Devorah's work on these texts produced a dozen preliminary studies as well as the final edition – vol. 30 of the prestigious *Discoveries in the Judean Desert* series, an edition that will serve the next generation of researchers well.⁶

DJD 30 substantially enriches our knowledge of parabiblical texts,

5. Items 18, 19, 24, 25, 29, 32, 41, 45, 52, 66. Item 46 deals with the resurrection at the End of Days in light of the Pseudo-Ezekiel texts. Item 27 deals with the prophecy in Dan. 9:24–27 in light of 4Q390.
6. *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

particularly those related to the prophetic books of Ezekiel and Jeremiah. Devorah titled the two texts in question *Pseudo-Ezekiel* and the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*. The difference in terminology reflects the fact that the former attempts to imitate the style of biblical Ezekiel, whereas the latter elaborates on the book of Jeremiah, often quoting it and Deuteronomy. Also, *Pseudo-Ezekiel* is nonsectarian, whereas Dimant finds traces of sectarian terminology in the *Apocryphon of Jeremiah*. The volume includes an accurate transcription of the fragments, reconstructions of unpreserved parts, and a discussion of the relationship among the various fragments. Photographic plates of the fragments support these reconstructions and proposed relationships. The volume includes an English translation of the fragments, an introduction to the literary genre and to the texts, a detailed commentary, and a concordance. Professor Dimant maintains that these are two separate compositions, each preserved in several copies, which draw on Ezekiel and Jeremiah in different ways. Minimally preserved, these texts, more than other Qumran scrolls, demonstrate our limited knowledge of the essence, contents, and number of copies of the complete compositions. Indeed Devorah changed her mind regarding the number of compositions and copies several times, moving fragments from one copy to another and revising her opinions regarding their content. It is therefore likely that other researchers will have different views as well. Indeed, some hold that Devorah's fragments are part of a single text, in line with her original view.⁷

Much remains unknown regarding these fragments. We do not know if they make up twenty percent (or more) or only five percent of the original compositions or exactly where to place each fragment. Much more than other texts, these fragments justify the image of the researchers of the scrolls as engaged in solving a puzzle without knowing how many of its

7. See M. Brady, "Prophetic Traditions at Qumran: A Study of 4Q383–391" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2001); eadem, "Biblical Interpretation in the 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' Fragments (4Q383–391) from Cave Four", in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 99–109; B. G. Wright III, Review of *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-prophetic Texts*, by Devorah Dimant, DJD 30, Oxford: Clarendon, DSD 9 (2002): 249–54.

parts were preserved and without a frame in which to place them. The uncertainty regarding the nature of the fragments and of the compositions is so overwhelming that researchers often await a revelatory moment. I still recall the telephone conversation in which Devorah triumphantly informed me that she had finally solved the puzzle. Once she had seen the light, she also glimpsed the light at the end of the tunnel.

Professor Dimant has edited numerous books (87–96). Anyone who has submitted a manuscript to her knows how penetrating and beneficial her comments are. This is especially true for *Meghillot*, the annual that she enthusiastically and astutely coedits with Professor Moshe Bar-Asher. Her critical sense is also evidenced in her numerous book reviews (97–119).

I cannot relate here to as yet unpublished works, but I do know from her biographical sketch that Devorah has numerous projects planned: a Hebrew edition of all the nonbiblical scrolls (with D. Parry), a commentary to the nonsectarian scrolls (with the support of the Israel Science Foundation), a study of the patriarchal traditions in the Qumran Scrolls (with R. Kratz), a study of the conception of time at Qumran (with F. Schmidt), the editing of a book on the history of Scrolls scholarship (with A. Steudel), and commentaries to Daniel, Tobit, and Enoch 1–36. In addition, she will, of course, continue to edit *Meghillot*.

In conclusion, Professor Dimant is an exceptionally gifted philologist, who “mines” the texts in order to extract everything they hold, no more but no less. Her studies display her awareness not only of minute details but also of theological and exegetical paths. She has broad expertise in Qumran literature, and learns and internalizes each and every new text. She is a superb analyst. Both her past work as a news editor and her present academic pursuits testify to her outstanding scholarly ability.

Melki Sedeq n'est pas un ange

Une relecture du *peshar* thématique

11Q13 (11Q*Melkisedeq*) II

Christophe Batsch

Le manuscrit 11Q13 (11Q*Melkisedeq*), publié en 1998 dans l'édition d'Oxford,¹ est un écrit "communautaire" rédigé en hébreu, un "*peshar* thématique" traitant de la question de la "fin des temps". Dans ces trois domaines, définition d'une littérature communautaire, étude des *pesharim* et des "périodes" de l'histoire (*qetsim*), l'apport scientifique de Devorah Dimant à la recherche qoumrânienne a été considérable.² Nous sommes à Paris quelques uns à lui être en outre reconnaissants d'avoir pu accéder à ces problématiques complexes, grâce à son enseignement dispensé régulièrement aux séminaires de la Vème Section de l'EPHE.³

La colonne II du manuscrit 11Q13, dont je propose ici une relecture et qui constitue l'essentiel de ce qui a été conservé de cet écrit, est construite selon une architecture textuelle rigoureuse et savante. Pour s'en tenir au plus manifeste: d'une part elle présente successivement les interprétations de trois versets bibliques explicitement cités;⁴ d'autre part l'unité et la

1. Florentino García Martínez, Eibert Tigchelaar et Adam S. van der Woude, "11Q*Melchizedek*", in *Manuscripts from Qumran Cave 11 (11Q2–18, 11Q20–30)* (DJD 23, Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 221–241, xxviii.
2. Voir parmi ses travaux récents: Devorah Dimant, "Temps, Torah et prophétie à Qumran", in *Le temps et les temps dans les littératures juives et chrétiennes au tournant de notre ère* (ed. Christian Grappe & Jean-Claude Ingelaere; Leyde, Boston: Brill, 2006), 1–21.
3. Dans le cadre du séminaire *Histoire du judaïsme à l'époque hellénistique et romaine*, du Professeur Francis Schmidt.
4. Lev 25:13; Ps 82:2; Isa 52:7. En outre des citations bibliques, explicites mais secondaires, contribuent parfois à l'interprétation du verset principal. Ce sont: Deut 15:2; Pss 82:1 et 7:8–9; Dan 9:25.

Meghillot 5–6 (2008), pp. *3–*16

cohérence du passage sont assurées par une référence, implicite et fondée sur le vocabulaire, à une quatrième citation biblique, Isa 61:1–3 – qui surdétermine la coloration messianique de l'ensemble. Par un paradoxe qui nous fait à nouveau prendre la mesure de la radicale altérité des Anciens, la rigueur de cette construction savante a donné lieu, de nos jours, à des interprétations non seulement diverses mais divergentes ou contradictoires. Deux problèmes en particulier font encore l'objet de vifs débats: la nature (humaine, angélique ou divine) du personnage nommé ici Melki Sedeq; et le caractère plus ou moins messianique et céleste du personnage désigné comme "l'oint de l'esprit" (*meshiah harouah*, ligne 18). Enfin on n'a pas définitivement tranché s'il convient d'assimiler, ou au contraire de distinguer, ces deux personnages.⁵

La question dont traite en détail ce *peshet* thématique est celle, centrale dans les préoccupations de la communauté qoumrânienne, de la détermination du moment et du déroulement de la période "des derniers jours".⁶

Le plan est le suivant:

Premier *peshet* (lignes 2–11): l'interprétation du verset Lev 25:13 conduit à fixer la date de la fin des temps, définie dans le cadre d'un calendrier de type jubilaire de soixante-dix semaines d'années. La conception de l'histoire qui s'exprime ici est celle d'un "exil au long cours", selon laquelle le temps des châtements, ouvert par l'exil à Babylone, ne s'est pas achevé lors de la reconstruction de Jérusalem et du Temple par Esdras et Néhémie, mais se poursuit jusqu'aux jours du

5. La littérature savante sur ce texte est trop abondante pour être citée de façon exhaustive. L'analyse critique la plus complète et détaillée, à ce jour, est celle de Florentino García Martínez, "Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec en los manuscritos de Qumrán", *Bib* 81/1 (2000), 70–80.
6. Cet intérêt porté aux "périodes" (*Qetsim*) a conduit Jozsef Milik à voir dans le manuscrit 11Q13 un nouvel élément d'un "Livre des Périodes" (*sefer ha-qitsim*) dont il avait cru retrouver la trace dans les deux manuscrits 4Q180 et 181 Voir: Jozsef T. Milik, *The Book of Enoch. Aramaic fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). Deborah Dimant a démontré par la suite, dans un article fameux, qu'un tel ouvrage n'existait pas (sous cette forme) dans la littérature de Qoumrân: Deborah Dimant, "The 'Peshet on the Periods' (4Q180) and 4Q181", *IOS* 9 (1979), 77–102.

rédacteur.⁷ L'époque eschatologique sera marquée par des conversions, une guerre et le Jugement.

Le deuxième *peshet* (lignes 11–14) sur Ps 82:2 permet de définir l'ennemi: Bélial et son camp, encore au pouvoir au moment de la rédaction mais contre qui s'exercera le Jugement. Plusieurs éléments donnent à penser que l'affrontement décrit dans ce deuxième *peshet* se déroulera dans les cieux: "esprits" du lot de Bélial (*ruhé goralô*) contre les "[justiciers] célestes" (*élé [hasedeq]*).

Le troisième *peshet* (lignes 15–25) est celui qui nous intrigue le plus. Le rédacteur interprète ici le fameux tableau prophétique d'Ésaïe: "Qu'ils sont beaux sur les montagnes les pieds du messager qui annonce la paix, qui annonce la délivrance, qui dit à Sion, ton Dieu est roi" (Isa 52:7). Le rédacteur fonde sur ce texte, d'une part une théorie du *peshet*, c'est-à-dire une théorie de sa propre pratique herméneutique et discursive; d'autre part une théorie du messianisme. Le messianisme dont il est question ici doit s'entendre comme l'intervention terrestre, à la fin des temps, d'un personnage bénéficiant de l'onction divine ("messie"), tel qu'il apparaît dans le passage messianique d'Isa 61:1–3 ("Car YHWH m'a oint", etc.), où ce "messie" contribue à la délivrance des justes et à l'accomplissement du Jugement. Ce passage, comme déjà mentionné, constitue en effet le sous-texte biblique de toute la colonne II.⁸

Selon mon analyse, ces deux théories n'en forment finalement qu'une seule, dans la mesure où la révélation actuelle des *pesharim* est comprise à la fois comme une preuve et comme une préfiguration de la venue du personnage messianique. Cette construction d'une théorie complexe (mais unifiée) de l'Histoire, se marque aussi dans l'imbrication textuelle des deux élaborations théoriques.

7. Jean-Claude Picard, "La chute de Jérusalem et la mémoire de l'Exil", in *Le continent apocryphe: essai sur les littératures apocryphes juive et chrétienne* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 195–201.
8. Ce point est établi par une série de citations implicites et le recours constant au vocabulaire spécifique d'Ésaïe.

Une théorie du *peshar*

L'auteur interprète donc terme à terme le verset Isa 52:7 cité ci-dessus :

17. Cela s'explique ainsi: "*Les montagnes*" ce sont les prophètes (...)

18. (...) Et le "*messenger annonçant 19. la bonne nouvelle du salut*" c'est celui dont il est écrit que "[...] 20. *Pour consoler les affligés*". (Isa 61:2) Cela s'explique ainsi: pour qu'ils accèdent à la compréhension des périodes de l'Histoire [] 21. dans la vérité (...) 23. (...) "*Sion*", 24. [c'est la communauté de tous les fils de justice, ceux qui] ont établi l'Alliance, se gardant d'aller [sur les che]mins du vulgaire.⁹

Absolument conforme à tout ce que nous connaissons par ailleurs des *pesharim* qoumrâniens, cette description mériterait d'illustrer toute définition de ce genre particulier.¹⁰ Les principaux éléments y figurent: prophétie, révélation permanente, maître, communauté. Un maître ayant accès à la révélation divine, dévoile aux membres de la communauté la signification, demeurée cachée, de certaines paroles des prophètes. Ici le dévoilement porte sur la succession et le déroulement des périodes de l'histoire. Un acquis essentiel de ce texte: le rôle des prophètes n'est en rien dévalorisé par le fait qu'en partie, la signification de leurs prophéties ne leur ait pas été dévoilée. La métaphore du messenger sur la montagne incline au contraire à les considérer comme des géants et des êtres exceptionnels: si le maître du *peshar* peut comprendre ce qu'ils n'ont pas perçu eux-mêmes c'est parce que, personnage aussi peu important qu'il soit en comparaison, il se place à leur suite et, se hissant jusqu'à leurs sommets, peut porter plus loin ses regards.

9. Ma traduction.

10. Voir Devorah Dimant, s.v. "Pesharim, Qumran", in *The Ancore Bible Dictionary* 5 (ed. David N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 244–251; Shani L. Berrin, s.v. "Pesharim", in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Lawrence Schiffman & James VanderKam; Oxford, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000), 644–647. Voir aussi la monographie de James H. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002).

La théorie messianique

18. et “*le messenger*”, c’est le messie de l’esprit, au sujet de qui Daniel a dit: “*jusqu’au messie, au chef, sept semaines*” (Dan 9:25). Et le “*messenger annonçant 19. la bonne nouvelle du salut*”, est celui évoqué en ces termes: “[] 20. *Pour consoler les affligés*” (Isa 61:2). Ce qui s’explique ainsi: pour qu’ils accèdent à la compréhension des périodes de l’Histoire.

Ainsi, non seulement le *peshar* définit-il le “messenger” de la ligne 18 comme un oint ou un messie (*meshiah harouah*) mais il renforce aussitôt cette qualité à l’aide d’une citation extraite de Daniel et mentionnant l’oint/messie.¹¹ Le messianisme qui s’exprime ici n’est certes ni celui du Nouveau Testament, ni celui du Talmud. Il présente cependant la caractéristique essentielle de définir l’attente d’un personnage eschatologique, envoyé par Dieu et bénéficiant de son onction.

Florentino García Martínez a observé très justement que, là où Esaïe décrivait un seul messenger en le nommant deux fois, l’exégète du *peshar* a évoqué deux personnages distincts l’un de l’autre.¹² Qui sont donc ces deux “messagers” ou, plus exactement, *qui représentent-ils* dans le déchiffrement sémiologique du *peshar*?

On observera d’abord que le premier d’entre eux, selon le texte, doit apparaître en second dans la chronologie historique. À ce “messie de l’esprit” s’applique en effet la prophétie de Daniel qui renvoie sa venue au futur. En revanche le second messenger du texte est déjà venu puisque, grâce à lui, les membres de la communauté ont “accédé à la compréhension des périodes de l’Histoire”. Il y a donc d’une part un

11. La restitution complète de ce verset daniélique est due à Joseph Fitzmyer. Voir Joseph A. Fitzmyer, “Further Light on Melchizedek from Qumran Cave 11”, *JBL* 86/1 (1967), 1–31.
12. “*El Profeta habla de una sola persona, el “mensajero”, un mensajero que anuncia la paz y que es también llamado “mensajero de bien”, cuyos pies marchan sobre los montes. Pero, como es normal en la exégesis atomística de los pesharim, los distintos elementos de la metáfora bíblica son debidamente separados y provistos cada uno de ellos de su propia interpretación, confirmada o no, según el caso, con un texto bíblico al apoyo. En el peshar de 11QMelch cada uno de estos elementos concierne a un personaje diferente*” (F. García Martínez, “Las tradiciones”, 78).

messie à la venue prévue pour la fin des temps, et de l'autre un personnage historique, vivant ou ayant vécu récemment dans le cours de l'histoire de la communauté.

Comme l'éditeur le fait observer (DJD 23, 232): dans la mesure où la ligne 20 débute par une citation explicite de Isa 61:2, on doit envisager que la fin de la ligne 19 ait bien pu comprendre le début de cette citation; le procédé consistant à utiliser des références bibliques secondaires pour l'interprétation du verset principal est d'ailleurs fréquent dans ce texte. On peut donc avec assez de vraisemblance compléter ainsi la ligne 19: "celui dont il est écrit que: [*Il m'a envoyé pour... (Isa 61:1)*]", suivi de l'une des activités décrites (voir Isa 61:2) "*pour proclamer une année de grâce de YHWH*" ou "*pour proclamer un jour de vengeance de notre Dieu*";¹³ compte tenu de l'espace disponible dans la lacune, les deux proclamations peuvent aussi y figurer ensemble. Dans tous les cas, la fonction du deuxième messenger consiste donc à dévoiler une date, et plus précisément la date ("jour" et/ou "année") du moment eschatologique: c'est-à-dire précisément ce à quoi l'auteur du *peshar* s'emploie dans ce texte même. En d'autres termes: le deuxième "messenger" de la ligne 19, le messenger non-messianique et déjà intervenu dans l'histoire, n'est autre que l'auteur du *peshar* lui-même.¹⁴

Quant au messenger messianique prévu pour la fin des temps, Florentino García Martínez, après Adam Van der Woude, a pensé reconnaître en lui le "prophète eschatologique" mentionné dans la Règle (1QS IX 11) et dans 4QTestimonia (4Q175 5–8).¹⁵ Identification parfaitement plausible,

13. Il ne peut s'agir des activités messianiques décrites par Esaïe au verset 61:1 puisqu'il en a déjà été traité, dans le *peshar*, aux lignes 4–6. Il ne peut s'agir non plus des activités décrites au verset 61:3 qui sont situées *après* la mention de la consolation des affligés.
14. Par "auteur du *peshar*" j'entends évidemment celui qui a reçu la révélation de l'interprétation, et qui n'est pas obligatoirement le scribe qui a en rédigé ce compte-rendu.
15. "*La interpretación del primer editor, que ve en esta figura una referencia al profeta escatológico esperado en 1QS y 4Q175 es la más convincente*" (F. García Martínez, "Las tradiciones", 79). Le "*primer editor*" est Adam Van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt in den neugefundenen eschatologischen Midraschim aus Qumran Höhle XI", *OTS* 14 (1965), 354–373. Voir aussi John

bien qu'elle conduise à une certaine forme d'inflation messianique: elle suggère en effet l'existence d'un *troisième* messie (le prophète), venant s'ajouter aux deux messies de David et Aaron.¹⁶ Il me semble qu'il serait plus conforme, à la fois aux textes et au principe d'économie, de reconnaître dans le *meshiah harouah* de 11QMelkisedeq, le Prince de la congrégation et messie davidique chargé de la conduite de la guerre eschatologique. Cette guerre eschatologique est en effet évoquée à deux reprises dans le *peshet* (lignes 9 et 14), dans des termes qui semblent impliquer un combat entre des êtres célestes; mais on sait (cf. le *Règlement de la Guerre*) que le combat eschatologique mené au ciel par les anges guerriers se double, sur terre, d'une guerre ultime entre deux armées tout à fait humaines – l'une des tâches de la communauté étant précisément de se préparer à ce conflit.

Il faut également prendre en considération la dénomination originale de ce messie: *meshiah harouah* "oint par l'esprit". Une périphrase assez voisine semble s'appliquer aux prophètes, en CD II 12.¹⁷ Mais la juxtaposition de ces deux termes renvoie d'abord aux récits bibliques de l'onction des deux premiers rois d'Israël, Saül et David. La descente de l'esprit de YHWH sur leurs têtes, peu après leur onction, constitue en effet un moment essentiel du récit de leur accession à la royauté, entendue alors comme la maîtrise et la direction de la puissance guerrière d'Israël contre les ennemis de YHWH.¹⁸ Il n'y aurait dès lors rien d'étonnant à ce que le messie royal et chef de la guerre eschatologique fût désigné comme le "messie de l'esprit". Cependant le manuscrit est ici trop lacunaire pour qu'aucune identification de ce personnage messianique puisse être avancée avec certitude.

J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star. The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1994), 11.

16. Inflation poursuivie par Hermann Lichtenberger qui recense jusqu'à cinq catégories de messies à Qoumrân. Voir Hermann Lichtenberger, "Messianic Expectations and Messianic Figures During the Second Temple Period", in *Qumran Messianism. Studies on the Messianic Expectations in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. Charlesworth, H. Lichtenberger et G. Oegema, Tübingue: Mohr Siebeck, 1998), 9–20.
17. Dieu y fait connaître "son esprit saint, par le truchement de ses oints".
18. Pour Saül: 1 Sam 10:6, 10; pour David: 1 Sam 16:13.

L'élément essentiel de ce passage consiste donc plutôt à distinguer entre deux personnages, l'un historique (le maître du *peshar*), l'autre attendu pour la fin des temps (le "messie de l'esprit"); et d'en dégager la théorie historique implicite: la venue (attestée, car déjà advenue) du maître du *peshar* offre la garantie de la venue (hypothétique, car encore attendue) du messie, puisque l'une et l'autre furent annoncées dans la même prophétie, dont le maître du *peshar* a révélé le sens caché. Cette révélation fournit elle-même à son tour la démonstration que le maître du *peshar* était bien le second messager décrit dans la prophétie. On touche naturellement ici au noyau dur de la théorie, c'est-à-dire à la part irréductible de la croyance et de la foi.

Le calcul et la description de la fin des temps, dans ce texte, font donc intervenir trois catégories de personnages.

- i. Les prophètes bibliques, en particulier Daniel et Esaïe, dont nombre de passages cités sont explicitement messianiques.
- ii. Les deux "messagers" d'Esaïe 52: le premier, personnage eschatologique, le "messie de l'esprit"; le second, personnage historique, l'auteur lui-même du *peshar* qui a révélé à la communauté le sens caché de ces prophéties.
- iii. Enfin le personnage nommé Melki Sedeq, chargé de l'exécution du jugement et non encore évoqué ici.

Le débat sur le statut ontologique de Melki Sedeq n'a pas cessé depuis la première publication du manuscrit en 1965.¹⁹ S'agit-il d'un être terrestre, d'un ange de haut rang, ou de la divinité elle-même? Consubstantiel à ce débat, la question de déterminer si le '*Elohim* de la ligne 10 désigne Dieu ou un ange. Jean Carmignac et Jozsef Milik ont les premiers formulé et développé la thèse que "Melki Sedeq", dans ce texte, désigne YHWH ou l'un de ses attributs: en l'occurrence la Justice, puisqu'ici il rend et exécute le Jugement.²⁰ Cette thèse a été reprise plus

19. Adam Van der Woude, "Melchisedek als himmlische Erlösergestalt".

20. Jean Carmignac, "Le document de Qumrân sur Melkisédeq", *RevQ* 7/3 (1970), 343–378. Jozsef T. Milik, "Milkî-Şedeq et Milkî-Reša' dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens", *JJS* 23/2 (1972), 95–144. En particulier 125: "Il [Melkisédeq] est en réalité une hypostase de Dieu, autrement dit le Dieu transcendant lorsqu'il agit dans le monde, Dieu lui-même sous la forme visible où il apparaît aux hommes".

récemment dans la grande monographie consacrée, par Franco Manzi, à Melkisedeq dans les écrits de Qoumrân et du Nouveau Testament.²¹ En revanche les éditeurs du texte, avec bien d'autres savants, ont constamment opposé à cette hypothèse leur conviction que "Melki Sedeq" désignait ici un *ange*, et devait plus précisément être assimilé à la figure de l'ange Michaël et à celle du Prince de Lumière. Dans cette hypothèses, le terme *'Elohim* de la ligne 10 devrait également signifier ange.²² Position défendue à nouveau par Claudio Giannotto dans sa propre monographie consacrée aux traditions juives et chrétiennes sur Melkisedeq;²³ et réaffirmée de façon plus polémique, dans son récent article, par Florentino García Martínez.²⁴

Ce dernier admet pourtant que la question puisse légitimement se poser. En effet, selon le *peshet*, Melki Sedeq possède plusieurs caractéristiques de la divinité. Mieux encore, chaque fois que son nom apparaît dans le texte (11Q13 II 5, 8, 9, 13 et 24–25), il est associé à l'une de ces caractéristiques divines. Voici la liste des occurrences :

- | | | |
|-------------|---------------|----------------------------------|
| 11Q13 II 5: | נחלת מלכי צדק | "l'héritage de Melki Sedeq" (2x) |
| 11Q13 II 8: | גורל מלכי צדק | "le lot de Melki Sedeq" |

21. Franco Manzi, *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell'Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran*, (Rome: Institut biblique pontifical, 1997). En particulier 262–263: "מלכי צדק" è un mero titolo, che viene attribuito a JHWH, esprimendo etimologicamente ("Re di Giustizia") *l'esercizio del suo potere regale nel giudizio universal del'ultimo giubileo della storia umana*".
22. Les éditeurs: voir note 1. Sur l'interprétation angélique de *'Elohim*, voir John J. Collins, "Powers in Heaven: God, Gods and Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls", in *Religion in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. John Collins & Robert Kugler; Grand Rapids/Cambridge: Eerdmans, 2000), 9–28.
23. Claudio Gianotto, *Melchisedek e la sua tipologia: tradizioni giudaiche, cristiane e gnostiche (sec. II a.C.–sec. III d.C.)*, (Brescia: Paideia, 1984). En particulier 80: "E in realtà Michele è un personaggio al quale nelle tradizioni giudaica et cristiana sono attribuite funzioni analoghe a quelle di Melchisedek in 11QMelch".
24. "A la vista del estatuto excelso como figura celeste que nuestro texto confiere a Melquisedec, no es extraño que algunos hayan comprendido al protagonista de 11QMelch como representando una hipóstasis divina, o incluso como una simple designación de la divinidad, uno más de los nombres divinos, "Rey de Justicia". Aunque estas especulaciones son interesantes y se apoyan en ciertos elementos presentes en el texto mismo, no parecen poder mantenerse", etc. (F. García Martínez, "Las tradiciones", 73).

11Q13 II 9:	שנת הרצון למלכי צדק	“l’année de la bienveillance de Melki Sedeq”
11Q13 II 13:	ומלכי צדק יקום נקם משפטי א[ל]	“et Melki Sedeq accomplira la vengeance du jugement de Dieu”
11Q13 II 24–25:	ואלוהיך הואה [] [מלכי צדק]	“et ton Dieu c’est [] [Melki Sedeq]”

Les quatre premiers syntagmes, “l’héritage de...” (2x), “le lot de...” et “l’année de la bienveillance de la part de...” sont ordinairement associés au nom de YHWH, dans la littérature qoumrânienne et dans la Torah. Dans notre *peshar*, le signifiant “Melki Sedeq” vient là simplement se substituer à celui de YHWH dans chacune de ces expressions. S’agissant par exemple du “lot de Melki Sedeq” on trouve en 1QS II 2 l’expression אנשי גורל אל, “les hommes du lot de Dieu”, où elle désigne les fidèles de la communauté. Ceci est encore plus évident de l’expression שנת רצון למלכי צדק, “l’année de la bienveillance de Melki Sedeq” (11Q13 II 9), qui est une citation implicite de Isa 61:2, שְׁנַת־רְצוֹן לַיהוָה, “l’année de la bienveillance de YHWH”.

La dernière occurrence est la moins probante puisqu’il s’agit d’une reconstitution proposée, avec cependant d’assez bons arguments, par les éditeurs. Notons qu’à les suivre, on serait donc mené à envisager la possibilité que le *peshar* explicitât ici le signifiant “Melki Sedeq” comme une désignation de YHWH (“et ton Dieu, c’est (...) Melki Sedeq”) lors du Jugement des derniers jours.

La cinquième citation, enfin (11Q13 II 13), a souvent été présentée comme un argument irréfutable: Melki Sedeq et la divinité ne pouvaient pas être assimilés l’un à l’autre. En effet ils seraient ici différenciés, l’un accomplissant la tâche de l’autre. Mais, d’une part, cela ne résout pas le problème posé par les citations précédentes, où le nom de Melki Sedeq vient occuper la place du nom de YHWH. D’autre part, cette différenciation des deux personnages découle surtout de la conviction, moderne et peut-être ici anachronique, que celui qui prononce le jugement et celui qui l’exécute ne peuvent pas être la même personne. De bons esprits ont d’ailleurs jugé du contraire.²⁵ Il paraît tout aussi

25. Voir *inter al.* *EncJud* 11, s.v. “Melchizedek”, en particulier 1288: “Here [i.e., in

cohérent avec le texte, de considérer ce nom de Melki Sedeq comme l'un des attributs de Dieu, en tant qu'il exerce sa justice. On notera aussi que, dans la même phrase, les puissances angéliques nommées les 'elym viennent *toutes* (כול אלי) assister Melki Sedeq. Il y a là un élément logique d'*exclusion mutuelle*, que Jean Carmignac avait bien perçu.²⁶ Melki Sedeq ne peut pas en effet *à la fois* appartenir à l'ensemble des anges *et* être secouru par ce même ensemble. Tous ces éléments textuels nous conduisent donc à la même conclusion que Jozsef Milk et Franco Manzi: dans ce texte, "Melki Sedeq" doit être compris comme l'une des multiples dénominations du Dieu unique, YHWH, en tant qu'il rend le Jugement final.

Le *peshet* associe donc à l'attente des temps eschatologiques trois figures, d'importance croissante: le maître du *peshet* (peut-être le Maître de Justice lui-même), héritier, successeur et interprète des prophètes, et garant de la venue du messie; le "messie de l'esprit" qui viendra mener le combat terrestre à la tête de la communauté, tandis qu'une guerre parallèle se déroulera dans les cieux; enfin YHWH, le "Roi-Juge" exerçant sa justice souveraine lors du Jugement.

Si l'on admet cette hypothèse que Melki Sedeq désigne ici YHWH, y compris sous la forme d'une *hypostase*,²⁷ le problème se pose alors du maintien de la rigoureuse unicité de la divinité. Il y a là en effet l'indice, au moins d'un début de différenciation de l'unité divine. En réalité, le problème se pose en des termes à peu près identiques à qui sépare les deux personnages, YHWH et Melki Sedeq, dans la mesure où le second accomplit des tâches ordinairement dévolues à YHWH dans la Torah. Une difficulté du même ordre est apparue dans deux autres manuscrits qoumrâniens, l'un en hébreu, l'autre en araméen: 4Q*Apocalypse*

11Q13] *Melchizedek is both judge and executor of his own decree*". Et David Flusser, "Melchizedek and the Son of Man", in *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity*, (Jérusalem: Magnes, 1988), 186–192, en particulier 188: "He will thus not only pass judgement but also execute it".

26. "À la ligne 14 ces 'êtres célestes' sont mentionnés par leur nom qoumrânien usuel: 'lym, et Malkî-Şêdêq ne figure pas parmi eux" (J. Carmignac, "Le document", 366).
27. Selon l'hypothèse formulée par J. T. Milik, "Milkî-Şêdêq et Milkî-Reša'" (voir ci-dessus, note 20).

messianique (4Q521) et 4QApocryphe de Daniel ar (4Q246).²⁸ L'un et l'autre présentent en effet un personnage, apparemment eschatologique ("le messie" en 4Q521, "le fils de Dieu" en 4Q246), tout à la fois distinct de la divinité, et exerçant cependant des attributions traditionnellement réservées à celle-ci. Ces deux écrits ont donné lieu à d'importantes divergences d'interprétation et à des discussions du plus grand intérêt sur le messianisme qoumrânien, discussions sur lesquelles les dimensions de cet article ne permettent pas de revenir.

En revanche si l'on veut bien admettre que la difficulté commune à ces trois textes ne tient pas seulement à notre incapacité de partager le paradigme qoumrânien, mais reflète peut-être aussi les hésitations et les tâtonnements de la pensée théologique de leurs auteurs, on est alors conduit à se demander: dans quelle mesure et jusqu'à quel point le dualisme qoumrânien a-t-il pu déboucher (dans certaines spéculations dont ces écrits conserveraient la trace) sur la tentation dithéiste?

On connaît la rigueur, abondamment attestée, de la condamnation rabbinique des hérésies dithéistes (nommées שתי רשויות בשמיים, "deux puissances dans le ciel").²⁹ Ces condamnations ne peuvent avoir été réservées au seul christianisme émergent et aux élaborations "gnostiques". La tentation dithéiste semble bien s'être manifestée, sous une forme ou une autre, dans le judaïsme de la fin de l'époque du deuxième Temple.³⁰ Le *peshet* 11Q13 pose la question de sa possible apparition au sein même de la littérature qoumrânienne.

28. Émile Puech, "4QApocryphe de Daniel ar (olim 4QPseudo-Daniel^d ar)", in *Qumran Cave 4 (XVII), Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. George J. Brooke et al.; DJD 22, Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 165–184, xi; Émile Puech, "4QApocalypse messianique", in *Textes Hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579). Qumran Cave 4 (XVIII)* (DJD 25, Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 1–38, i–iii.
29. Voir Alan F. Segal, *Two Powers in Heaven. Early Rabbinic Reports about Christianity and Gnosticism* (Boston, Leyde: Brill, 2002).
30. Voir la problématique définie *inter al.* par Guy G. Stroumsa, "Le couple de l'ange et de l'esprit", *RB* 88/1 (1981), 42–61 et Ioan P. Culianu, "The Angels of the Nations and the Origins of Gnostic Dualism", in *Studies in Gnosticism and Hellenistic Religions, presented to Gilles Quispel on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (ed. R. van den Broek & M. J. Vermaseren; Leyde: Brill, 1981), 78–91.

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How Distinctive was Enochic Judaism?

John J. Collins

The concept of “Enochic Judaism”, as a distinct strand within the Judaism of the Second Temple period, has been popularized in recent years by Gabriele Boccaccini.¹ Boccaccini built on the work of his teacher Paolo Sacchi, who argued that the generative idea of “Jewish apocalyptic” was the supernatural origin of sin, as formulated in the myth of the Watchers in 1 Enoch 6–11.² Boccaccini rightly recognized that the classic apocalyptic book of Daniel is not oriented to this question, and that therefore it was unsatisfactory to characterize “Jewish apocalyptic” in this way. Yet, he argued, the books of Enoch do attest to a tradition that extended over centuries, possibly beginning as early as the fourth century BCE and extending into the first century CE.³ He recognized that this was “a complex and dynamic trend of thought... and therefore cannot be fit entirely into a unitary scheme or a universal definition”. Yet “its generative idea... can be identified in a particular conception of evil, understood as an autonomous reality antecedent to humanity’s ability to choose, the result of ‘a contamination that has spoiled [human] nature’, an evil that ‘was produced before the beginning of history’”.⁴ He associates this tradition with a movement of dissent within the priesthood, reflected in the strong interest in the calendar and the

1. G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*, Grand Rapids 1998; “Introduction: The Rediscovery of Enochic Judaism and The Enoch Seminar”, in idem (ed.), *The Origins of Enochic Judaism*, *Henoch* 24 (2002), pp. 9–13; “Introduction: From the Enoch Literature to Enochic Judaism”, in idem (ed.), *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, Grand Rapids 2005, pp. 1–14.
2. P. Sacchi, *Jewish Apocalyptic and its History*, JSPSup 20, Sheffield 1997, pp. 32–108.
3. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, p. 12.
4. Ibid.

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negative reference to the temple in the Animal Apocalypse.⁵ According to Boccaccini, writings preserved in 1 Enoch were the constitutive documents of this tradition, but not the only ones. He finds the same conception of evil in some books in which the figure of Enoch was not central (Jubilees, Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs) or was even missing (4 Ezra). He also argues that this Enoch tradition was in fact the early Essene movement.⁶

This far-reaching proposal has many facets, and some are more soundly based than others. The books that make up 1 Enoch are indeed closely bound together by recurring motifs and allusions.⁷ Moreover, several of the Enochic writings envision a distinct group of righteous within Israel. The Book of the Watchers refers to “the plant of righteousness and truth” (10:16). In the Apocalypse of Weeks, the elect are “the chosen righteous from the chosen plant of righteousness” (93:10). The Animal Apocalypse speaks of “lambs” whose eyes are opened (90:6). Even the Similitudes of Enoch, which are later in date than any other part of 1 Enoch by at least a century, seem to envision the righteous as a community. It is not unreasonable, then, to suppose that these books of Enoch were composed within a movement of some sort, although continuity becomes problematic in the case of the Similitudes. The further “Enochic Judaism” is extended beyond the book of 1 Enoch, however, the more problematic it becomes. There is surely Enochic influence in Jubilees, and also in the Dead Sea Scrolls, although in both cases there are also sharp differences to be accounted for. In contrast, all 4 Ezra shares with the Enoch

5. Boccaccini, *Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History from Ezekiel to Daniel*, Grand Rapids 2002, pp. 89, 99–103.
6. An independent formulation of “Enochic Judaism” as a paradigm of regularity and deviance can be found in D. R. Jackson, *Enochic Judaism* (Library of Second Temple Studies 49; London and New York 2004). Jackson distinguishes three “paradigm exemplars”, the “Shemihazah exemplar”, focusing on the union of angels with human women, the “Aza’el exemplar”, focusing on improper revelation, and the “cosmic exemplar”, focusing on the rebellion of angels who were in charge of cosmic phenomena related to the calendar.
7. See my essay, “Pseudepigraphy and Group Formation in Second Temple Judaism”, in E. Chazon & M. E. Stone (eds.), *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 31, Leiden 1999, pp. 44–48.

literature is a broad apocalyptic worldview, and I do not see any justification for calling it “Enochic”. My concern in this article, however, is not with the extension of the category, but with the core corpus of Enochic writings in 1 Enoch, excluding the Similitudes, which are clearly later. My question is whether these writings are sufficiently distinctive in the context of Second Temple Judaism that we should speak of “Enochic Judaism” as a distinct phenomenon. This question is closely related to the question of sectarianism, but distinct from it. It is possible, in principle, that a group might have a distinctive understanding of Judaism without separating itself from the rest of the people in any decisive way.

The characterization of the Enoch literature

Before we proceed with this question, it is necessary to revisit the characterization of the Enoch literature. Sacchi’s notion that the story of the Watchers, understood as a paradigm for the origin of evil, was generative for the whole corpus, has been accepted virtually without question in Italian scholarship. But while this story is undoubtedly important, and reverberates in later Enochic books, it is only one motif among many in the Enoch literature.⁸ A far more balanced account of the worldview of 1 Enoch has been given by George Nickelsburg, who argues, quite rightly, that the focal point in all the Enochic books is the coming judgment.⁹ The Enochic books share “an apocalyptic construction of reality” that became common in Judaism in the Hellenistic period, and that has both temporal and spatial dimensions. Revelation comes from above, mediated by angels and conveyed to earth by Enoch. Angelic and demonic forces influence human affairs. The entire sweep of history can be foreseen by the visionary. The judgment is not only a cosmic judgment of the earth, but of individuals, who attain

8. Compare the criticism of A. Y. Reed, “Interrogating ‘Enochic Judaism’: 1 Enoch as a Source for Intellectual History, Social Realities, and Literary Tradition”, in Boccaccini (ed.), *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, p. 340.
9. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, Hermeneia, Minneapolis 2001, pp. 37–56; idem, “The Apocalyptic Construction of Reality in 1 Enoch”, in J. J. Collins & J. H. Charlesworth (eds.), *Mysteries and Revelations: Apocalyptic Studies since the Uppsala Conference*, JSPSup 9, Sheffield 1991, pp. 51–64.

everlasting reward or punishment. The interest in the temporal future is balanced by a corresponding interest in places beyond the range of ordinary human experience, including the throne of God and the resting places of the elect. While the different Enochic books vary in their emphasis and nuance, and sometimes even take issue with each other, Nickelsburg's sketch of a shared worldview is well founded. This apocalyptic worldview is shared, with variations, by the other apocalyptic writings of the era, including Daniel.¹⁰

There are also some distinctive features in the Enochic writings that distinguish them as a corpus within the apocalyptic writings. These include the specific story of the Watchers, and the degree of interest in otherworldly geography, neither of which is attested in Daniel. Moreover, the negative reference to the temple in the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 89:73) implies a rupture with what was arguably the most central symbol in Judaism at that time. The most obvious and basic distinguishing trait of this literature, however, is the fact that Enoch is the mediator of revelation, rather than Moses or any other figure drawn from Israelite tradition. This in turn raises the question of the status of the Mosaic, Sinaitic revelation in these books. Was this group Enochic, in the sense that it looked on the legendary patriarch as the primary mediator of revelation? Or was the invocation of the ante-diluvian hero merely a literary device in books that were solidly grounded in the Mosaic covenant?

Scholarship on this issue has in fact been rather evenly divided.¹¹ On the one hand, George Nickelsburg has argued that Enochic wisdom was an alternative to Mosaic Torah.¹² On the other, E. P. Sanders¹³ and Mark Elliott¹⁴ have viewed it as an example of covenantal nomism.

10. See my essay, "Genre, Ideology and Social Movements in Jewish Apocalypticism", in Collins & Charlesworth (eds.), "Mysteries and Revelations", pp. 11–32, and, more generally, my *The Apocalyptic Imagination*², Grand Rapids 1998, passim.
11. See the review of the debate by K. C. Bauckham, *A Study of the Geography of 1 Enoch 17–19: 'No One Has Seen what I Have Seen'*, JSJSup 81, Leiden 2003, pp. 289–299.
12. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Enochic Wisdom: An Alternative to the Mosaic Torah?", in J. Magness & S. Gitin (eds.), *Hesed Ve-Emet: Studies in Honor of Ernest S. Frerichs*, BJS 320, Atlanta 1998, pp. 123–132; *1 Enoch 1*, pp. 50–56.
13. E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, Philadelphia 1977, pp. 346–362.
14. M. Elliott, *The Survivors of Israel: A Reconsideration of the Theology of Pre-*

The Astronomical Book

The division of opinion is most acute in the case of the foundational Enochic work, the Book of the Watchers. The Astronomical Book is probably an older document (from the fourth or third century BCE), but most of it is taken up with a description of the heavenly luminaries. In part, this description is a celebration of the order of the universe, but it also has a polemical purpose: to refute the 360-day calendar known from the Babylonian astronomical text MUL.APIN and to advocate the 364-day solar calendar.¹⁵ The status of the 364-day calendar in pre-Maccabean Judah is uncertain. It is generally assumed that the luni-solar calendar of later Judaism was already in force, but some have argued that the solar calendar was observed in the Jerusalem temple down to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes.¹⁶ The Enochic book, in any case, does not polemicize against the luni-solar, or any known Jewish calendar, and does not mention the religious festivals, even the Sabbath or the Passover.¹⁷ Moreover, it describes both solar and lunar years side by side. The astronomy of this book is antiquated, by both Babylonian and Hellenistic standards. This in itself may be something of a statement of defiance in face of new cultural developments. But it does not seem to be engaged in any polemic against the Jewish cult or the Jerusalem temple, whether this was due to the fact that the 364-day calendar was observed in Jerusalem or to the fact that this text was composed in the Babylonian diaspora, and was not concerned with Jerusalem temple observance, but rather, as

Christian Judaism, Grand Rapids 2000, pp. 330–332, 529–533; idem, “Covenant and Cosmology in the Book of the Watchers and the Astronomical Book”, in Boccaccini (ed.), *The Origins of Enochic Judaism*, pp. 23–38.

15. See especially M. Albani, *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: Untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1994.
16. See J. C. VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time*, London 1998, pp. 114–115; idem, “2 Maccabees 6,7a and Calendrical Change in Jerusalem”, *JSJ* 12 (1981), pp. 52–74. See, however, the criticism of this position by A. Bedenbender, *Der Gott der Welt tritt auf dem Sinai: Entstehung, Entwicklung und Funktionsweise der frühjüdische Apokalyptik*, ANTZ 8, Berlin 2000, pp. 169–173.
17. VanderKam, *Calendars*, p. 26.

Bedenbender has suggested “zielte... auf die Möglichkeit eines kultisch vom Jerusalemer Tempel unabhängigen Judentums”.¹⁸

The Book of the Watchers

The Astronomical Book is unlike anything in the Hebrew Bible or in earlier Jewish tradition. When we turn to the Book of the Watchers, however, we find plenty of biblical resonance.¹⁹ At the core of this book is the story of the fallen angels, in 1 Enoch 6–11. This is usually regarded as a midrash on the story of the sons of God in Genesis 6, although J. T. Milik famously argued that the Enochic story was older than the variant in Genesis.²⁰ The account of Enoch’s ascent to heaven has various points of contact with prophetic traditions.²¹ In his subsequent tour with an angelic guide he is shown a holy mountain in the center of the earth, which is evidently Mt. Zion, and beside it a cursed valley, presumably Ge Hinnom or Gehenna.²² He also sees the Garden of Righteousness, and the tree of wisdom, from which “your father of old and your mother of old, who were before you, ate and learned wisdom. And their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked, and they were driven from the garden” (1 Enoch 32:6). Moreover, the opening chapters of the Book of the Watchers are a virtual tissue of biblical allusions, and Lars Hartman has argued that they find their referential background in covenant renewal ceremonies and that the entire passage must be understood in a covenantal context.²³

18. Bedenbender, *Der Gott der Welt*, p. 173.

19. See J. C. VanderKam, “The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch”, in P. W. Flint (ed.), *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation*, Grand Rapids 2001, pp. 129–148; idem, “Biblical Interpretation in 1 Enoch and Jubilees”, in J. H. Charlesworth & C. A. Evans (eds.), *The Pseudepigrapha and Early Biblical Interpretation*, JSPSup 14, Sheffield 1993, pp. 96–125.

20. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave Four*, Oxford 1976, p. 31. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, pp. 176–177, shows that the Enochic text follows Genesis 6 quite closely.

21. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 30.

22. *1 Enoch*, pp. 26–27; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, pp. 317–319.

23. L. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning: A Study of 1 Enoch 1–5*, CB NT series 12, Lund 1979.

Despite occasional arguments that the Book of the Watchers preserves old traditions independent of the Bible, it seems to me beyond reasonable doubt that, in all stages of its composition, it reflects knowledge of at least parts of the Biblical tradition. This is not to say, however, that it is exegetical in intent or that it presupposes the authority of the Mosaic Torah. James Kugel, who more than any other scholar has made the case for the exegetical character of the Pseudepigrapha, grants that 1 Enoch may well have passed on traditions originally unrelated to the biblical text.²⁴ There is, to be sure, an exegetical element in the story. In the Book of the Watchers, the flood is clearly the consequence of the sins initiated by the Sons of God, while this connection is not explicit in Genesis. But there is no biblical basis at all for the stories of Asael and Shemihazah, the leaders of the fallen angels. The ascent of Enoch and his tour of the extremities of the earth are spun off from the biblical statement that he “walked with elohim” (Gen. 5:22) but many of the details of these chapters (e.g. the geography of chapters 17–19,²⁵ or the discussion of the chambers of the dead in chapter 22²⁶) have little basis in biblical tradition.

Three kinds of argument have been advanced in support of the view that the Book of the Watchers presupposes the context of the Mosaic Torah. First, there are general arguments from the logic of sin and punishment. Second, the sexual sins of the Watchers have been thought to reflect the priestly legislation of the Torah. Third, there is the widely accepted argument of Lars Hartman that at least chapters 1–5 presuppose the covenant as their “referential background”.

1. The logic of sin and punishment

In his classic study, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, E. P. Sanders sought to understand the sins of the Watchers from the list of terms in 1 Enoch 10:20:

The terms in Greek are these: cleanse the earth from all akatharsia

24. J. L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible*, Cambridge, MA 1998, p. 180; compare Bedenbender, *Der Gott der Welt*, pp. 157–163.
25. Bautch, *A Study of the Geography*, p. 297, concludes that shared concerns about disobedience and illicit relationships do not necessarily demonstrate points of contact between these chapters and the Mosaic Torah.
26. See M.-T. Wacker, *Weltordnung und Gericht: Studien zu 1 Henoch 22*, Würzburg 1982.

and from all adikia and from all hamartia and asebeia; and eradicate all the asebeia. While there is no reason to suppose that the author followed a strict definition of terms, it is likely that “uncleanness” refers both to transgression of purity laws and to the moral defilement which comes from certain other transgressions and that “oppression” (adikia) refers to wrongs against one’s neighbour, while “sin” and “godlessness” are probably translations of “sin” and “wickedness” in Hebrew or Aramaic and refer generally to transgression of biblical commandments. While what is wrong to do is persistently left vague, it seems that the author... had no unique definition.²⁷

But the sins of the Watchers are not so vague. In the first instance, they involve promiscuity between heavenly and earthly beings. The impropriety of such unions might be inferred from Genesis, but it was not a concern of Mosaic legislation. Secondly, the Watchers sin by imparting forbidden knowledge to human beings. The knowledge imparted by Asael was also conducive to violence: he taught men to make swords, daggers and armor. The focus on illicit instruction is not especially biblical, let alone Mosaic (Nickelsburg has argued persuasively that the Asael material reflects the Greek myth of Prometheus²⁸). Devorah Dimant is closer to the mark when she correlates the sins of the Watchers with the Noachic prohibitions against fornication, blasphemy, sorcery, robbery, murder, and violations of animals.²⁹ These prohibitions were spelled out by the rabbis, and they are covenantal insofar as they are entailed by the covenant with Noah. But they are not Mosaic, nor are they distinctively Israelite commandments. They do not “refer generally to transgression of biblical commandments”, although they may occasionally coincide with them. The frame of reference here is explicitly pre-Mosaic, and relates to issues of concern to humanity at large, not just to Israel.

27. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, p. 349.

28. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, pp. 192–193.

29. D. Dimant, “1 Enoch 6–11: A Methodological Perspective”, in P. J. Achtemeier (ed.), *Seminar Papers of the Society of Biblical Literature*, 2 vols., Missoula, MT 1978, vol. 1, p. 328.

Allusions to the Noachic covenant have also been recognized in the post-diluvian blessings of 1 Enoch 10:17–19 (cf. Gen. 8:22–9:1), by Paul Hanson.³⁰ Hanson goes on:

There is a second manifestation of the mythic extension of the primordial drama to encompass all of history, inasmuch as 1 Enoch 11:1 refers to the blessings of the covenant in Deut. 28:12 and announces that the very blessings which the building of the second temple under the high priest Joshua and the Davidic king Zerubbabel was unable to inaugurate (Hag. 2:6–9) would be showered from heaven in the final chapter of the divine drama.³¹

Siam Bhayro has inferred that the understanding of the eschaton here is derived from the Mosaic covenant, and has further argued that there is an implicit criticism of the Second Temple.³² There may indeed be an expression of dissatisfaction with the accomplishments of the Second Temple, but the context is no longer that of the covenant between God and Israel. Rather, as Hanson observes, “we witness a harsh tearing of all earlier heilsgeschichtliche schemata in the service of a radical remythologization of Israel’s perception of divine activity”.³³ There is still a place within this framework for a special people (cf. “the plant of righteousness and truth” in 10:16), but while the framework is covenantal, it is cosmic rather than national, and so it differs significantly in emphasis from what we find in Deuteronomy.

Again, Mark Elliott, in a thematic study that draws indiscriminately from a wide range of Second Temple sources, regards the punishment of the stars in 1 Enoch 18 as covenantal, because they are said to transgress the command of the Lord (1 Enoch 18:15; compare 21:4–6).³⁴ But the commandments that regulate the movements of the heavenly bodies are not those given to Moses on Mt. Sinai. Here again, while the Book of the

30. P. D. Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven, Azazel, and the Euhemeristic Heroes in 1 Enoch 6–11”, *JBL* 96 (1977), p. 202.

31. *Ibid.*

32. S. Bhayro, *The Shemihazah and Asael Narrative of 1 Enoch 6–11*, AOAT 322, Münster 2005, pp. 36–37.

33. Hanson, “Rebellion in Heaven”, p. 202.

34. Elliott, *The Survivors of Israel*, p. 432.

Watchers assumes a covenantal relationship between God and creation, this is not automatically to be identified with the Mosaic covenant between God and Israel, as Elliott too hastily assumes.

2. The violation of priestly laws?

The authority of Mosaic law is also an issue in the discussion of the relation of the early Enoch literature to the Jerusalem priesthood. In an influential article, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest”, published in 1979, David Suter argued that at least some parts of 1 Enoch 6–16 constitute a polemic against the Jerusalem priesthood.³⁵ He focused on traces, in 1 Enoch 6–16, of halakhoth related to the priestly marriage rules in Leviticus 21:13–15. In his view, the concern that the angels defiled themselves with women and blood reflects a halakhic or legal concern. He continues:

The suspicion of a halakhic interest behind the narrative is further strengthened when the Greek version of 1 En. 10:9 makes it clear that the giants are thought of as mamzerim, offspring of a marriage contracted beyond the legitimate degrees of matrimony. It would appear that a sociological code – the halakhic marriage rules – is being used to express the chaos that results when the cosmic order is violated by the marriages of angels with women.³⁶

In light of the criticism of the Jerusalem priesthood in other literature from the period, primarily the Testament of Levi and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Suter argued that the polemic of the Book of the Watchers was directed against priests who polluted their seed by entering into marriage beyond the circle of the priesthood and certain families of the laity.³⁷ Recently, Martha Himmelfarb has made this argument more specific by arguing that the polemic is directed against priests who marry Jewish women from non-priestly families.³⁸ The argument that the Book of the

35. D. Suter, “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest: The Problem of Family Purity in 1 Enoch 6–16”, *HUCA* 50 (1979), pp. 115–135; idem, “Revisiting ‘Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest’”, in Boccaccini (ed.), *The Origins of Enochic Judaism, Henoch 24* (2002), pp. 137–142.

36. “Fallen Angel, Fallen Priest”, p. 119.

37. Ibid., pp. 122–123.

38. M. Himmelfarb, “Levi, Phinehas, and the Problem of Intermarriage at the Time

Watchers is addressing priests gains some force from the observation that heaven in the Book of the Watchers is set up as a temple.³⁹ Moreover, Enoch ascends to heaven to intercede for the Watchers. He is told to tell them that “you should intercede for men, not men for you” (1 Enoch 15:2). Intercession is a priestly function.

There is, however, some difficulty in the view that the Enochic passage is a critique of the Jerusalem priesthood. The sin of the Watchers did not lie in making inappropriate marriages, with women who were not virgins or were not from priestly families, but in marrying women of flesh and blood at all. If this passage was indeed a critique of the Jerusalem priesthood, the critique would seem to be directed, not against improper marriages, but against marriage at all, in favor of celibacy. The primary contrasts in the Book of the Watchers are between Enoch and the Watchers, between heaven and earth, between the angelic life in heaven, to which Enoch ascends, and the life of flesh and blood, and impurity, to which the Watchers descend.⁴⁰ Concern for purity is certainly an issue here, but it is not so obvious that the author is concerned with Levitical rules for priestly marriage. It is noteworthy that Enoch is not called a priest, but a scribe, even though he undertakes the priestly task of intercession.⁴¹ Scribes were often priests,⁴² but not necessarily always, and the choice of designation is surely significant. The text seems to hold up an ideal of holiness, analogous to angelic life, that is attainable by

of the Maccabean Revolt”, *JSQ* 6 (1999), pp. 1–24 (12). Her argument depends in part on her interpretation of 4QMMT B 80–82 as prohibiting marriage between priests and non-priestly families.

39. See especially M. Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven in Jewish and Christian Apocalypses*, Oxford 1993, pp. 14–16.
40. See my essays, “Theology and Identity in the Early Enoch Literature”, in Boccaccini (ed.), *The Origins of Enochic Judaism*, pp. 57–62; and “Ethos and Identity in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature”, in M. Konradt & U. Steinert (eds.), *Ethos und Identität. Einheit und Vielfalt des Judentums in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Paderborn 2002, pp. 51–65.
41. L. Carlsson, *Round Trips to Heaven: Otherworldly Travelers in Early Judaism and Christianity*, Lund Studies in History of Religions 19, Lund 2004, p. 43, goes so far as to say that Enoch takes on the role of High Priest because he enters the Holy of Holies.
42. As emphasized by Himmelfarb, *Ascent to Heaven*, pp. 24–25.

human beings, not just by priests. In this it may well be a forerunner of the ideal of “men as angels” that we find in the Dead Sea Scrolls.⁴³ Priests, in Jerusalem or elsewhere, might be criticized for failing to live up to that ideal, but it is not so clear that the text is referring to the priestly marriage laws of Leviticus.

The Levitical laws have been invoked as providing the background of another section of 1 Enoch by David Bryan.⁴⁴ Bryan observes that in the Animal Apocalypse “the seer, in building upon the traditional Old Testament picture of Israel under attack from wild animals and birds, brings in other creatures, which were not used in the Old Testament to represent historical figures”.⁴⁵ Several of these animals are regarded as unclean in Leviticus 11 and Deuteronomy 14: the wild boar, rock-hyrax, ostrich, kite, eagle, raven. These unclean creatures are only used to symbolize the offspring of the Watchers and Gentile nations. Bryan contends that “these observations are best explained by regarding the seer as one whose mentality was shaped and fully governed by the world-view and inherent symbolism of the kosher rules”.⁴⁶ In view of the setting of this apocalypse around the time of the Maccabean revolt, such an inference is not implausible. But here again the correspondences with the Mosaic Torah are allusive rather than prescriptive. Impurity is indeed an issue in the Animal Apocalypse, where the author complains that the offerings in the rebuilt temple after the Exile were unclean (1 Enoch 89:73). But while he complains in general terms of the blindness of Israel and the violence of the Gentiles, he does not complain about the violation of Levitical commandments in dietary habits. There is certainly an engagement with the history of Israel in the Animal Apocalypse (and also in the Apocalypse of Weeks) that was lacking in the Book of the Watchers. 1 Enoch 89:29–35 summarizes the Sinai narrative in Exodus. Yet, as Nickelsburg has observed, “in keeping with 1 Enoch’s general

43. D. Dimant, “Men as Angels: The Self-Image of the Qumran Community”, in A. Berlin (ed.), *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East*, Bethesda, MD 1996, pp. 93–103.

44. D. Bryan, *Cosmos, Chaos and the Kosher Mentality*, JSPSup 12, Sheffield 1995.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

silence on the Torah, the giving of the Law is not mentioned”.⁴⁷ The author surely knew of the giving of the Law, and there is no polemic against it (Moses, like Noah, is an animal that becomes a man [89:36], which probably means that he is exalted to an angelic state). But even here the Torah is not made the explicit criterion by which righteous behavior is judged.

3. The “referential background” of 1 Enoch 1–5

The same is true of 1 Enoch 1–5, despite the widespread acceptance of Hartman’s covenantal interpretation of these chapters. 1 Enoch 2–5 considers the workings of heaven and earth, how “all his works serve him, and do not change, but as God has decreed, so everything is done”. This is contrasted with the performance of human beings, who are told: “But you have not persevered, nor observed the law of the Lord. But you have transgressed, and have spoken proud and hard words with your unclean mouth against his majesty”. Consequently, the name of the wicked will be a curse, while “for the chosen there will be light and joy and peace, and they will inherit the earth” (1 Enoch 5:1–7). Hartman comments that “there can be no doubt that 1 En. 5:4–9 is carried by the idea of the blessing of the elect and its reverse, the curse of the wicked. Furthermore, this idea is elaborated in a way that brings to one’s mind the paraphrases of the Aaronic benediction in Nu. 6 in the Qumran covenant ritual as well as Rabbinic expositions”.⁴⁸ He finds another “marker”, or indicator of the referential background of the text, in the location of the theophany for judgment on Mt. Sinai, the site of the Mosaic covenant-making.⁴⁹ He acknowledges the potential objection “that the language used may have a cultic background or a cultic origin, but that this background may not be a directly ‘referential’ one which, as such, colors the understanding of the text”. He counters this objection by contending that “it is precisely those texts which show the greatest similarities to 1 En. 1–5 in terms of terminology and motifs, viz., the Jub. and the Qumran examples, that are

47. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, p. 380; cf. VanderKam, *The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch*, pp. 142, 145–146.

48. Hartman, *Asking for a Meaning*, p. 71.

49. Ibid., p. 123

also the ones which represent people for whom the covenant celebration has demonstratively played a decisive role”.⁵⁰ It seems to me, however, that Hartman is mistaking the *reference* of the text for its *sense*, and interpreting the text on the basis of other uses of its language rather than on the basis of its own syntax and logic. The language of the blessing of the elect may reflect that of the priestly benediction in Numbers, but it is transposed here. The referential background in 1 Enoch 2–5 is quite explicit: it is the order of nature that provides the foil. This background has plenty of biblical resonance (compare Isaiah 1:3, “the ox knows its owner...” or Jer. 8:7, “even the stork in the heavens knows its times...”) but it is not especially Mosaic. Again, a mere reference to Sinai does not in itself establish a reference to covenantal law-making. Sinai was the mountain of theophany long before it was associated with the giving of the Law. In Deut. 33:2, “the Lord came from Sinai, and dawned from Seir upon us”. 1 Enoch 1:3–4 modifies this scenario: “The Holy and Great One will come out of his dwelling, and the eternal God will tread from there upon Mt. Sinai, and he will appear with his host, and will appear in the strength of his power from heaven”. The modification is significant. Sinai is not the ultimate source of revelation. Nothing is said here of the giving of the Law. Andreas Bedenbender has argued that “wo aber der Sinai ist, wird das mosaische Gesetz, die Tora, nicht weit sein”,⁵¹ and he regards chapters 1–5 as a “Mosaisierung” of the Book of the Watchers.⁵² In 1 Enoch 5:4 we find a reference to “the law of the Lord” without qualification. The context, however, suggests that this is the law of creation, or of nature, rather than the specific commandments given to Moses on Mt. Sinai. Of course the two may be viewed as compatible; the law emanating from Sinai may be viewed as a formulation of the law of nature, as appears to be the case in Ben Sira 24 and in Philo.⁵³ But unlike Ben Sira or Philo, the Enochic writings do not mention the Mosaic Torah

50. Ibid., p. 124.

51. Bedenbender, *Der Gott der Welt*, p. 228.

52. Ibid., p. 215.

53. Compare the discussion of Philo by H. Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup 77, Leiden 2003, pp. 129–130: “The unwritten Law of Nature is *embodied* by written Mosaic Law”.

explicitly and do not emphasize the distinctively Mosaic laws designed for Israel.

A distinct form of Judaism?

The fact remains, of course, that the “chosen righteous from the chosen plant of righteousness”, or the elect group envisioned in 1 Enoch, constituted a Jewish sect. (I think the tendency to speak of Judaisms, in the plural, is unfortunate. Judaism is what all varieties of Judaism have in common.) They understood themselves as descendants of Abraham, the chosen plant of righteousness. In the Animal Apocalypse, and in the Apocalypse of Weeks, it is quite clear that they are an offshoot of historic Israel. Yet, as George Nickelsburg has observed, the only *explicit* reference to the Sinai covenant appears in the Apocalypse of Weeks in 1 Enoch 93:6, which says that “a covenant for all generations and a tabernacle” will be made in the fourth week. The Animal Apocalypse, in contrast, which clearly knows the story of the Exodus, refers to the ascent of Moses on Mt. Sinai (“and that sheep went up to the summit of a high rock”) but conspicuously fails to mention either the making of a covenant or the giving of the law. At no point is there any polemic against the Mosaic Torah, but it is never the explicit frame of reference. In this respect, the Enochic literature stands in striking contrast to Jubilees, which retells the stories of Genesis from a distinctly Mosaic perspective, with explicit halachic interests.⁵⁴ The revelation to Enoch is anterior to that of Moses and in no way subordinated to it. As Nickelsburg has argued, “the general category of covenant was not important for these authors”.⁵⁵ The word is rare. To quote Nickelsburg again:

In short, the heart of the religion of 1 Enoch juxtaposes election, revealed wisdom, the right and wrong ways to respond to this wisdom, and God’s rewards and punishments for this conduct. Although all the components of ‘covenantal nomism’ are present in this scheme, the word *covenant* rarely appears and Enoch takes

54. Compare the reflections of VanderKam, “The Interpretation of Genesis in 1 Enoch”, pp. 142–143.

55. Nickelsburg, “Enochic Wisdom”, p. 125.

the place of Moses as the mediator of revelation. In addition, the presentation of this religion is dominated by a notion of revelation – the claim that the books of Enoch are the embodiment of God’s wisdom, which was received in primordial times and is being revealed in the eschaton to God’s chosen ones.⁵⁶

The understanding of the relationship between the elect and God may be covenantal, in the sense that it is based on laws which entail reward or punishment as their consequences, but it is not based on the Mosaic covenant, which was so widely accepted as the foundation of Jewish religion in the Hellenistic period.

It is often argued that the reason that 1 Enoch is not specifically Mosaic is simply a reflection of its pseudepigraphic setting in the pre-diluvian period. But the choice of pseudonym and setting is not incidental. By choosing to attribute vital revelation to a figure who lived long before Moses, long before the emergence of Israel as a people, the authors of the Enoch literature chose to identify the core revelation, and the criteria for judgment, with creation, or the order of nature as they understood it, rather than with anything distinctively Israelite.

The idea of a movement within Judaism that is not centered on the Mosaic Torah may seem anomalous in the context of the Hellenistic age, but it was not without precedent. The biblical wisdom literature is distinguished precisely by its lack of explicit reference to either the Mosaic Torah or the history of Israel, and it retains this character as late as the book of Qoheleth, which may be roughly contemporary with the early Enoch literature. The Book of Ben Sira, which is close to the early Enoch literature in date, professes that all wisdom is the book of the covenant of the Most High. But Ben Sira remains a wisdom book rather than an exposition of the Torah. It pays no attention to the purity laws of Leviticus, and it sometimes adapts biblical narratives in surprising ways, most notably in its references to the creation stories.⁵⁷ 4QInstruction, a relatively early wisdom book found at Qumran, which has many points of contact with the Enoch literature, clearly reflects knowledge of the Torah

56. Ibid., p. 129.

57. See J. J. Collins *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age*, OTL, Louisville 1997, pp. 42–61.

at several points. Nonetheless, the Torah is not thematized there, as it is in Ben Sira, and the primary guides to wisdom appear to be the mysterious “vision of Hagi” and the teaching about “the mystery to come” that is transmitted by parents to their children.⁵⁸ Judaism in the early second century BCE was not uniformly Torah centered, even among those who were familiar with the Torah and respected it as one source of wisdom among others.

I would agree then, with Boccaccini and others, that the Enoch literature reflects a distinctive form of Judaism in the late third/early second centuries BCE. The distinguishing marks of this form of Judaism were not only the explanation of the origin of evil by the myth of the Watchers, but the invocation of the pre-diluvian Enoch rather than Moses as the revealer of essential wisdom, and the view that angelic life was the ultimate ideal for humanity. Whether the authors of this literature were dissident priests is not so clear. Their interest in the calendar is congenial to such an hypothesis, the Book of the Watchers is certainly interested in the heavenly temple, and the Animal Apocalypse is explicitly critical of the Second Temple. Nonetheless, the failure to characterize Enoch as a priest would be remarkable if the movement were indeed priestly.

The relation of the authors of the Enoch literature to the sectarian movement that produced the Dead Sea Scrolls is more complicated. There is no doubt that the Enochic writings helped shape the worldview of that sect.⁵⁹ But there is also no doubt whatever of the centrality of the Mosaic Torah in the sectarian scrolls. Boccaccini supposes that “Enochic Judaism” was the parent movement from which “the Qumran community” split off. Others have supposed that this parent movement is

58. See the essays in J. J. Collins, G. E. Sterling & R. A. Clements (eds.), *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 51, Leiden 2004. Note especially the essay by L. H. Schiffman, “Halakhic Elements in the Sapiential Texts from Qumran”, *ibid.*, pp. 89–100, on the very limited use of legal material. See also M. J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, STDJ 50, Leiden 2003, p. 225, with reference to 4QInstruction: “It uses the Torah without invoking it as a source of authority”.
59. See my discussion in *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, London 1997, pp. 12–29 and *passim*.

reflected in the oldest strata of the Damascus Document.⁶⁰ This hypothesis has its own problems, but for the present I would note that even the hypothetically early strata of CD are thoroughly halachic and Mosaic. Enoch is never invoked as an authority figure in the sectarian scrolls, and while the myth of the Watchers is cited in CD 2:18, it does not serve as the paradigmatic story of the origin of evil for the sect.⁶¹ The sect known from the Scrolls is Mosaic, not Enochic, in any phase of its existence that can be reconstructed from the Scrolls. In light of this, it seems far too simple to identify the tradents of the Enoch literature with the parent group of the sect, and I see no basis whatever for identifying them as “Essenes”.⁶² But the people who produced the Enoch literature did represent a distinctive form of Judaism, and their writings were among several sources that helped shape the worldview of the sectarians known from the Dead Sea Scrolls.

60. P. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the 'Damascus Document'*, JSOTSup 25, Sheffield 1982; Ch. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Traditions and Redaction*, STDJ 29, Leiden, 1998.
61. See my essay, “The Origin of Evil in Apocalyptic Literature and the Dead Sea Scrolls”, in John J. Collins, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages in Hellenistic-Roman Judaism*, JSJSup 54, Leiden 1997, pp. 288–299.
62. See my essay “Enoch, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the Essenes: Groups and Movements in Judaism in the Early Second Century B.C.E.”, in Boccaccini (ed.), *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, pp. 345–350.

Law, History, and Narrative in the Damascus Document

Steven D. Fraade

Introduction

The question of the intersection of law and narrative has long preoccupied scholars of the Hebrew Bible and of rabbinic literature, and more recently of such Second Temple period texts as the Book of Jubilees. It has also been a perennial subject of interest among scholars of law, literature, and culture much more broadly. Although law and narrative are commonly the preoccupations of separate specialties of scholarly inquiry, all too often in limited communication with one another, legal discourse frequently is deeply embedded in and dependent upon narrative structures and rhetoric, while the stories that cultures tell of themselves, especially of their origins and histories, are profoundly implicated in their legal values and institutions.¹ With a few important exceptions, the inter-relation between legal and narrative modes of rhetoric in the Dead Sea Scrolls has received little attention, with an

- * It is an honor to contribute this essay in tribute to Devorah Dimant, who, among her many works on the Dead Sea Scrolls, has illumined the place of Scripture in the Damascus Document. This essay began as a paper at the Qumran Section of the Society of Biblical Literature Annual Meeting, in Philadelphia, November 2005. My thanks to the conveners of that session for the opportunity to give it a test run, and to the other panelists and the audience for their responses. The following colleagues generously read and commented on a penultimate version: John Collins, Maxine Grossman, Charlotte Hempel, Martin Jaffee, David Lambert, Hindy Najman, Adiel Schremer, and Aharon Shemesh.
- 1. For a fuller treatment of this interrelation, with many more examples from ancient Jewish literature and with references to recent scholarship, see S. D. Fraade, "Nomos and Narrative Before *Nomos and Narrative*", *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 17 (2005), pp. 81–96.

Meghillot 5–6 (2008), pp. *35–*55

implicit division of labor between the two among scholars of the scrolls.

Why is the Damascus Document a good place to begin such an inquiry? First, it is emblematic of the problematic division of scholarly attentions between law and narrative. Although the Cairo Damascus Document (CD) is roughly divided in halves between the opening Admonition (CD 1–8, 19–20) – which depends heavily on narrative accounts of Israel's and the sect's past – and its Laws (CD 15–16, 9–14), with the addition of the 4QD materials that division is estimated to be one-third Admonition and two-thirds Laws, with several passages occupying a gray area between the two. Nevertheless, scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls, again with important exceptions, have focused much more on the Admonition than on the Laws, in part because of their preoccupation with the possible value of the former for reconstructing the origins and history of the Qumran community, and in part due to the greater interest of Christian scholars in matters of religious belief than in religious law. In fact, some translations and commentaries to CD have treated the Admonition in complete isolation from the Laws, something that would be harder to justify now that the 4QD legal materials have been published.² Even the commonly used titles for the scroll, and hence its implicit characterization, as the Damascus Document and, before that, the Zadokite Fragments, derive from the terms “Damascus” and “Zadok” that occur in the Admonition but never in the Laws.³ Now that we have the opening and closing sections of the Damascus Document from 4QD (what would we not give for the opening and closing sections of some other scrolls!), as well as much more of its central legal contents, it is clear that a more fitting title

2. See, for example, M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, Cambridge 1987; Ph. R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the “Damascus Document”*, JSOTSup 25, Sheffield 1983; both entirely omit the Laws from their translations of and commentaries to the Damascus Document. On the history of neglect of the Laws, see C. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 1, Sheffield 2000, pp. 71–74.
3. For דמשק, see CD 6:5, 19; 7:15, 19; 8:21; 19:34; 20:12; 4Q266 3 iii 20 (= CD 6:19). For צדוק, see CD 4:1, 3; 5:5; 4Q266 5 i 16 (a bridge between the Admonition and the Laws; see Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, p. 34).

(and characterization) would be פרוש המשפטים, “the elaboration of the laws”.⁴

However, in the corrective characterization of the Damascus Document as primarily a legal text, it would be a mistake, it seems to me, simply to relegate the Admonition to the status of a hortatory “introduction” or “preface” to its corpus of Laws, as some have done.⁵ Just as scholars have invested fruitful labors in the redactional and source-critical analysis of the composite Admonition on the one hand and of the composite Laws on the other (albeit with limited historical conclusions of consensus), it is now time to ask how these two sections function *performatively* in relation to one another within the document as a whole.⁶

4. For this phrase, see the opening section, 4Q266 1 a–b 1 (restored; see *DJD* 18:31–32); the concluding section, 4Q266 11 18 (=4Q270 7 ii 12; 4Q269 16 16–17 [restored]; see comment in *DJD* 18:78); as well as CD 14:18 (par. 4Q266 10 i 11–12; 4Q269 11 i 1–2), referring to the preceding rules for those “dwelling in camps”.
5. For this characterization, see J. M. Baumgarten & D. R. Schwartz in J. H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 2: Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents*, Tübingen & Louisville 1995, pp. 5, 61; J. M. Baumgarten, “Damascus Document”, in L. H. Schiffman & J. C. VanderKam (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Oxford & New York 2000, vol. 1, p. 167; idem, “The Laws of the *Damascus Document* in Current Research”, in M. Broshi (ed.), *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, Jerusalem 1992, pp. 52, 55; M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, Cambridge 1987, p. 15.
6. A similar appeal for an integrative approach to the Admonition and Laws is made by C. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, pp. 52–53, 88; idem, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Traditions and Redaction*, STDJ 29, Leiden 1998, p. 192. The term “performative” is used here and below to denote how texts actively and transformatively engage their audiences in the process of conveying meaning and cultivating identity. See further, S. D. Fraade, *From Tradition to Commentary: Torah and its Interpretation in the Midrash Sifre to Deuteronomy*, Albany 1991, pp. 13–14, 183 n. 46. With respect to the Dead Sea Scrolls, see, most recently, M. L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study*, STDJ 45, Leiden 2002; C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52, Leiden 2004. On the Damascus Document in particular, see M. L. Grossman, “Cultivating Identity: Textual Virtuosity and ‘Insider’ Status”, in F. García Martínez (ed.), *Defining Identities: We, You, and the Others in the Dead Sea*

The laws of the Damascus Document may be said to have been extracted from some antecedent source or sources so as to be reorganized according to legal topical rubrics (סרכים). But they have also been renarrativized according to the historical self-understanding of the Qumran community as expressed in the Admonition, together with what we now know to have been the concluding section of the Damascus Document (to which we will shortly turn). In this regard, it might be argued that the Damascus Document is both a latter-day Book of Deuteronomy (on which it might be structurally modeled) and an antecedent to the Mishnah of Rabbi Judah the Patriarch.⁷ As space does not allow a full explication of the text in support of this thesis, let me offer a few salient exemplifications.

Beginning and End

The 4QD evidence for the beginning and end of the Damascus Document will inform our understanding of the document as a whole. Although the opening of the document, as preserved in 4Q266 1 i – 2 i and parallels, is fragmentary (including the hint of a collective prayer for knowledge⁸), the words that have been preserved allow us to make out several themes that will recycle throughout the Admonition and that are illuminated by the Laws. The Maskil (restored), or wise leader, reveals to the sons of light what is otherwise hidden from humankind: the ways of wickedness from which they must separate themselves; the commandments according to which the righteous must live and which the wicked ignore, subvert and

Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Groningen, 2004, STDJ, Leiden 2007.

7. On this broader pattern of legal extraction, redaction, and renarrativization, see S. D. Fraade, "Nomos and Narrative Before *Nomos and Narrative*". I am told that in an unpublished paper, entitled "The Damascus Document: A Historiosophic Theology or a Book of Laws?" (Third Orion International Symposium: The Damascus Document, A Centennial of Discovery, 4–8 February 1998, the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel), Moshe David Herr argued similarly for the modeling of the Damascus Document after the Book of Deuteronomy.
8. See 4Q266 1 19; par. 4Q267 1 1: ...הודיענו נא.

slander; the divinely fixed “appointed times” (מועדים) in history for the visitations of punishment of the wicked and the favoring of the righteous. Thus, from the very beginning of the text what is vouchsafed to the elect alone, what defines them over against their opposites, is their knowledge of the divine orchestration of history and of the commandments according to which they are to conduct themselves if they are to reap blessings:

He ordained a period of wrath for a people that knows him not, and he established times of favour for those that seek his commandments and for those that walk on the path of integrity. And he uncovered their eyes to hidden things and they opened their ears and heard profundities, and they understood all that is to be before it comes upon them.⁹

However, it is the end of the document, now known from three 4QD fragments, that is even more significant for our understanding of the document as a whole, and for its performative social setting. Following the corpus of laws, both for the “cities of Israel” and for those “dwelling in camps” (CD 12:19, 22–23) as well as a penal code for the latter, we find a ceremony for the expulsion of retrograde members in conjunction with an annual communal ceremony for the renewal of the covenant in the third month, presumably in conjunction with the Festival of Weeks (שבועות) on the fifteenth day thereof.¹⁰ By all indications, this was the most important ritual and liturgical event in the annual festival cycle of the Qumran community, and one that echoes strongly in other aspects of Qumran prayer and liturgy.¹¹ Following an admonition to accept one’s

9. 4Q266 2 i 3–6; par. 4Q268 1 5–8. Translation from *DJD* 18, p. 35.

10. I have been influenced in my treatment by that of D. K. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27; Leiden 1998, pp. 230–235. For other passages dealing with the expulsion of members for failure to live according to the community’s rules, see CD 19:32 – 20:13, with which compare 1QS 6:24 – 7:25; 8:16 – 9:2. However, the 1QS expulsion does not make reference to a ritual.

11. This is emphasized by Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, esp. pp. 217–251. For the annual covenantal renewal ceremony of blessings and curses at Qumran, especially as reflected in 4QMMT, see S. D. Fraade, “Rhetoric and Hermeneutics in Miḡsat Ma’ase Ha-Torah (4QMMT):

punishment willingly, on analogy to the bringing of a sin offering or a guilt offering, with communal discipline substituting for sacrificial offerings,¹² we find the ceremony for the expulsion of “anyone who rejects these regulations (המשפטים האלה)¹³ (which are) in accordance with all the statutes (חוקים) found in the law of Moses... for his soul has despised righteous instruction (יסורי הצדק).”¹⁴ These terms presumably refer to the previously enunciated Laws. A prayer is recited by the “priest in charge over the many” (הכהן המופקד על הרבים),¹⁵ which incorporates the themes of history and law, that is, the divine giving of law in the context of Israel’s history, that runs through the Damascus Document, and whose very language echoes parts of the previous Admonition. Its words are as follows:¹⁶

Blessed are you, almighty God, in your hand is everything, and (you) make everything. You established peoples in accordance with their families and tongues for their tribes, but made them go astray in a trackless void. But our ancestors you did choose and to their descendants you gave your true statutes (חוקי אמתכה) and your holy laws (משפטי קודשכה), which if a man does them, he shall live.¹⁷ You have set boundaries (גבולות) for us and cursed those

- The Case of the Blessings and Curses”, *DSD* 10 (2003), pp. 150–161. For the ceremony in the context of the Community Rule, see C. A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, pp. 117–127.
12. 4Q266 11 1–5; par. 4Q270 7 i 15–19. For such substitution, compare 1QS 3:4–12; 5:6; 8:3–10, 16–18; 9:3–6; 1QSa 1:3; 4Q265 7 8–9. Cf. Josephus, *War* 2.144. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 232–233, 239–247.
 13. For this phrase, or אלה המשפטים (cf. Exod. 21:1), referring either to rules preceding or following, see CD 12:19; 13:22 (par. 4Q266 9 iii 14); 20:27; 4Q266 11 5–6 (par. 4Q270 7 i 19–20); 4Q270 7 i 15. Cf. פרוש המשפטים, above, n. 4. See also below, nn. 29, 42.
 14. 4Q266 11 5–7; par. 4Q270 7 i 19–21; 4Q269 16 3–5 (restored).
 15. Cf. CD 14:6–7 (par. 4Q267 9 v 10–11; 4Q268 2 2 [restored]).
 16. 4Q266 11 8–14; par. 4Q269 16 6–12 (restored). See C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, pp. 180–182.
 17. For very similar language, see the Admonition, CD 3:12–16, which recounts the *original* establishment of the covenant community. For the biblical idiom, see Lev. 18:5; Ezek. 20:11, 13, 21; Neh. 9:29.

who transgress them, for we are the people of your redemption and the flock of your pasture. You have cursed those who transgress them, but we have upheld (them).¹⁸

The expulsion ceremony concludes with the departure of the person expelled and instructions to others not to have any further dealings with him: “His case shall be inscribed in front of the Overseer (המבקר), and his judgment shall be complete (שלים משפטו).”¹⁹

The context for the judicial expulsion of individual members appears to have been the annual assembly in the “third month”, during which the

18. The above translation follows that of *DJD* 18, p. 77, with slight modification. The last phrase (ואנו הקימנו) (4Q266 11 14; par. 4Q269 16 12) is translated there incorrectly as “but you have preserved us”. It is similarly mistranslated by Florentino García Martínez (*The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. Vol. One: 1Q1–4Q273*, Leiden 1997, p. 597), as “You curse those who cross them but us you have raised up”; and by Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, Jr., and Edward Cook (*The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*, San Francisco 1996, p. 74) as “Thou hast cursed the transgressors; but Thou hast made us firm”. The verb must be *hiph’il*, perfect, first person, common of קום, with no pronominal suffix. My translation accords with those of Geza Vermes (*The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, rev. ed., London 2004, p. 155) and Charlotte Hempel (*The Laws of the Damascus Document*, pp. 176, 181), contrasting the “we” who uphold God’s laws (“boundaries”) with those who transgress them. Alternatively, some have taken the unstated object of the verb to be not the “boundaries”, but the curse against the transgressors, that is, that the community, through its expulsion of transgressors enacts God’s curse on them. Thus, Aharon Shemesh (“Expulsion and Exclusion in the Community Rule and the Damascus Document”, *DSD* 9 [2002], p. 47) renders and explains, “‘You cursed those who transgress them, and we have fulfilled...’, that is, we, through the imminent expulsion of the offender, are observing and implementing the curse that you imposed upon transgressors”; and Falk (*Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 231), who translates, “You have cursed those who transgressed them, and we effect (your judgment)”. Whether the “we” uphold the boundaries or effect the curse of those who transgress them does not change my understanding of this prayer and its import for my larger argument.
19. 4Q266 11 16. There is some uncertainty whether the subject is the one being expelled or anyone who continues to have dealings with him. I prefer the former, on the assumption that the text is broken. See Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, pp. 182–183.

community as a whole curses those who “turn aside to the right or to the left of the law”, thereby echoing Deut. 28:14, in the context of the Deuteronomic ceremony of blessings and curses.²⁰ While this annual ceremony of blessings and curses is more fully described in 1QS 1:16 – 2:18, it is more powerfully evoked in our passage at the end of the Damascus Document, in large measure through the direct articulation of the prayer recited by the Priest. In combination, the judicial ritual of expulsion and the liturgical recitation of blessings and curses serves performatively to delineate most clearly the lines that differentiate between those within the community and those without (us vs. them), and to justify the community’s elect self-understanding within history as a function of their maintaining the divinely revealed laws (boundaries), which have been revealed to them both through Moses and their own teachers. This is emphatically underscored in the concluding words of the document:

This is the elaboration of the laws (וְהוּזָה פְּרוּשׁ הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים) to be followed during the entire period of visitation, that which will be visited upon them during the periods of wrath and their journeys, for all who dwell in their camps and all who dwell in their towns. Behold it is all in accordance with the final interpretation of the Torah (הִנֵּה הַכֹּל עַל מִדְרַשׁ תּוֹרַת הָאֲחֵרִין).²¹

The foregoing is understood to contain the correct and latest elaboration of the laws, both for Israel as a whole (“who dwell in their towns”; cf. CD 12:19) and for the sectarians (“who dwell in their camps”; cf. CD 12:22–23), in accordance with which the elect community is to live during the present historical period of divine wrath, especially as it nears its consummation.²²

20. See above, n. 11.

21. 4Q466 11 18–21; 4Q270 7 ii 12–15; 4Q269 16 16–19. Translation is from *DJD* 18:77. For מִדְרַשׁ הַתּוֹרָה הָאֲחֵרִין (partly restored), see 4Q266 5 i 17. For מִדְרַשׁ הַתּוֹרָה, see CD 20:6; 1QS 8:15 (par. 4Q259 iii 6). For פְּרוּשׁ הַמִּשְׁפָּטִים, see above, n. 4. For פְּרוּשׁ הַתּוֹרָה, see CD 4:8 (par. 4Q266 3 i 2); 6:14; 13:6 (par. 4Q267 9 iv 2).

22. For the first and last laws, revealed to the community during pre-ordained times, see CD 4:6–12; 20:6–10, 30–33; 1QS 9:10b–11. On whether “the final interpretation of the Torah” is a title for the Damascus Document, or for some

Intermediary Mixes and Transitions

If we look now at some mixed and transitional passages between the editorial bookends of פרוש המשפטים, we will see that the bipartite division of the Damascus Document into separate sections of Admonition and Laws is rendered much more complex.²³ To begin with, important statements of law and legal scriptural interpretation are central to the Admonition itself, often interwoven with accounts of the community's origins, its self-understanding with respect to covenantal history, and its derision of adversaries for their legal laxity (e.g., "seekers after smooth things", "movers of boundaries"). Similarly, the section of the Admonition on the "Nets of Belial" (4:12 – 5:15) contains important rules, enunciated through scriptural exegesis, forbidding polygamy (or second marriage) (4:20 – 5:6) and niece-marriage (5:7–11), as well as condemnations of those who, through laxity with respect to sexual relations with menstruants, defile the sanctuary (5:6b–7), and, more generally, of those who spurn the "statutes of God's covenant" (5:12) (חוקי ברית אל), from whom the addressees are admonished to keep apart (5:11–15).²⁴ Furthermore, in CD 6:14b – 7:4a, following an admonishment to "all those who have been brought into the covenant" (וכל אשר הובאו בברית) not to enter the sanctuary to offer sacrifices (6:11b – 14a), we find a mini-corpus of twelve brief rules, most of whose more specific articulations are found in the section of Laws. It may be that this summary of the rules functions somewhat as does the Decalogue in Deut. 5:16–18 as part of the hortatory preamble to the laws proper.²⁵ There follows a series of promises of reward for obedience to the laws and warnings of consequences for disobedience, with a rule inserted regarding

other document from which the above laws have been taken, see *DJD* 18, p. 78. Cf. P. Mandel, "Inclusio: On the Final Section of the *Damascus Document* and Its Literary Significance" (Hebrew), *Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* 2 (2004), pp. 57–68.

23. See Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, p. 88; *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, pp. 163–170.

24. Cf. CD 20:8–13.

25. See Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, p. 169; A. D. H. Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, New Century Bible Commentary, Grand Rapids 1979, pp. 160–165.

the obligation of those who do marry and bear children to obey Torah laws regarding family relations (7:6b–9a; par. 19:1–5), followed by additional warnings of future punishment of the wicked and the community’s backsliders (7:9b – 8:21a; par. 19:5b – 20:27a). In brief, the Admonition itself contains a significant number of rules, anticipating thereby the more concentrated and expanded collection of the Laws to come. Conversely, the Laws themselves, particularly those that structure the life of the community, stress the importance of collective instruction in the detailed history (as the sect understood it) of God’s dealings with humankind:

This is the rule for the Overseer of the camp: He shall instruct the Many in the acts of God, and cause them to discern the wonder of His mighty deeds, and recount to them the happenings of eternity according to [their] interpretations.²⁶

Especially important for our understanding of the Damascus Document as a whole is the conclusion of the Admonition, according to CD (20:27b–34, with partial parallels in 4QD), which, after condemning those who have “broken the boundary of the Torah (פרצו את גבול התורה)” (20:25), blesses those who remain steadfast in their obedience of the laws, appearing just prior to the beginning of the Laws:²⁷

But all those who hold fast to these rules (כל המחזיקים במשפטים), going and coming in accordance with the Torah, who obey the teacher and confess before God, (saying): “Truly we have acted wickedly, we and our fathers, in that we have walked contrary to the statutes of the covenant, righteousness and truth are your

26. CD 13:7b–8; par. 4Q267 9 iv 3–5. The last word is פרחיה in CD 13:8, but פתריהם in 4Q267 9 iv 5. For the affinities of this passage with the Admonition, see Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, p. 119. Hempel also argues that this passage may have been inserted from another context, where it related originally to the duties of the Maskil (wise leader), rather than the Overseer (מבקר). However, in its present, redacted setting, it clearly is part of the rules for the community.
27. The 4QD parallels are very fragmentary, but extend the text slightly: 4Q266 4 i 7–13; 4Q267 3 6–7. The translation that follows, with only slight modification, is from Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, p. 75.

judgments against us”; who do not act presumptuously against his holy statutes, his righteous precepts, and his true testimonies; who have been instructed in the first rules (התיסרו במשפטים הראשונים) in which the men of the community were governed;²⁸ who obey the teacher of righteousness and do not reject the statutes of righteousness when they hear them (לא ישיבו את חוקי הצדק) – they will rejoice and be glad, and their heart will be strong, and they will triumph over all the sons of the earth, and God will make expiation for them, and they will see his salvation because they have taken refuge in his holy name.

First, it is unclear whether the expression “these rules” (המשפטים האלה) at the outset of this passage refers back to the summary of the duties of members in 6:11b – 7:4a, or forward to the collection of the Laws (CD 9–16, greatly enlarged by 4QD). Whatever its original reference, in its present redacted setting it could have been understood to refer to either or both.²⁹

The communal confession, provided as a direct quotation, is so similar to that found in 1QS 1:24–26, as part of the annual covenant renewal ceremony at the Festival of Weeks, that they must be variants on the same confessional prayer.³⁰ As we have seen, the concluding passage of the Damascus Document (from 4QD fragments), with its ceremony of expulsion, is similarly placed in the third month, and also contains a prayer, there recited by the “priest in charge”. Just as the expulsion ceremony at the end of the Damascus Document, following the Laws, could be applied to the apostate cursed at the conclusion of the covenant renewal ceremony as described in 1QS 2:11–18,³¹ so too the communal

28. On “first rules”, see above, n. 22.

29. See Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, p. 76. Compare ואלה החוקים למשכיל in 4Q266 5 i 17, in another transitional passage before the Laws, which could also point either back or forward. Similarly, see CD 12:20–21 for the same phrase in a transition between sets of laws. See below, n. 42, as well as above, nn. 4, 13.

30. See Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 226–230.

31. See *ibid.*, p. 234: “That this ritual [of expulsion] occurs at the end of the covenant ceremony as described in 1QS 1–2 and appears at the end of the *Damascus*

confession of CD, just prior to the Laws, could have been appropriately recited as part of that same ceremony, just prior to the expanded priestly blessing. Thus, the Laws of the Damascus Document are bracketed by two liturgical invocations of the annual ceremony of covenant renewal, in which new members were admitted, continuing members were promoted or demoted, and retrograde members were expelled. That is, the Laws are performatively preceded by the confession and blessing of the elect, and followed by the cursing and expulsion of the errant. In light of similar themes that run throughout the Admonition, beginning with its repeated rehearsal of the origins and history of the community's covenantal place within Israel's sacred narrative, the Damascus Document as a whole, especially its overall structure, takes on meaning in relation to the covenant ceremony, to which its parts could easily have provided elements of the liturgical "script", even as the covenant ceremony itself varied over time. As Daniel Falk has argued:

In CD, the confession comes at the end of a lengthy Admonition, during which God's deeds in the past and the sins of Israel were recounted, judgment was pronounced upon outsiders and backsliders, and blessing called upon those who "hold fast to these judgments" and confessed their sins. Since the excommunication ritual described at the end of the *Damascus Document*.. was explicitly intended for an annual covenant ceremony in the third month, and since the covenant ceremony in the *Community Rule* also probably took place during the Feast of Weeks following the calendar of *Jubilees*, it may be concluded that the confession of the *Damascus Document* is a variant of the one in 1QS and was recited in the course of a Feast of Weeks covenant ceremony. That is, the context of the *Damascus Document* is not a description of a ceremony as in the *Community Rule*; rather, it is an allusion to it which appears in the course of an exhortation for the purpose of recalling the members to the initial act whereby they entered the covenant.³²

Document adds a measure of support to the theory that the *Damascus Document* reflects in some way the structure of the covenant ceremony".

32. Ibid., p. 228.

Falk stresses that the very *structure* of the Damascus Document as a whole, with all of its variations between different recensions, “reflects in some way the structure of the covenant ceremony”.³³

There is one other aspect of the concluding passage to the Admonition in CD that I wish to emphasize. In contrast to the cursed who have not only disobeyed, but reviled the rules, those to be blessed do not only obey the rules, but they have been receptive to being “instructed in the first rules” (CD 20:31), and “do not reject the statutes of righteousness when they hear them” (CD 20:32–33; par. 4Q266 4 7). The emphasis here on collective *hearing* of the laws suggests that the annual covenant-renewal ceremony comprised not only the public recitation of history, confession, blessings, curses, and expulsion, but also the reading and perhaps study of *חקי הברית* and *משפטי צדקו*, in other words, the ritualization of both law and legal study as part of the community’s performative reaffirmation of its covenantal bonds and identity. Those rules could have been selectively drawn, at least in part, from the Laws of the Damascus Document for recitation and possibly instruction in the annual ritual of covenantal reenactment.³⁴ Thus, as Michael Knibb comments here: “Perhaps [this is] an allusion to the solemn recital of the laws at ceremonies of the movement, for example the ceremony for the renewal of the covenant”.³⁵

This suggests that the section of Laws, whatever its origins and redactional history, whether as a whole or in its parts, be viewed in relation to, and not apart from, the larger structure and function of the Damascus Document, and that the Laws themselves functioned not just juridically, but also (if not mainly) pedagogically and liturgically, that is rhetorically and performatively, in a particular social setting. I will return to some specific implications of this suggestion below, but I should here

33. Ibid., p. 234.

34. On the ritualization of reading and study at Qumran, see S. D. Fraade, “Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran”, *JJS* 44 (1993), pp. 46–69, esp. 56–58. Such study may also have been a component in the examination of the members for promotion or demotion within the communal ranks. See 1QS 5:23–24, where each member is examined “every year” for “his spirit and his works [in Torah]”. It is likely that “every year” (*שנה בשנה*) refers to an annual occasion. See Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, p. 114. Cf. 1QS 6:22.

35. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, p. 76, also p. 14.

stress that I am saying neither that the Laws of the Damascus Document were the only ones studied on the occasion of the annual covenant renewal ceremony (I have previously suggested this as a possible context for the use of 4QMMT³⁶), nor that this would have been the only time or context in which the Laws of the Damascus Document would have been read or studied.³⁷ However, I would agree with Falk³⁸ that when the Damascus Document was read or studied on other occasions, it would have functioned as a reminder, even a re-enactment, for its audience of their original entry and annual reconfirmation into the covenant.

Mention should first be made of another section of the Damascus Document, newly known from 4QD, and dubbed a “Catalogue of Transgressions”, which its editors place after CD 20 but before the Laws, that is, as a transition between the Admonition and the Laws.³⁹

36. See S. D. Fraade, “To Whom It May Concern: 4QMMT and Its Addressee(s)”, *RevQ* 19 (2000), pp. 507–526; idem, “Rhetoric and Hermeneutics in Miḡsat Ma‘aše Ha-Torah (4QMMT): The Case of the Blessings and Curses”, *DSD* 10 (2003), pp. 150–161. For strong affinities between the laws of the Damascus Document and those of 4QMMT, see C. Hempel, “The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT”, in J. M. Baumgarten, E. G. Chazon & A. Pinnick (eds.), *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center, 4–8 February, 1998*, *STDJ* 34, Leiden 2000, pp. 69–84.
37. Another context could have been the nightly study sessions described in 1QS 6:6–8 (לדריש משפט). The fact that the Damascus Document refers only obliquely to the context of its performative use is not an obstacle to my suggestion. Note Jeffrey Tigay’s comment on the covenant ceremony of Deut. 29:9–20 (*The JPS Commentary: Deuteronomy*, Philadelphia 1996, p. 277): “Moses has alluded to this ceremony before..., but we do not know precisely when it took place or of what it consisted, since the text never actually narrates it. Other covenant texts from the ancient Near East likewise allude to ceremonies without narrating the actual performance of the agreement”. Thus, parts of the Damascus Document could have provided partial scripts for use as part of the annual ceremony of covenant renewal, without the text as a whole having been a unified narrative script for that ceremony. I will return to this in my conclusions regarding the Damascus Document as an “anthology”.
38. Falk, *Daily, Sabbath and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 228, cited above (n. 32).
39. 4Q270 2 i 9 – ii 21; 6Q15 5 1–5.

However, this has led to some debate as to whether this “Catalogue of Transgressions” should be considered to form part of the Admonition or part of the Laws, since it could be considered akin to the warnings of the former (modeled loosely on Deut. 27), followed by a call to hearken (שמעו) that recalls similar calls earlier in the Admonition,⁴⁰ or to be the opening summary of the more fully stated rules of the latter.⁴¹ Finally, another fragmentary bridge text (4Q266 5 i 1–19; par. 4Q267 5 ii 1–7) has elements of both fish and fowl, that is, some vocabulary that is distinctive to the Admonition and other terminology that is distinctive of the Laws, pointing, as it were, in both directions.⁴²

All of this is to say that the redactional hand encountered here sought to tie the Admonition and the Laws to one another, thereby blurring any sharp demarcation between them. This suggests, to reiterate, that they need to be understood in rhetorical relation to one another, with the laws, through their recitation and study, serving to shape and to reinforce as much identity as practice.

A Legal-Historical Case

What are the legal-historical implications of such a rhetorical and performative view of the Laws of the Damascus Document? Space allows me to deal with one case only, and that briefly. As is well known, the sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls portray a community that, in severe criticism of the practices and impurities of the Jerusalem Temple and its priests, has separated itself from participation in its sacrificial rites.⁴³ However, at

40. 4Q270 2 ii 19; cf. CD 1:1; 2:2, 14; 4Q266 1 a–b 5.

41. See Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, pp. 33–34; idem, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, pp. 163–70; idem, “The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT”, pp. 80–83.

42. See Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, pp. 170–174. As noted earlier (above, n. 29), the phrase *אלה החוקים למשכיל* (4Q266 5 i 17b; CD 12:20–21), like similar phrases elsewhere in transitional passages, could point either forward or back or both. See also above, n. 13.

43. See CD 6:11b–14a (par. 4Q266 3 ii 17b–19); perhaps 4Q266 11 1–5; par. 4Q270 7 i 15–19. See also above, n. 12. For the pollution of the sanctuary, see CD 4:17–18; 5:6–7; 1QpHab 12:7–9. For the Essenes, see Philo, *Prob.* 76; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.19.

several points in the Laws of the Damascus Document, rules are given that presume sacrificial worship and participation in the Temple rites.⁴⁴ To give one example, from the section that begins, “concerning the Sabbath to guard it according to its precept”:

No man on the Sabbath shall offer anything on the altar except the Sabbath burnt-offering; for it is written thus: “Except your Sabbath offerings” (Lev. 23:38). No man shall send to the altar any burnt-offering, or cereal offering or incense, or wood, by the hand of one smitten with any uncleanness, permitting him thus to defile the altar. For it is written, “The sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination, but the prayer of the just is an agreeable offering” (Prov. 15:8). No man entering the house of prostration shall come unclean and in need of washing. And at the sounding of the trumpets for assembly, he shall go there before or after, and shall not cause the whole service to stop, for it is holy.⁴⁵

For discussion of the Essenes in this regard, see J. J. Collins, “Essenes”, in *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, New York 1992, vol. 2, pp. 621–622, 624; T. S. Beall, *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Cambridge 1988, pp. 115–119; A. I. Baumgarten, “Josephus on Essene Sacrifice”, *JJS* 45 (1994), pp. 169–183, esp. 176. On attitudes toward the Temple in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Ph. R. Davies, “The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document”, *JJS* 32 (1982), pp. 287–301; J. Baumgarten, “Sacrifice and Worship Among the Jewish Sectarials of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls”, *HTR* 46 (1953), pp. 141–159; idem, “The Essenes and the Temple”, in *Studies in Qumran Law*, Leiden 1977, pp. 57–74; L. H. Schiffman, “Community Without Temple: The Qumran Community’s Withdrawal from the Jerusalem Temple”, in B. Ego, A. Lange & P. Pilhofer (eds.), *Gemeinde ohne Temple / Community without Temple: Zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum, und frühen Christentum*, Tübingen 1999, pp. 267–284; and, most recently, H. Evans Kapfer, “The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule: Attitudes toward the Temple as a Test Case”, *DSD* 14 (2007), pp. 152–177.

44. See CD 9:13–14; 11:17 – 12:1a; 16:13–17; 4Q266 5 ii 4–7, 11; 4Q266 6 ii 12–13; 4Q271 2 8.
45. CD 11.17 – 12.1a; par. 4Q266 9 i 3–4; 4Q270 6 v 20–21; 4Q271 5 i 11–17. The translation, slightly modified, is from G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, New York 1997, p. 142.

Without going into the details of this list of rules, with their explicit and implicit scriptural interpretations, and possible polemics against other positions, it is *not* necessary to assume, as is usually done, that behind them lies a community that participated in sacrificial worship, whether in the Jerusalem Temple or some other holy site. Even if the “authors” of these rules considered the Temple to be defiled, by the impurities of those who entered or served there, and even if they did not perform sacrificial worship, they would still have found it meaningful, even obligatory, to expound the rules relevant to the offering of sacrifices on the Sabbath and the proper procedures for approaching and entering the holy place of worship.⁴⁶ The usual way that scholars have approached such passages, so as to reconcile them with others that express sectarian separation from the Temple, is to historicize them, on the presumption that they must reflect actual communal sacrificial *practice*. According to this presupposition, such rules must either derive from and represent a *past* stage in the community’s history, before its separation from the Temple in Jerusalem, or they are intended for *future* “better times”, when the community will once again be able to participate in the Temple worship, or they are said to derive from *another branch* of the sectarian movement, but whatever the solution, they are *not* relevant to the *present* time of a Qumran community that did not participate in Temple worship.⁴⁷ These sorts of

46. Similarly, G. A. Anderson (“Sacrifice and Sacrificial Offerings: Old Testament”, *ABD* 5, pp. 882–886) speaks of the “scripturalization of the cult” in Second Temple and early rabbinic Judaism (especially the Temple Scroll for the former and the Mishnah for the latter), but continuing as well through present-day traditional Jewish study of the laws of sacrifice: “the movement... to transform the sacrificial system from that of a physical reality into an exegetical reality...” (p. 885), both post- and pre-70 CE.
47. For recent examples of such approaches, see Hempel, “The Damascus Texts”, p. 31 (although she is much more cautious in this regard in *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, pp. 36–38); Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, pp. 232–233; 241–242; J. M. Baumgarten & D. R. Schwartz in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, p. 7 (“the CD laws about the Temple could be meant for better times”); L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*, Philadelphia 1994, p. 282; J. M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, pp. 43–46. Even M. L. Grossman, whose *Reading for History in the Damascus*

positivist strategies will be abundantly familiar to scholars of the Mishnah, much of whose rules deal with the Temple, its priesthood, and its forms of worship some 150 years after the Second Temple's destruction in 70 CE.⁴⁸

Even if we presume that the Qumran Community at late stages in its development rejected marriage, private property, and Temple worship for its most elect members,⁴⁹ it hardly understood those practices as being outlawed by Torah law, and should not be presumed to have been any less preoccupied with the exposition of Torah laws relating to those subjects as a study practice of religious value and social meaning in its own right. Such legal expositions were no less, and perhaps much more, performatively significant in the *absence* of their practical actualization within the life of the community.⁵⁰ To take the above passage for example, the community's collective understanding and articulation of משפטים for the proper conduct of sacrificial Temple worship according to their understandings of rules of purity would have provided a powerful justification for their present *separation* from it, for their prayers as just substitutes for sacrifice,⁵¹ and for their solar festival calendar (which largely avoided the congruence of Festival and Sabbath sacrifices).⁵² In

Document: A Methodological Study offers a much-needed critique of historicist readings of the Damascus Document, understands its laws relating to sacrifice in terms of current communal practice (pp. 175–176).

48. For a long-overdue corrective, see I. Rosen-Zvi, "הגוף והמקדש: רשימות מומי, רשימות מומי, רשימות מומי," *Jewish Studies* 43 (2005–2006), pp. 49–87. For the sake of comparison, I count in the mishnaic tractate *Shabbat* twelve references to the temple, sacrifice, or priestly practice as if they were operative.
49. Note Josephus' statement (*War* 2.120–121) regarding the celibacy of the Essenes: "It is not that they abolish marriage, or the propagation of the species resulting from it". In other words, we could imagine the Essenes (whom I invoke here by way of analogy to, not necessarily identity with, the Qumran community) avoiding marriage for themselves even while expositing Torah rules for family life. Cf. CD 7:6–7; 16:10–12.
50. For study itself as a substitute for sacrificial worship, see S. D. Fraade, "Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran", pp. 63–65, 58 n. 36.
51. See above, nn. 12, 50.
52. For fuller discussion, see J. M. Baumgarten, "Halakhic Polemics in New

other words, the ritualized recitation and/or study of such rules of temple and sacrifice would have been *especially* constructive of sectarian identity when performed in a ceremony of covenant renewal in the very here and now of the Qumran community's worship as a present, but not permanent, alternative to the Temple cult.⁵³

Conclusion

I hope to have opened some doors within the walls that all too often separate the Admonition from the Laws of the Damascus Document. Rather than seeing the former as a mere preface to the latter, or the latter as a mere appendage to the former, the two are deeply implicated in one another, just as they are in what I take to be the scriptural model for the Damascus Document, the Book of Deuteronomy.⁵⁴ As in that scriptural book, the central corpus of laws is as much framed by the recitational

Fragments from Qumran Cave 4", *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984*, Jerusalem 1985, pp. 395–396; C. Werman, "CD XI:17: Apart from Your Sabbaths", in J. M. Baumgarten, E. G. Chazon & A. Pinnick (eds.), *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4–8 February, 1998*, Leiden 2000, pp. 201–212; S. D. Fraade, "מבט חדש על המדרש ההשוואתי: מגילות ים המלח ומדרשי חז"ל", in J. Levinson, Y. Elbaum & G. Hasan-Rokem (eds.) *Higayon L'Yonah: New Aspects in the Study of Midrash, Aggadah and Piyut in Honor of Professor Yonah Fraenkel*, Jerusalem 2006, pp. 261–284.

53. Others have similarly problematized the use of legal interpretations of the Damascus Document and other Qumran legal texts for the historical reconstruction of Qumran practice. See Ph. R. Davies, "Halakhah at Qumran", in Ph. R. Davies & Richard T. White (eds.), *A Tribute to Geza Vermes: Essays on Jewish and Christian Literature and History*, JSOTSup 100, Sheffield 1990, pp. 37–50; S. Metso, "In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the Community Rule", in D. W. Parry & E. Ulrich, *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*, Leiden 1999, pp. 306–315; idem, "Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History from the Rule Texts Found at Qumran", *DSD* 11 (2004), pp. 315–335.

54. See above, n. 7.

narrative of Israelite scriptural history overall, as by the performative narrative of covenant renewal.⁵⁵ With the addition of the 4QD texts to our knowledge of the narrative structure and legal contents of the Damascus Document has come a greater appreciation of the fluidity of the redacted document as a composite text.

However, I would go a step further to claim that the redacted text(s) of the Damascus Document is (are) not simply a composite *drawn from* a variety of sources, but an anthology that was *drawn upon* so as to provide performative “scripts” (along with other texts and in other contexts) for the annual covenantal-renewal ceremony, which itself would have been fluid over time.⁵⁶ This would go a long way toward understanding the obvious disjunctions within the text in its several redactional recensions. Just as the Damascus Document would have provided a variety of alternative scripts for performatively recalling sectarian origins and understandings of history, with their emphasis on diverging paths and fates of those who embraced the laws of Torah (as the sect understood them to have been revealed over time) and those who spurned them, it would have provided a selective but representative digest of topically grouped laws, both for Israel as a whole and for the community in particular, whose recitation and study would have been as rhetorically powerful in the context of covenantal renewal and reaffirmation as those of confession, expulsion, blessing, and cursing.⁵⁷

55. See above, nn. 36–37.

56. Thus, the document would have served as a “source book”, from which the Maskil, or the Overseer, or the “priest in charge” would have selected from several categories of scripts on a given occasion. This would explain why we have within the Damascus Document several historical introductions, several passages beginning with “hearken” (שמעו), several legal collections, etc. For a similar functional understanding of the anthological collections of rabbinic midrash, see D. Stern, “The Anthology and the Polysemy in Classical Midrash”, in idem (ed.), *The Anthology in Jewish Literature*, New York 2004, pp. 108–139.

57. Compare Carol Newsom’s characterization (*The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, pp. 134–136) of the select laws incorporated into the Community Rule (which similarly mixes rules with hortatory prose): “They do not serve as reference materials to be consulted for information – even in the case of contradiction readers would know what was current practice and what was not – but rather as rhetorical expressions of

I do not claim to have explained all, or even most, aspects of the structure and history of the Damascus Document, depending as I do in these regards on the monumental work of others before me. Rather, I have argued that by looking at the legal and narrative sections of the Damascus Document in rhetorical relation to one another, we gain a different (and I hope, better) understanding of each, especially when viewed in terms of the performative force of the document as a whole and the way it might have functioned as a collection of ritual scripts for sectarian covenant renewal.

important aspects of the community's ethos. These excerpts function in a way that Nelson Goodman once described as 'serving as an example of', that is, as something that *exemplifies* that to which it refers... Not only does the content of such excerpts influence the one who immerses himself in them, but also the formal and aesthetic features that are part of the sample. These various sections are textual samples of the community's life, values, and ethos" (p. 135). Of course, there are several scriptural antecedents for the reading and teaching of Torah laws in the context of covenantal renewal or reaffirmation, which presumably would have involved selections from a larger body of legal traditions: Exod. 24:3–8; Deut. 31:9–13 (especially as rabbinically imagined in *m. Soṭah* 7:8 [with manuscript variants]; *m. Soṭah* 7:17); Josh. 8:30–35; 2 Kgs. 23:1–3; Neh. 8; 2 Chron. 17:7–9.

“The place which He has chosen” The Identification of the Cult Place of Deut. 12 and Lev. 17 in 4QMMT

Reinhard G. Kratz

Many of Devorah Dimant's works are devoted to the interpretation of biblical texts in ancient Judaism, both inside and outside the Bible; her fine article about the techniques of and tendencies in the interpretation of biblical writings in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha comes readily to mind.¹ One passage that deserves special attention from this perspective seems to me to be the identification in 4QMMT of the central cult place in Deut. 12 and Lev. 17 with Jerusalem (B 27–35; see also B 58–62).² Not only does this passage contribute something – for its time – quite new to the topic of sacrifice,³ it is above all – as far as I am aware – one of the few instances we know of that makes this explicit identification. In view of the fact that the location of the place of sacrifice, whether on Mount Zion or Mount Gerizim, was contested in antiquity (John 4:20–21), as it still is today, this seems to me to be remarkable. I want to investigate both matters more closely here, not least of all in order to demonstrate how fluid the transition from scriptural exegesis within the Bible to scriptural

* I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. John Bowden, London, for his thoroughly translation of this article.

1. D. Dimant, “Use and Interpretation of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha”, in M. J. Mulder & H. Sysling (eds.), *Mikra. Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum 2,1, Assen & Philadelphia 1988, pp. 379–419.
2. References and quotations follow the edition by E. Qimron & J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4, V: Miqṣat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*, DJD 10, Oxford 1994.
3. A slightly different view takes Qimron in DJD 10, pp. 156–157: “Our fragmentary text does not contribute anything new on the subject of slaughtering”.

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exegesis outside it could be. To do this I shall concentrate on (1) the text in question, (2) the Temple Scroll, (3) the biblical basis and (4) the biblical and parabiblical parallels.

4QMMT B 27–35: The Text

After the halakhot about various types of sacrifice – regulations which are apparently intended specifically for the priests as they deal with the sacrificial animal and the assessment of its corpse⁴ – there follows in 4QMMT B 27–35 a halakha about the place of the sacrificial cult, before the text continues with regulations about the conditions for taking part in the sacrifice. This halakha is distinct from the other halakhot as its subject is a scriptural passage instead of a case, as is usual otherwise.⁵ This also distinguishes the passage from the other use and exegesis of scripture in MMT.⁶

The text of B 27–35 is attested by two manuscripts: 4Q394 3–7 14–19, and 4Q397 3 2–6 (= B 27–34). On the basis of the overlap between 4Q394 8 iii and 4Q397 4–5 with 4Q396 1–2 i and the contact between the themes, the lines 4Q396 1–2 i 1 (= B 35) can also with some probability be included in this halakha, as the composite text in *DJD* 10 intends. The text itself is severely damaged and therefore not easy to understand. This

4. B 3–13, B 13–17 and B 17–27: all three excerpts close with the formula: **כי לבני אהרן/הכֹּהֲנִים ראוי ל...**
5. See **ואף על ועל** in B [3, 5,] 8, [9,] 13, [18,] 21, 24, [36, 37, 49,] 52, 55, 62, 64, 72, 75, 76, 77; C 4.
6. On this, see M. J. Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations”, in J. Kampen & M. J. Bernstein (eds.), *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History*, JBL Symposium Series 2, Atlanta, Georgia 1996, pp. 29–51; G. J. Brooke, “The Explicit Presentation of Scripture in 4QMMT”, in M. Bernstein et al. (eds.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995*, *STDJ* 23, Leiden 1997, pp. 67–88; R. G. Kratz, “Mose und die Propheten. Zur Interpretation von 4QMMT C”, in F. García Martínez et al. (eds.), *From 4QMMT to Resurrection. Mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, *STDJ* 61, Leiden & Boston 2006, pp. 151–176.

raises the question what actually the problem in the scriptural passage was that the halakha is discussing.

B 27–28 (4Q394 3–7 ii 14–15) provides the first clear evidence of the citation formula, which is used many times in MMT.⁷ Introduced by ועל שא כתוב Lev. 17:3 is cited:

4Q394 3–7 ii 14–15

[ועל שא כתוב] איש כי ישחט במחנה או ישחט [מחוצ לסחנה שור וכשב ועז]

Lev. 17:3

איש איש מבית ישראל אשר ישחט שור או כשב או עז במחנה או אשר ישחט מחוץ למחנה

As emerges from the textual comparison, so far as the text has been preserved it is not just a "paraphrase"⁸ but rather a word-for-word citation, though it is not completely literal.⁹ Only the positions of the object and adverbial definition of the place have been exchanged, and instead of the particle או the copula ו appears in the list of objects. The transposition might be caused by the fact that the formulation in Lev. 17:3 leaves open the possibility that the animal is slaughtered elsewhere and then brought to the "tent of meeting".¹⁰ With this transition it is clear that the passage is about the place where animals are slaughtered (שחט) that are fit for sacrifice and consumption. These may be slaughtered and offered as sacrifices neither "in the camp" nor "outside the camp", but rather, as Lev. 17:4 states, exclusively at the "entrance of the tent of meeting" and "before the abode of YHWH". The deviation in the list of sacrificial animals could be a textual variant (see below, 2).

Lev. 17:3–4 raises a series of exegetical questions whose difficulty preoccupied ancient readers long before it did present-day interpreters; this may well have moved the author of MMT to make them the subject

7. The formula is usually supplemented also in B 10 (4Q394 3–7 i 13), but see Booke, "Presentation", p. 71.
8. Thus Qimron in *DJD* 10, p. 156; Bernstein, "Employment", p. 39, following Qimron (*DJD* 10, pp. 140–141), though B 27–28 is not discussed there.
9. Brooke, "Presentation", p. 72.
10. See M. Noth, *Das 3. Buch Mose. Leviticus, ATD* 6, Göttingen 1962, p. 111.

of his halakha. Thus it sets out to explain what is meant by the “camp” and by the “tent of meeting” – last mentioned in 1 Kings 8:4, and here transported from the City of David to Zion – and how both are related to the “abode of YHWH”. The answer is made more difficult by the fact that in Lev. 17 not only is a distinction made between the central cult place and other localities, but there is also a further differentiation between the areas in which no sacrifice may be offered. It is not clear from the text where the border runs between “inside” and “outside the camp” and the legitimate cult place, the “tent of meeting”. Moreover, the differentiation between sacral and profane slaughtering made in Deut. 12 seems to have been done away within Lev. 17:3–4,¹¹ raising the question how this regulation relates to its parallel in Deut. 12.

MMT gives a first indication of how to answer the question in B 28. Introduced by כִּי (4Q394 3–7 ii:15), the typical opening of a “judificatory clause”,¹² the legitimate place of sacrifice mentioned in Lev. 17:4, the “entrance of the tent of meeting”, is defined with the direction “in the north of the camp” (4Q397 3:2). Lev. 1:11 might have prompted this information. The place of sacrifice is thus connected with the altar and itself distinguished from the “camp”.

However, the halakha proper follows only in the further explanations which identify the localities mentioned in Lev. 17:3–4. The explanations are introduced with the formula customary in MMT, וְאֵנַחְנוּ חֹשְׁבִים שׁ, and thus characterized as interpretation of the Torah (see below). The “camp” (מַחֲנֶה) is expressly equated with Jerusalem; it follows from this that “inside” and “outside the camp” are also to be referred to the city. “The camp of their cities” (הוּא מַחֲנֶה עֲרֵיהֶם) and the entire area “outside the camp”, where the ashes from the altar are burned, are in turn distinguished from this (B 29–32 = 4Q394 3–7 ii 16–19 + 4Q397 3 4–5; cf. Lev. 4:12; 6:4). It is likely that in the lacuna that follows the sanctuary (הַמִּקְדָּשׁ) mentioned in B 29 (4Q394 3–7 ii 16) was identified with the “abode of YHWH” and/or the “tent of meeting” of Lev. 17:4.

11. See Noth, *ibid.*; K. Elliger, *Leviticus*, HAT I,4, Tübingen 1966, pp. 226–227; E. S. Gerstenberger, *Das 3. Buch Mose. Leviticus*, ATD 6, Göttingen 1993, pp. 216–217.

12. *DJD* 10, pp. 135–136.

Accordingly, there can no longer be any doubt about which localities we should think of in Lev. 17:3 and where "slaughterings", sacral or profane, are and are not allowed. No animals fit for sacrifice may be slaughtered in and around Jerusalem, but only at the Temple. MMT thus confirms the rigorous attitude of Lev. 17:3–4 and relates it expressly to the Jerusalem temple.

At the same time, the halakha makes a recognizable gradation within the areas in which slaughtering is forbidden. The text deals in detail with the area "outside the camp", which is differentiated not only from the sanctuary but also from the area "inside the camp", i.e. from Jerusalem itself. The city to some degree occupies an intermediate place between the sanctuary and the area "outside the camp"; since the Temple is in Jerusalem, this is quite understandable. MMT takes account of this in that the halakha identifies Jerusalem, "the camp" of Lev. 17:3, with the central cult place of Deut. 12; this can easily be inferred from the parallel in B 60–61: "[for Jerusalem] is the place which [He has chosen] from all tri[bes of Israel]".¹³

The formulation "from all tribes of Israel" shows that only Deut. 12:5 is in question as a point of reference.¹⁴ Here, as in all other passages in Deuteronomy, the chosen place is no more identified than are the "camp" and "the tent of meeting" in Lev. 17:3–4 and is therefore open to manifold interpretations. The author of MMT, whom the connection between the two passages did not escape, must have faced the same difficulties as the modern exegete. The different terminology and the divergent regulations regarding sacral and profane slaughtering not only stand in the way of deciding where the central cult place was precisely located, but also make it difficult to reduce both regulations to a common denominator.

MMT solves the problem by equating the "camp" of Lev. 17:3, and not the "tent of meeting" where the sacrifice must be offered, with the chosen place of Deut. 12 and identifying both with Jerusalem. In terms of

13. 4Q394 3–7 ii:19 **והיא המקום אשר**; 4Q397 3:5 **מכול שב[טי ישראל]**. The supplementary text reads the perfect, as in B 60–61, although unlike the short form **ש**, the long form of the conjunction **אשר** would also allow the future as in Deut. 12:5, 11, 14 etc.

14. See also Deut. 12:14, further 1 Kings 8:16//2 Chr. 6:5–6; 1 Kings 11:32; 14:21//2 Chr. 12:13; 1 Kings 21:7//2 Chr. 33:7.

modern scholarship, the exegesis balances the different terminology of Deuteronomy and the Priestly Writing. It decides to understand the whole city as the “place” in Deut. 12, taking into account that according to Lev. 17:3–4 the sacrificial definitions from Deut. 12 do not relate to the chosen place in its entirety, but only to the sanctuary, the holy place in the chosen place. However, this also evaluates the area “inside the camp” of which Lev. 17:3 speaks in an opposite way. Indeed, slaughtering, sacril or profane, may not be done outside the sanctuary, but what applies to the area “inside the camp” is by no means what applies to the area “outside the camp” and in the “camp of their cities”. In the view of MMT, each passage of the Torah interprets the other, so that both remain right and all obscurities are removed.

The solution of B 29–35 agrees with the topography of the halaka in B 58–62.¹⁵ Here too there is a threefold gradation between the sanctuary (B 59), Jerusalem as the “camp of holiness” and “place which He has chosen from all tribes of Israel” (B 60–61), and the “camps of Israel”, with Jerusalem designated its “head”. But unlike B 29–35, the topography here is not the theme of the halakha; rather, it serves as the reason for the precept that no dogs are allowed into the “holy camp” of Jerusalem (see Matt. 7:6). The topography, specially developed in B 29–35 by means of scriptural exegesis, is regarded as self-evident. But how self-evident was it?

4QMMT and the Temple Scroll

With the formula **ואנחנו חושבים** “but we think” or **ואנחנו אומרים** “but we say”, the author of MMT usually introduces his own standpoint, attempting to convince those for whom the work is written – whom he addresses in the second person plural or even in the second person singular – that his interpretation of the Torah is the right one and to dissuade them from the deviant views of his opponents – of whom he speaks in the third person plural.¹⁶ So we are to begin by assuming that

15. 4Q394 8 iv:8–12//4Q396 1–2 ii:9 – iii:2// 4Q397 6–13:2–4. On this see *DJD* 10, pp. 143–144, 162–164.

16. See *DJD* 10, pp. 110–111, 113ff.

the exegesis of Lev. 17:3–4 and Deut. 12:5 was also contested and that the halakha in 4QMMT B 39–35 is intended to clarify, if not serve as polemic. Other identifications of the central cult place, opposed by MMT, must have been under discussion besides the view put forward in MMT.

The textual tradition perhaps makes a first reference to this discussion. Not only the transposition of object and indication of place in the quotation of Lev. 17:3 but also the replacement of the conjunction “or” (או) by the copula “and” (ו) could be an indication of this. The latter phenomenon can also be observed in other passages in which the Septuagint (LXX) and the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) deviate from the Masoretic Text (MT) and attest a textual form that the Temple Scroll (11QT) also seems to presuppose.¹⁷ So it is not surprising that particularly in Lev. 17:3–4 there are surplus texts in LXX and SP, which on the one hand (in assimilation to Lev. 17:8, 10, 13 MT) extend the “house of Israel” to the proselytes and denizens, and on the other (along the line of Lev. 17:5–9 and in agreement with 11QT 52:15) defines the gift (קרבת) for YHWH mentioned in v. 4 as burnt or shelamim offering. We need not consider here such text-critical questions as which reading is original or whether we have real variants at all and not rather sporadic changes and additions. The only important thing is that the passage Lev. 17:3–4 and its relationship to Deut. 12 obviously gave rise to discussions which have left their traces here and there in the textual tradition.

However, what these discussions were about is not easy to say. The Dead Sea Scrolls – apart from MMT – do not often deal with the “camp” in connection with the “tent of meeting” or the “place which He has chosen”.¹⁸ Qimron¹⁹ cites the Temple Scroll as a parallel to MMT and

17. In 11QT 52:4–6 we read שור או שור וכושב ועז as well as ושור ושה. Here use is made of Deut. 17:1 (שור ושה) and Lev. 22:27–28 (v. 27 שור או כשב או עז; v. 28 שור או כשב או עז; v. 29 שור או כשב או עז; v. 30 שור או כשב או עז); see also the unique combination in 11QT 52:13 (שור ושה ועז), which picks up Lev. 17:3 and perhaps was formulated under the influence of Deut. 14:4.
18. See, on the one hand especially 4Q367 2a–b:1 (Lev. 15:14–15) and 4Q365 8a–b:3; 12a i:6; 26a–b:4; 31a–c:5, 16; 4Q367 1a–b:9; 2a–b:1; further 4Q276 1:5; 4Q491 1–3:9; 4Q522 9 ii:2, 12, 13; on the other, 4Q364 32:3 (Deut. 14:25); 11QT52:9, 16; 56:5; 60:13–14; further 4Q375 1 i:8 and 4Q504 1–2 iv:3–4 (of the city of Jerusalem).
19. *DJD* 10, pp. 143–146.156–157.

refers to the laxer definitions of the rabbis. This reference can presumably be made more precise. For apart from the Reworked Pentateuch (4Q364–367), the Temple Scroll (11QT) is not only the most important parallel but is itself concerned with the interpretation of Lev. 17:3 and Deut. 12. But its solution to the exegetical problem by no means agrees with MMT in everything, so that it is possible to deduce from the differences the front against which the author of MMT is writing.

The Temple Scroll²⁰ also recognizes the differentiation of Jerusalem into gradated holy precincts and the distinction between areas inside and outside the Temple city (11QT 46). However, the sacrificial regulations in 11QT 52–53 provide for a somewhat different division of areas: clean and flawless sacrificial animals may not be slaughtered profanely within the radius of a three days' journey; they must exclusively be slaughtered at the sanctuary (זבֿחַ) and offered and consumed as burnt or shelamim sacrifices (11QT 52:13–16; see also 52:9, 53:9–10). Sacrificial animals with a blemish are to be slaughtered (זבֿחַ) and consumed together with the unclean animals, far from the sanctuary, outside a zone of 30 “ris” (סביב שלושִׁים רִס), according to the regulations of Deut. 12 (11QT 52:16–19; cf. 52:9–12; 53:3–8). The profane slaughter of clean sacrificial animals and the consumption of their meat are forbidden inside the city and the restricted area of 30 ris; these must be slaughtered at the sanctuary and offered as sacrifices (11QT 52:19–21).

It is evident that the author of the Temple Scroll also had to struggle with the exegetical problem that arises from the parallels of Lev. 17 and Deut. 12.²¹ Unlike MMT, however, he does not start from Lev. 17:3–4 but from Deut. 12 and the distinction between sacral and profane slaughtering made there, and allows the concept of Lev. 17:3–4 to slip in. This solution results in a certain terminological imprecision regarding the topography of Deut. 12. It is clear that the “place which I will choose” and at which the sacrifices are offered (Deut. 12:5, 11, 14, etc) can only be the sanctuary (11QT 52:9, 16; 53:9–10). It is also clear that “gates” which lie around the central cult place and in which profane slaughter is allowed

20. See Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, Jerusalem 1983, vol. 1, pp. 312–320; vol. 2, pp. 231ff.

21. See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, vol. 1, p. 316.

(Deut. 12:15) can only mean the areas outside the restricted area around the sanctuary (11QT 52:10–11, 14, 17; 53:4). However, an area that has something of both characteristics lies in between: this area consists of the Temple city (“the city of my sanctuary” or “my city”),²² of which it is said – as of the chosen place in 11QT 52:16 – that YHWH will give his name to it (11QT 52:19–20),²³ and the “gates” (11QT 52:14), both lying outside the chosen place, but within the area of a three days’ journey for clean animals and the restricted area of 30 ris for those with a blemish.²⁴ In 11QT it is this terminological inconsistency which devalues rather than enhances the Temple city; however, it is taken into account in order to balance Deut. 12. with Lev. 17:3–4 and to allow for a gradation of the holy precincts.

One striking feature which 11QT has in common with 4QMMT is that both solutions are interested in the gradation of areas according to the degree of their holiness. In 11QT the areas inside and outside the restricted area around the sanctuary correspond to the areas “inside” and “outside the camp” in Lev. 17:3–4 and MMT. In both cases, a sacrifice may be offered only at the sanctuary and nowhere else. And in both cases, different regulations apply “inside” and “outside” the area immediately adjacent to the sanctuary: “inside”, no sacrifice may be slaughtered, nor may profane slaughtering be carried out; “outside”, the disposal of sacrificial remains and the profane slaughtering of clean and unclean animals are possible.

But there are also differences. They relate not only to the terminology, which in 4QMMT follows the basic material in Lev. 17:3–4 (שחט, מחנה) and in 11QT the basic material in Deut. 12 (זבח), and in the formula about election changes tense or number. Rather, the decisive difference

22. See עיר מקדשי in 47:9, 13, עירי in 47:15; 52:19.

23. See לשום (את) שמו שם referring to “the place which YHWH will chose” in Deut. 12:5, 21; 14:24; similarly לשכן שמו שם in Deut. 12:11; 14:23; 16:2, 6, 11; 26:2 and 12:5, taken up in 11QT 52:6; 60:13–14 for the sanctuary, 45:11–14; 47:3–4, 10–11 for the city.

24. The boundary is also blurred in that – as in the case of Jerusalem (45:13–14; 47:3–6, 10–11, 18) – the cities in the surrounding area are also to be clean (47:3; 48:15; 51:7–8), though of course the difference remains (47:7–10, 14–15); Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, vol. 1, pp. 279f.

lies in the point of reference: in 11QT 52 it is the sanctuary alone, in 4QMMT the sanctuary and the holy city. Thus in 11QT the chosen place is the sanctuary, but in 4QMMT the chosen place is the Temple city that is equated with the “camp” from Lev. 17 and therefore also provides the connecting point between “inside” and “outside”, while in 11QT together with other localities (“gates”) the holy city lies inside the restricted area, which has wider dimensions; as a result, for all the holiness which is attributed to the Temple city as distinct from other localities in 11QT, it somewhat loses its meaning as a yardstick for holiness.

After all, it cannot be said that 4QMMT and 11QT present the same solution to the exegetical and practical problem in the exegesis of Deut. 12 and Lev. 17. Moreover, the cardinal difference regarding the identification of the “place which YHWH will choose” prescribed in Deut. 12 seems to me to reveal the background to the halakha of 4QMMT B 29–35 that is in question. It is not that MMT engages in direct polemic against the view of the Temple Scroll. The common features are too great for that. But at one point the solution of 11QT touches so closely on the much more pragmatic use of the legal regulations attested in (later) rabbinic sources that attempts to reconstruct the view which MMT opposes can be made from here.

Thus the identification of the chosen place with the sanctuary in 11QT opens up the possibility of practicing things in the Temple city, which according to the view of MMT and its exegesis of Lev. 17 and Deut. 12 would simply be ruled out. The mere formulation of the prohibition against eating the meat of clean animals appropriate for sacrifice in the holy city (11QT 52:19–21) already allows the interpretation that this prohibition applies only to the act of slaughtering and not to the (subsequent) consumption of the meat which has previously been sacrificed in a due way. The relative clause: *אשר לוא יבוא לתוך מקדשי* can be interpreted both as a general exclusion of slaughtering and consumption²⁵ and also as a condition for the consumption of the

25. Thus A. Steudel, *Die Texte aus Qumran II. Hebräisch/Aramäisch und Deutsch*, Darmstadt 2001, p. 113, who translates as a final clause, “so that it does not come into my sanctuary”.

sacrificial meat in the holy city.²⁶ Moreover, once the chosen place and the "camp" are identified with the Temple, all the regulations that apply to the area outside the chosen cult place can also be applied to the city of Jerusalem in a very wide-ranging interpretation: if Jerusalem is not identical with the chosen place or the "camp", it may fall under the "gates" or the area "outside the camp".

This, of course, is not the view of the Temple Scroll, according to which the city of Jerusalem lies in the intermediate area between the chosen "place" and the "gates" and to which different laws therefore apply from those for the surrounding localities. But the identification of the chosen cult place with the sanctuary made in the Temple Scroll could reflect a widespread view that entailed the consequences indicated above. Precisely this corresponds to the view of the rabbis, who understand by the "camp" and the chosen "place" the Temple and not the holy city as a whole, and thus put forward a pragmatic exegesis of Deut. 12 and Lev. 17, which must have been the dominant view in the time of the Second Temple.²⁷ This interpretation handed down by the rabbis and the practice based on it corresponds with the view of 11QT as far as the identification of the chosen place is concerned, but not with that of 4QMMT: here the identification of the Temple city as the "camp" and "place which He has chosen" is much more precise and clear, but also stricter; it recurs – as so often – among the later Karaites.²⁸

Biblical Basis and Textual Tradition

4QMMT is finally also concerned to bring clarity to the question which exactly the city is indicated by the "camp" of Lev. 17 and the chosen "place" of Deut. 12. This question is also answered clearly:

B29–30 (4Q394 3–7 ii 17)

וי[ירושלי]ם] מחנה היא

26. Thus evidently Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, vol. 1, pp. 318f.

27. See Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, vol. 1, p. 319; *DJD* 10, p. 144; further G. Langer, *Von Gott erwählt – Jerusalem. Die Rezeption von Deut. 12 im frühen Judentum*, ÖBS 8, Klosterneuburg 1989, pp. 122–302, especially pp. 196–197, 207, 211–212.

28. Yadin, *Temple Scroll*, vol. 1, p. 279 n. 6; pp. 319–320.

B32–33 (4Q394 3–7 ii:19; 4Q397 3:5)

כי ירושלים היא המקום אשר [בחר בו] מכל שבטי ישראל

B 60–62 (4Q394 8 iv:10–12)

ירושלים היא מחנה הקדש

והיא המקום שבחר בו מכל שבטי [ישראל]

[כי] ירושלים היא ראש מ[חנות ישראל]

There would hardly have been dissent with the addressee(s) of MMT on this question. The identification of the Temple city with Jerusalem is not the subject of the halakhic teaching. The name appears more in passing in the course of the identification of the Temple city with the “camp” and the “place which He has chosen”. Nevertheless, the mention by name in this particular context is of great significance which, as far as I can see, has hardly been recognized hitherto. In view of the many exegetical problems that the centralization formula in Deuteronomy still poses, and in view of the Samaritan alternative, the explicit location of the cult place prescribed in Deut. 12 is quite striking. The halakha does not aim directly to refute differing opinions or the Samaritan claims, and one would not in fact expect that here,²⁹ but MMT gives a piece of information that we are not otherwise given by the tradition with this clarity and which therefore also indirectly represents a milestone in the history of the exegesis of Deut. 12 inside and outside the Bible.³⁰

This history of exegesis begins in Deuteronomy itself. As is generally recognized, the commandment for the centralization of the cult in Deut. 12 is indebted to a re-writing of the law of the altar in Ex. 20:24–26.³¹ The law of the altar already represents a redactional addition to the Book of the Covenant in Ex. 20–23 and has in turn been subjected to various

29. Thus, rightly, Qimron in *DJD* 10, p. 144.

30. Langer, *Von Gott erwählt*, passim.

31. See J. Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, Berlin 1899³, repr. 1963⁴, p. 203; idem, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels*, Berlin 1905⁶, p. 32; R. G. Kratz, *The Composition of the Narrative Books of the Old Testament*, translated by J. Bowden, London & New York 2005, pp. 117–118, 210–211; B. M. Levinson, *Deuteronomy and the Hermeneutics of Legal Innovation*, Oxford 1997, pp. 23–52.

revisions.³² The addition in Ex. 20:24b, which forms the basis for the formulation of the commandment for centralization in Deut. 12, goes back to one of these revisions. It restricts the freedom to sacrifice everywhere to the cult places where the name of YHWH is called on, but does not make any changes to the multiplicity of legitimate cult places (כל המקום)³³ customary in Israel and Judah in the pre-exilic period.³⁴ By contrast, Deut. 12 introduces the distinction between just any cult place (כל מקום) and the one place chosen by YHWH (יהוה יבחר), and thus opens a new chapter in the cult history of Israel. This seems to have been the point of departure for the reformulation of the Book of the Covenant in Deuteronomy.³⁵ However, this necessarily raised the question how the commandment to centralize the cult in Deut. 12 relates to the law of the altar in Ex. 20 and above all to the many sanctuaries mentioned in the patriarchal narratives and the historical books from Joshua to Kings.

But things in Deut. 12 itself are by no means as clear as they seem. The mere fact that this chapter needs three attempts to provide grounds for the commandment about centralization arouses the suspicion that the formulation was not unproblematical in the first place, and that further exegesis was felt to be necessary. By comparison with the simple commandment in Deut. 12:13–23, which has been given many glosses, in 12:2–7 and 12:8–12 we have two later variants, which not only fill out the original formulations of the regulation from vv.13–14 but also attach new conditions.³⁶ But none of the three variants indicates the

32. Kratz, *Composition*, pp. 140–144 and the literature mentioned here (n. 47).

33. The ambiguous determination ("in the whole place" or "at just any place"), which is missing in the versions (LXX, Peshitta, Targum), could have been a basis for the reinterpretation in Deuteronomy or is a dogmatic correction; see J. Schaper, "Schriftauslegung und Schriftwerdung im alten Israel. Eine vergleichende Exegese von Ex 20,24–26 und Dtn 12,13–19", *ZAR* 5 (1999), pp. 111–132.

34. See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 29, though he correctly writes that this restriction "has no further significance". L. Schwienhorst-Schönberger, *Das Bundesbuch (Ex 20:22–22:33)*, *BZAW* 188, Berlin & New York 1990, pp. 279–280, takes a rather different view.

35. Kratz, *Composition*, pp. 114–132, especially pp. 117–126.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 119; for a detailed analysis of Deut. 12 see E. Reuter, *Kultzentralisation. Entstehung und Theologie von Dtn 12*, BBB 87, Frankfurt a.M. 1993.

identity of the cult place. The fact remains that the choice is still to be made, as seems to be hinted at by the preformative tense (or future) **יבחר** in the centralization formula in respect of the historical fiction of Deuteronomy.³⁷

The formula itself³⁸ does not help any further with the identification either. The commentaries on Deuteronomy usually take it for granted that the chosen place means Jerusalem,³⁹ but that is anything but self-evident. The formulation, especially the definition of the place “in one of your tribes” in 12:14, allows the formula to be understood not exclusively but distributively, and to refer to various shrines.⁴⁰ At any rate, the expression **המקום** recalls the many resting places and legitimate cult places of the patriarchs (Gen 12:6; 13:3–4; 22:3–4; 28:11, 16–17, 19; 32:3, 31; 35:7, 13–15). Moreover, from the formula itself and its context does not emerge whether it designates the central sanctuary or the city where the sanctuary is. The answer to this question depends not least on whether we have to understand the infinitive of the long form as final (“in order to”) or as consecutive-modal (“so that”/“in that”).⁴¹ Depending on the choice one can (also) refer the formula to the city or merely to the sanctuary. It

37. Kratz, *Composition*, pp. 123–124.

38. As is well known, it is attested in many variants, as a short form in Deut. 12:14, 18, 26; 15:20; 16:7, 15–16; 17:8, 10; 18:6; 31:11; as a long form (with the extension **לשום/לשכן** [את] **שמו שם**) in Deut. 12:5, 11, 21; 14:23–24; 16:2, 6, 11; 26:2. For the analysis of the formula and its individual elements, see Reuter, *Kultzentralisation*, pp. 115ff.

39. See, for instance, S. R. Driver, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*, ICC, Edinburgh, 1902³, p. 140; P. M. Miller, *Deuteronomy* (Interpretation), Louisville 1990, pp. 130–131; T. Veijola, *Das 5. Buch Mose. Deuteronomium Kapitel 1,1–16,17*, ATD 8,1, Göttingen 2004, p. 267.

40. See A. Rofé, “The Strata of the Law about the Centralization of Worship in Deuteronomy and the History of the Deuteronomistic Movement”, in idem, *Deuteronomy. Issues and Interpretation, Old Testament Studies*, London & New York 2002, pp. 97–101; B. Halpern, “The Centralization Formula in Deuteronomy”, *VT* 31 (1981), pp. 20–38; for the rabbinic discussion, which – with a basis in Jer. 7:12 – differentiates between Shiloh and Jerusalem in Deut. 12 itself, see Langer, *Von Gott erwählt*, pp. 169–171. Against this, see Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, pp. 23–24 n. 1; on the problem of Deut. 12:4, see Reuter, *Kultzentralisation*, pp. 65–67, 132.

41. See Reuter, *Kultzentralisation*, pp. 119–120.

could well be that the secondary expansion of the short form by the infinitive and the definition of the locality “in one of your tribes” (Deut. 12:14) or “from all your tribes” (Deut. 12:5) was originally meant to make identification easier, but both merely raised yet more questions, as the further history of exegesis shows.

The authors and tradents of Deuteronomy will certainly have had a precise idea of the identity of the chosen place. But the greater the distance from the original situation, the greater will have been the need to anchor this understanding in the text itself. As we saw, the traces of this reach right back to the literary formation of Deuteronomy and continue in the textual tradition.⁴²

A main characteristic of the textual tradition, which is evident in various witnesses (Qumran, SP and LXX), is harmonization.⁴³ The tendency can already be observed in the few places where the centralization formula has been preserved in the Deuteronomy manuscripts from the Dead Sea:⁴⁴ in 1QDeut^a fr. 14 a retrospective **בו** has been added in Deut. 16:6, which assimilates vv. 6 and 7 to other passages (12:11, 18; 17:8); the same thing occurs in LXX and SP with Deut 16:16 (but not with 17:8). 4QDeut^h reads with LXX the plural **תקראו** in Deut 31:11b, continuing the phrase **(המקום אשר) יבחר**, and diverges from MT (**תקרא**) and SP (**ויקרא**) in assimilating the verse to v. 10.

The harmonization also has an effect on the infinitive of the long form, in which, apart from Deut. 12:5, SP always reads **לשכן** and not **לשום** (or **לשים**), and LXX renders both with no distinction by **ἐπαυλαθεῖν**, again with the exception of 12:5, where in the first place **ἐπονομάσαι** occurs (for

42. See N. Lohfink, “Zur deuteronomistischen Zentralisationsformel”, in idem, *Studien zum Deuteronomium und zur deuteronomistischen Literatur* 2, SBAB 12, Stuttgart 1991, pp. 147–177, here 153–161; Langer, *Von Gott erwählt*, pp. 95–121.

43. See E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Minneapolis, MN 1992 (GT: *Der Text der Hebräischen Bibel. Handbuch der Textkritik*, Stuttgart 1997, p. 96).

44. According to the list in E. Tov, *Indices and Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, *DJD* 39; Oxford 2002, pp. 189–190, the following manuscripts were checked: 1QDeut^a (*DJD* 1) for Deut. 14:24–25; 16:6–7; 4QpaleoDeut^f (*DJD* 9) for Deut. 12,1–5, 11–12; 14,26–29; 4QDeut^c (*DJD* 14) for Deut. 12:18–19, 26; 16:2–3, 6–11; 4QDeut^f for 18:6–10; 4QDeut^g for Deut. 26:1–5; 4QDeut^h for Deut. 31:9–11; 4QDeut^{k2} for Deut. 26:1–5; MurDeut (*DJD* 2) for Deut. 12:25–26.

(לשום), as in Ex. 20:24 (for זכר), and in the second ἐπαλατῆσαι (for לשכנו), as in Ex. 29.45–46. However, in both cases a substantial concern goes hand in hand with the harmonization. With the “dwelling” (of the name or of God) SP introduces a concept which also occurs in the Masoretic tradition of Deut. 12:5 and throughout the Targums.⁴⁵ The latter render the infinitive of the long form without distinction with the aphel of שרא, “make to dwell”, and supplement the formula with the object of the “(glory of the) Shekhina”: למישרייה אית איקר) שכינתיה תמן; whether deliberately or not they thus assimilate the text to the concept of Lev. 17:4. In contrast to this, LXX uses the infinitive-expansions in the sense of calling on the name of God and thus replaces the idea of the dwelling (of the name or of God) in the sanctuary. Apart from Ex. 20:24, the model is evidently also the cult places of the patriarchs (Gen. 4:6; 12:18).

A kind of reconciliation of the various interpretations of the long form occurs with Jerome in the Vulgate; he preserves the wording of the MT, translates it literally in 12:5, assimilates it to 1 Kings 8:16 and 2 Kings 23:7 in 12:11, 21, follows MT in 16:2, 6, 11, 16, and follows the rendering by LXX in 14:23; 26:2. Both the idea of the dwelling of God and the calling on the name in worship suggest the Temple rather than the city.

As is well known, SP clearly locates the chosen place; here it could possibly base itself on a proto-Samaritan variant in Deut. 27:4.⁴⁶ Scholars like to connect with this tendency the peculiarity that in the centralization formula SP almost always changes the future tense of בחר into the perfect. In view of the surprising parallel in 4QMMT (B 60–61), this appears in a new light. Whereas the Temple Scroll keeps the future tense and only changes it into the first person – in accordance with its stylization as words of God – 4QMMT, like SP, evidently begins definitively from the fact that the choice of the place has already been made. This cannot be

45. They also diverge in Deut. 12:5, like MT, SP and LXX, from the terminology otherwise normal, but at quite a different point, namely in the rendering of the word המקום, which here is rendered with ארעא “the land” instead of אתרא “the place”; see Langer, *Von Gott erwählt*, p. 107.

46. See Tov, *Textual Criticism*, p. 94 (GT: pp. 77–78); I. Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism. A Literary Analysis*, JSOT.S 303 (Copenhagen International Seminar 7), Sheffield 2000, pp. 91–92.

explained in 4QMMT, as it can in SP, with the historical fiction of the Pentateuch narrative that according to Gen. 12:6; 33:18–20 Shechem had already been chosen in the time of Moses. Rather, the perfect in MMT takes account of its own time, and this can probably also be assumed for SP.

It is no coincidence that the text-critical phenomena described here accumulate with the centralization formula. Not all of them contribute to the solution of the question of the location of the chosen place. But they do show “that the Deuteronomic centralization formula was evident highly explosive theologically and gave rise to far-reaching interpretative and perhaps also textual interventions – more than the normal state of the text of the book”.⁴⁷

We will have to say the same of the exegesis within the Bible which Deut. 12 experienced in Lev. 17:3.⁴⁸ Here, the “place which YHWH will choose, to make his name dwell there” is translated into the language of the Priestly Writing and equated with the “tent of meeting” and the “abode of YHWH”. Instead of the opposition of “place” and “gates”, we have the contrast between “tent of meeting” and “camp”. Moreover, the regulation of Deut. 12 is sharpened, in that Lev. 17 ignores the difference between sacral and profane slaughtering; it views each slaughtering as sacrifice and consequently moves it to the shrine. Lev. 17 therefore establishes itself and relates the centralization formula to the shrine. However, it does not follow from the passage itself that here we have the Temple in Jerusalem; at most it becomes clear from the (secondary) literary reference to 1 Kings 8:4 and an exegesis that combines the passages in a similar way, for example, to the Apocryphon of Joshua (5Q522 9 ii), edited by the scholar to whom this Festschrift is dedicated.⁴⁹

47. Lohfink, “Zentralisationsformel”, p. 153: “daß die deuteronomistische Zentralisationsformel offenbar theologisch hochbrisant war und zu tiefgreifenden interpretatorischen und vielleicht auch textlichen Eingriffen Anlaß gegeben hat – mehr als der normale Textbestand des Buches”. The conclusions against literary criticism derived from the text-critical evidence (ibid., p. 161) are not illuminating, given this evidence.

48. See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, pp. 51f; A. Cholewinski, *Heiligkeitgesetz und Deuteronomium. Eine vergleichende Studie*, AnBib 66, Rome 1976, pp. 149–178.

49. D. Dimant, “Between Sectarian and Non-Sectarian: The Case of the Apocryphon of Joshua”, in E. G. Chazon et al. (eds.), *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and*

Biblical and Parabiblical Parallels

Because the identification of the chosen place of Deut. 12 does not result from the context or the internal rewriting of Deuteronomy, nor from the textual tradition, nor from the reception of Lev. 17, we are dependent on the context of the Bible as a whole. It often serves as an argument for the exclusive exegesis of the formula and its interpretation in terms of Jerusalem: throughout the Old Testament the divine election, insofar as it does not relate to the king (David), the people or the priests but to the topography of the cult place, is connected exclusively with Jerusalem.⁵⁰ But, seen more clearly, the argument does not get very far. With few exceptions, the relevant instances do not have the “place” but “the city”, “Jerusalem” or “Zion” as the object;⁵¹ moreover they are all, including Psalms 78 and 132,⁵² later than Deuteronomy.

Individual elements of the formula, like the idea of the divine election or the significance of the name of God for the cult (Ex. 20:24), may be older, but the conceptual setting of the idea of election and the combination of the individual elements are the achievement of Deuteronomy. As far as I can see, the centralization formula originated in the course of the exegesis of Ex. 20:24–26 in Deut. 12:13–14 and has no pre-history, but rather a subsequent history in the Old Testament.⁵³ For this reasons the other examples are hardly suitable for explaining the evidence in Deuteronomy itself, but are to be seen more as a reaction to

Related Texts at Qumran, Proceedings of a Joint Symposium by the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature and the Hebrew University Institute for Advanced Studies Group on Qumran 15–17 January, 2002; STDJ 58, Leiden & Boston 2005, pp. 105–134.

50. See Lohfink, “Zentralisationsformel”, pp. 171–172; Reuter, *Kultzentralisation*, pp. 116ff, 121ff; Levinson, *Deuteronomy*, p. 23–24 n. 1.
51. Joshua 9:27; 1 Kings 8:16, 44, 48; 11:13, 32, 36; 14:21; 2 Kings 21:7; 23:27; Zech. 1:17; 2:16; 3:2; Ps. 78:68; 132:13–14; Neh. 1:9; 2 Chr. 6:5–6, 34, 38; 7:12, 16; 12:13; 33:7; 35:19LXX; Tob. 1:4; 1 Macc. 7:37; 2 Macc. 5:19; 3 Macc. 3:9.
52. See H. Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart. Eine Theologie der Psalmen*, FRLANT 148, Göttingen 1989, pp. 140, 148.
53. See H. Weippert, “‘Der Ort, den Jahwe erwählen wird, um dort seinen Namen wohnen zu lassen’. Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Formel”, *BZ* 24 (1980), pp. 76–94.

Deut. 12 and consequently as a later interpretation of the centralization formula.

In this perspective it is not a little surprising that in the biblical tradition the combination of the notion of election with the city of Jerusalem predominates. Despite the clear cultic connotation of the prescription in Deut. 12 and despite the even clearer concentration of the command about centralization on the sanctuary in Lev. 17, in the tradition the – implicit – identification with the whole city becomes established. This tradition of interpretation appears to have begun in the (late) Deuteronomistic revision of the books of Kings.

In 1 Kings 8, given the occasion, the primary mention is indeed of the Temple, but the individual elements of the centralization formula are consistently distributed between city and sanctuary: the election is explicitly associated with the city (and with David), the name of God, taken from the long formula, is associated with the Temple (vv. 44 and 48) or with both (v. 16).⁵⁴ Certainly 1 Kings 8:29 indicates that the “place” of the centralization formula (הַמִּקְדָּשׁ אֲשֶׁר) can also be understood as the sanctuary, but this (still) remains without consequences. The terminology of 1 Kings 8 is continued in 2 Kings 21:7 and 23:27. In both texts “the house” and “Jerusalem” stand in parallel and make a statement about the “house” (2 Kings 21:7), previously mentioned, or “the city” (2 Kings 23:27), but here too the relative clause about the election in one case is attached directly to Jerusalem, and in another to “the city”.

The background to this interpretation of Deut. 12 becomes apparent in 1 Kings 11 (vv. 13, 32, 36) and in 1 Kings 14:21. As in 1 Kings 8:16, in chap. 11 the promise to David and the election of Jerusalem are intertwined. For the sake of David, who wanted to build a temple but was not allowed to, Jerusalem and not the sanctuary is regarded as the chosen place. The phrase “from all your tribes” (Deut. 12:5; see 1 Kings 8:16; 14:21) or “in one of your tribes” (Deut. 12:14; see 1 Kings 11:13, 32, 36), which occurs only occasionally as an element of the centralization formula, is given a new meaning in the light of the promise to David. In Deut. 12 this element merely designates the context of the election, but in 1 Kings 11 it relates to the “one tribe” which remains to the house of

54. Thus with or without the reading of the LXX and the parallel in 2Chr. 6:5–6.

David for the sake of David and Jerusalem. Following 2 Sam. 5, it goes without saying that the election referring to David and the city of David is formulated in the perfect in all these passages in the Book of Kings.

The election of Jerusalem in 1–2 Kings is always expressed without direct reference to the “place” of Deut. 12. An identification results only if we read the books in their literary context and connect the relevant passages with one another. In this case they interpret one another: in 1–2 Kings, the election of Jerusalem seems to be the fulfillment of the precept of Deut. 12, and in Deuteronomy the “place which YHWH will choose” seems to be a foreshadowing of the election of Jerusalem in 1–2 Kings.

Once the notion of election had been connected with Jerusalem, it attached itself to the city even without the literary connection with Deut. 12 and was immediately modified. This can be observed especially well in the book of the prophet Zechariah. Here it is self-evident that Jerusalem is chosen (Zech. 3:2), but it will be chosen again in the coming time of salvation: *ובחר עוד בירושלים* (Zech. 1:17; 2:16). All the passages occur in secondary texts: in the exegetical supplements to Zech. 1–2, which make the connection with the visions of the building of the Temple and the Book of Haggai, and in the vision of the high priest which has subsequently been inserted (Zech. 3).⁵⁵ It is striking that, as with the parallel Zion/Jerusalem in Zech. 2:16, the sanctuary (again) comes into the foreground as the decisive characteristic of the chosen city.

Psalms 78 and 132 go even further: the derivation of the Deuteronomistic tradition is here easy to identify. Psalm 78:67–68 links up with the separation of the “one tribe” in 1 Kings 11 and declares that Judah, too, is “chosen”; as in 1 Kings 11, this and the building of the sanctuary are linked with the election of David. Psalm 132 is also inspired by the promise to David, which in v. 7 recalls 1 Kings 11:36 and in vv. 10–12, as in 1 Kings 11:11 and in many other parallel passages (late-Deuteronomistic and Chronistic), is made dependent on obedience to the law; the Deuteronomistic idea of the “rest” of the people of Israel (Deut. 12:9; 1 Kings 8:56) is related to the Temple in Ps. 132 as in 1 Chr. 28:2. At the same time, however, the two psalms go their own ways: instead of

55. See R. G. Kratz, “Serubbabel und Joschua”, in idem, *Das Judentum im Zeitalter des Zweiten Tempels*, FAT 42, Tübingen 2006², pp. 79–92.

Jerusalem, they also say **הר ציון** (Ps. 78:68; 132:13) and thus, as with the reference to the “sanctuary” in Ps. 78:69 and to the “dwelling” in Ps. 132:13–14 emphasize the place of worship. Insofar as Ps. 132:5 designates the “dwelling” as a “place for YHWH” (**מקום ליהוה**), a connection to Deut. 12 is made.

The modifications in the Book of Zechariah and the two Psalms show a certain trend towards the idea of the election of the sanctuary, which will increase in later passages. An awareness seems to have developed of the problems surrounding Deut. 12 – perhaps under the influence of Lev. 17:3–4. That is evident not least from the fact that the tradition increasingly speaks of the “place” to which the election applies, with an explicit allusion to Deut. 12. The allusion can favor the identification with the city of Jerusalem, as seems to be the case in the penitential prayer in Neh. 1:9, which stands in the Deuteronomistic tradition. Here the long form **אשר בחרתי לשכן את שמי שם** quoted from Deut. 12:11 etc. replaces the land of the fathers from Deut. 30:5, to which YHWH promises to bring back those who have been dispersed. But the chosen “place” is also identified directly with the Temple, as we find in 2 Chr. 7:12, 16. This instance is illuminating, since here Chronicles adds the reference to the election against the passage in 1 Kings 9:3 on which it is based, whereas it agrees with the text in 1–2 Kings in the other passages.⁵⁶ The late addition in Josh. 9:27, which, referring to the later altar, anticipates the centralization (“to the present day”) and accordingly again uses the future tense, follows the same line.

With the instances in 2 Chr. 7 and Neh. 1 just mentioned we are gradually approaching the period 4QMMT also dates from. The state of the discussion at this time, as it developed in the course of the biblical tradition, is not exactly unitary. It knows the identification – tacit and occasionally made evident by literary references – of the cult place of Deut. 12 with Jerusalem, the city of David, associated with the election, but entails as well as the exclusive identification of the cult

56. 2 Chr. 6:5–6, 34, 38//1 Kings 8:14LXX, 44, 48; 2 Chr 12:13//1 Kings 14:21; 2 Chr. 35:19LXX//2 Kings 23:27.

place with the sanctuary that is developing and aims at terminological clarity.

This discussion seems to continue throughout the Hellenistic-Roman era. It is reflected by a few but quite striking instances in the post-biblical writings. With the election of the city, the tribe of Judah and David, 4Q504 1–2 iv 3–4 attaches itself to the Deuteronomistic tradition. By the “chosen place” 2 Macc. 5:19–20 understands the city (see v. 17). Like 1 Kings 8, Tob. 1:4 and 3 Macc. 2:9 (see also 1:9–10) differentiate between the chosen city and the Temple as the “dwelling of the Most High” and the holy “place” for his name; Sir. 24:10–11, with its recourse to the idea of the Tabernacle, is similar.

But there are also other voices. 1 Macc. 7:37 takes up the indication in 1 Kings 8:29//2Chr. 6:20 and follows 2 Chr. 7:12, 16. Basing itself on the long form of the centralization formula in the version of the LXX (with ἐπικληθῆναι for the calling on the name), 1 Macc. 7 speaks of the “house” that God has chosen, and means the Temple. Jub. 1:10, where the idea of the Tabernacle is taken up from Lev. 17 and the election is replaced by the “sanctification” of the shrine (see 1 Kings 9:3//2Chr. 7:16), is similar. Both passages consequently agree with 11QT.

The Testament of Levi represents a kind of mixed tradition. In TestLev. 15:1 there is mention of the temple “which the Lord has chosen” (ὁ ναός, ὃν ἐκλέξεται κύριος). By contrast, in TestLev. 10:5, with reference to the book of Enoch the Righteous,⁵⁷ it is said that the “house which the Lord will choose will be called Jerusalem” (Ὁ γὰρ οἶκος, ὃν ἂν ἐκλέξεται Κύριος, Ἱερουσαλήμ κληθήσεται). The Testament of Zebulun is similar in 9:8, according to which the Lord will choose something, the name of which is Jerusalem.⁵⁸ Both interpretations of Deut 12. are finally also to

57. See 1 Enoch 89:50, 54, 56, 66–67, 72–73. Here “the house” (Jerusalem) and “the tower” (temple) are differentiated; in 1 Enoch 90:36, 40, presumably, the tabernacle and in 90:26–27, 28–29, 33–34, 36 the old and the new Jerusalem are meant by the “house”.

58. The text is damaged at this point, and the many variants are no help. See R. H. Charles, *The Greek Versions of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Oxford 1908; repr. Darmstadt 1960², p. 129. H. W. Hollander & M. de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. A Commentary*, SVTP 8, Leiden 1985, p. 271, conjecture ἐν ναῷ (ὃν ἐκλέξεται...), but that is very uncertain.

be found in Philo and Josephus: one brings the sanctuary⁵⁹ and the other the city⁶⁰ into the foreground.⁶¹

From the Hellenistic era at the latest, and possibly even earlier, there is also claim of the Samaritans, whose relationship to Judah must have been much closer than the anti-Samaritan polemic in the Old Testament suggests.⁶² Their specific exegesis of Deut. 12, which has found its way into the text of SP, is perhaps attested in a Hebrew inscription from the second century BC, which can easily be completed to **בַּח[ר] אֵשׁ**.⁶³ The Samaritan option must also be taken into consideration with respect to 4QMMT, not least because of the manifold relations which at the level of textual transmission can be observed in biblical manuscripts from the Dead Sea.

It is this state of the discussion that prompted the halakha in question in 4QMMT to be formulated. The identification of the “camp” of Lev. 17:3–4 with the “place which He has chosen” in Deut. 12 and of both with the city of Jerusalem, as made in MMT, is aimed at tackling a topical problem at the time and presents a solution of unsurpassable clarity. The solution takes up the (Deuteronomistic) tradition of exegesis and refers the centralization formula of Deuteronomy to Jerusalem. What is new, though, is that this tradition is balanced with Lev. 17:3–4. Thus MMT is in a position also to take up the other tradition of interpretation with a

59. Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* 1.66ff, here especially 1.67.

60. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.100–201, 203 (8.5 and 8.7); the “one temple” with no reference to the city *Ap.* 2.193.

61. The rabbinic discussion should also be noted; here many questions arise (again) which already played a role in the biblical and parabiblical interpretation; see Langer, *Von Gott erwählt*, pp. 122ff, especially p. 171.

62. G. N. Koppers, “Revisiting the Samaritan Question in the Persian Period”, in O. Lipschits & M. Oeming (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian Period*, Winona Lake, IN 2006, pp. 265–289.

63. See J. Naveh and Y. Magen, “Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions of the Second-Century BCE at Mount Gerizim”, *Atiqot* 32 (1997), pp. 10–17, here p. 15; also E. and H. Eshel, “Dating the Samaritan Pentateuch’s Compilation in Light of the Qumran Biblical Scrolls”, in Sh. M. Paul et al. (eds.), *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, VT.S 94, Leiden & Boston 2003, vol. 1, pp. 215–240, here p. 239; for the corresponding reading in SP see *ibid.*, pp. 218–219.

Priestly stamp, which identifies the chosen place of Deut. 12 with the Temple. Lev. 17:3–4 makes it possible to take both into consideration, in that the Temple as the “dwelling of God” and part of the chosen place is equated with the “tent of meeting”, and the chosen place itself with the “camp”.

This solution also ensures that the status of the city as the holy city and “place which He has chosen” is precisely fixed: the city is not identical with the central cult place, which is what the traditional identification requires, but consists of the area immediately surrounding the Temple, which for the sake of the Temple must be kept clean and holy – in contrast to what the identification of the central cult place with the Temple requires. In this way the meaning of the centralization formula of Deut. 12, which hovers between city and Temple, is made quite clear, and two competing regulations of the Torah are reconciled with each other. From all that we have seen the exclusion of the Samaritan alternative that necessarily entails is not intended, but in view of the state of the discussion in the third and second century BC it is nevertheless significant: כי ירושלים היא המקום אשר בחר מכול שבטי ישראל.

The Use of Bible in Jubilees 49: The Time and Date of the Pesah Celebration

Betsy Halpern-Amaru

In reworking the narratives of Genesis and early Exodus, the author of the Book of Jubilees primarily uses biblical material for purposes that Devorah Dimant in her pioneering essay, “The Interpretation and Use of Mikra in the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha” classified as “compositional”.¹ However, as Dimant subtly indicates,² at certain points the Jubilees narrative also includes explication of biblical phrases and passages. This essay examines an example of such a mixture of usages, specifically the treatment of the time and date for the post-exodus commemoration of the pesah in Jubilees 49.

The starting point for the treatment is a narrative recollection that the angel-narrator addresses to Moses:

Remember the commandments which the Lord gave you regarding the pesah, so that you may celebrate it at its time on the fourteenth of the first month, that you may sacrifice it before evening and so that they might eat it at night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of sunset. For on that night – it was the beginning of the festival and the beginning of joy – you were eating the pesah in Egypt when all the forces of Mastema were sent to kill every first-born in the land of Egypt... (Jub. 49:1–2).³

1. In M. J. Mulder (ed.), *Mikra: Test, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, Assen & Philadelphia 1988, pp. 379–419, especially pp. 380–384.
2. The Dinah story in Jubilees 30 is offered as an example of exegesis (a term Dimant associates with expository use) “embedded in the rhetorical context” (Dimant, pp. 396–397).
3. Unless otherwise indicated, all citations of Jubilees are from the translation of

Meghillot 5–6 (2008), pp. *81–*100

Pointing Moses (and the reader) to the directions God had given regarding celebration of the pesaḥ in Egypt (Exod. 12:3–13),⁴ the recollective structure makes explicit what is only implied in the biblical text – the post-exodus commemoration is modeled on the celebration in Egypt. That the paschal offering is to be sacrificed on the fourteenth of the first month and that the celebration involves a two-stage process, sacrificial slaughter and eating, is clear in God’s directives for the sacrifice in Egypt – “shall slaughter it at twilight” on the fourteenth (Exod. 12:6) and “shall eat the flesh that same night” (Exod. 12:8). However, Jubilees develops the times for each of the two activities not from those directives, but rather from a patchwork of phrases drawn from a variety of biblical sources, a mode of composition that has been described as a *pastiche*.⁵

Each part of the *pastiche* points to a biblical passage and has a particular function. The verb, “to celebrate/to do” (לַעֲשׂוֹת/*gbr*), does not appear in the instructions for the Egypt Pesaḥ, but it is the normative phrasing for prescriptions and descriptions of post-exodus commemorations in numerous biblical passages (e.g., Exod. 12:48; Num. 9:2, 3, 4, 5; Deut. 16:1; Josh. 5:10; 2 Kgs. 23:21; 2 Chron. 30:5; 35:1, 16–19). Its combination with “at its time” (בְּמוֹעֵדוֹ) in Jub. 49:1 suggests that the author is deliberately accessing a phrase that appears several times in the biblical account of the first post-exodus Pesaḥ (Num. 9:2, 3, 13). The intent is to indicate that the schedule Jubilees is setting forth was firmly in place well before the Israelites celebrated the festival in the wilderness.⁶

The basic time frame for the pesaḥ celebration is derived from an intricate play with the wording of Deut. 16:4, 6: (4) “...none of the flesh which you sacrifice in the evening (בֵּעֶרֶב) ... (6) ...you shall sacrifice the

J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*, 2 vols, Louvain 1989. Here, as elsewhere, I use pesaḥ or Pesaḥ in place of VanderKam’s “passover”.

4. The directions are addressed to Moses and Aaron (Exod. 12:1, 43); but Aaron is never mentioned in Jubilees.
5. See E. Chazon, “Sacrifice and Prayer in ‘The Words of the Luminaries’” in J. Kugel (ed.), *Scripture and Prayer*, Cambridge, MA 2006, pp. 25–41.
6. According to Num. 9:5 the Israelites observed the pesaḥ in the wilderness “just as the Lord had commanded Moses”. The statutory status of a post-exodus commemoration (חֻקַּת הַפֶּסַח) is established in Exod. 12:24, 43–49 and perhaps implied in Exod. 13:10, but its details in all three passages are sparse.

pesah sacrifice, in the evening, at sunset, the time of day when you departed from Egypt (כבוא השמש מועד צאתך ממצרים). The Deuteronomy prescription for future commemorations speaks only of the sacrifice (תזבח), not the eating, of the paschal offering. But because it offers multiple terms for the time of that sacrifice – “in the evening”; “in the evening at sundown”, “the time of day when you departed from Egypt” – the wording permits an exegetical treatment that understands the various time points as referring to different stages in the rite. It is so understood by the author of Jubilees who uses the phrases from Deut. 16:4 and 16:6 to develop two time frames for two activities and, subsequently, also by the rabbis who cite Deut. 16:6 as a proof text for a three-staged process.⁷

Understanding כבוא השמש as the time of sunset, Jubilees 49:1 treats “in the evening” in Deut. 16:4 as referring to the time of the sacrifice and “in the evening” in Deut. 16:6 as referring to the time of the eating. However, since the author interprets כבוא השמש (כערב כבוא השמש, “in the evening, at sundown”) as a single point in time with “at sundown” functioning as a modifier for “in the evening”, he is able to consider the unmodified כערב (“in the evening”) in Deut. 16:4 as indicating before sunset, i.e., before evening, and amends it accordingly in his narrative. It is noteworthy that the exegetically derived timing in Jubilees parallels the prescription in the Temple Scroll, which directs that the paschal offering be sacrificed לפני ערב מנחת, “before the evening offering” (11Q19 XVII 7).⁸ Whereas the Temple Scroll is actually prescribing the time of day for the sacrifice, the Jubilees 49 narrative is using the timing of the sacrifice and eating to establish that the two phases of the pesah celebration took place on different calendar dates.

That the eating at sunset (כערב כבוא השמש) involves the beginning of a new calendar day, the fifteenth, is developed from a phrase *not* included in the *pastiche*, the third indicator in the sacrifice schedule of Deut. 16:6 – מועד צאתך ממצרים (“the time of day when you departed from

7. See *b. Ber.* 9a; *Mek. Bo* 5.

8. Although the time of the pesah offering is advanced in *m. Pes.* 5.1 (cf. Josephus, *War* 6.423), it follows rather than precedes the evening *Tamid*.

Egypt”).⁹ According to Deut. 16:1 the departure was “at night”, a time supported in the Exod. 12:29–32 narrative where the tenth plague strikes the Egyptians “in middle of night”, Pharaoh rises “in the night”, summons Moses and Aaron “in the night” and presses the Israelites to immediately leave, by implication, that same night. However, the record of Israelite journeys in Num. 33:3 has them departing in clear sight of the Egyptians “on the fifteenth day of the first month... on the morrow of the paschal offering”, the time of day also implied in Moses’s directive that the Israelites not leave their homes until the morning after the paschal offering (Exod. 12:22). Merging the two options, Jubilees incorporates *לילה* (“at night”) to allude to Deut. 16:1 with the equally explicit *בחמישה עשר יום* (“on the fifteenth day”) alluding to Num. 33:3 to present the eating of the paschal offering, like the departure, as “at night, on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of sunset”. Consequently, the day begins at sunset and the sacrifice and eating take place on two different dates – one on the fourteenth, the other on the fifteenth.¹⁰

The celebratory eating, the activity of the fifteenth, also marks “the beginning of the festival” (Jub. 49:2) whose first celebration is vividly described in a portrayal, missing in the biblical narrative, of the Israelites eating the paschal offering when the tenth plague struck the houses of the Egyptians: “There was no house in Egypt in which there was no corpse, crying, and mourning. All Israel was eating the paschal meat, drinking the wine, and glorifying, blessing, and praising the Lord God of their

9. Such an association between the eating of the offering and the date of departure is implied in Exod. 12:50–51.
10. According to J. Milgrom, the biblical narrative presents the Passover festival (a fusion of Pesah and Massot) as beginning and ending in the evening as opposed to the general rule that day begins at dawn. As evidence, he cites, among other passages, the special stress on *היום* in Exod. 12:14, 17, the doubled specification of *בערב* in the dating of Massot in Exod. 12:18, and the “seemingly superfluous” addition of *ביום הראשון* to *אשר תזבח* in Deut. 16:4; see J. Milgrom *Leviticus*, 3 vols. (AB 3, 3A, 3B), New York 1991–2000, pp. 1967–68). In contrast, the argument for the day beginning at sunset in Jubilees 49 is developed solely in relationship to the timing of the pesah celebration. On the day beginning at sunset in Jubilees 18, a narrative that fuses Pesah and Massot, see B. Halpern-Amaru, “Joy as Piety in the *Book of Jubilees*”, *JJS* 56 (2005), p. 190.

fathers. They were ready to leave the Egyptian yoke and evil slavery” (Jub. 49:5b–6).

Immediately following the created scene is a presentation of legislation for the future – a Jubilees-formulated חקת הפסח – that ranges in detail from the general to the specific and includes multiple references to the time and dates of the commemoration. The style of presentation is again that of an interpretive free composition,¹¹ but, as in the narrative presentation, the commands delineating the specific times when the pesah is to be sacrificed and eaten deploy biblical phrases in a manner that clarifies the biblical-loan contexts.

In the Bible two time frames are given. The directives for the Egypt Pesah explicitly indicates that the lamb (sheep or goat) is to be slaughtered on the fourteenth of the first month בין הערביים (Exod. 12:6), a term that also appears, without reference to a specific phase of the ritual, in Lev. 23:5 and Num. 9:3,5, and in a context suggesting both sacrifice and eating in Num. 9:11. The second prescription is the one in Deuteronomy 16 where the sacrifice is to be done (תזבח) “in the evening” / “in the evening, at sunset” (Deut. 16:4, 6). As we have seen, only the Deuteronomy terms are used in the narrative section of Jubilees 49. In contrast, the legislation employs both biblical sources and develops a schedule that harmoniously subsumes the Deuteronomy 16 “in the evening”(s) within the extra-Deuteronomy “between the evenings”.¹² In this reading the sacrifice and the eating both occur “in the evening”, but, mediated by “between the evenings”, what constitutes “evening” in Deut. 16:4 is different from what is “evening” in Deut. 16:6.

Citing the phrase “in the evening at sunset” (בערב כבוא השמש) (Deut. 16:6), the legislation defines its “evening” as “the evening of the day” (Jub. 49:19), i.e., the third block of the day that is divided into three parts, “two parts for light and its third part for evening” (Jub. 49:10). This “evening of the day” is the time for sacrifice, which is forbidden “at any hour of the daylight” and allowed only “in the hour of the boundary of the evening” (Jub. 49:12). Understanding כבוא השמש as the time when the sun begins

11. On the use of biblical material in “free composition”, see Chazon, pp. 4, 14.

12. For the precise wording of the legislation, see Appendix A.

its descent, specifically the eighth hour of day,¹³ the reading inverts that of Jub. 49:1, where the term is understood as the time of sunset. Consequently, whereas **כבוא השמש** is associated with the time of the eating in Jub. 49:1, reinterpreted in the legislation as an earlier period of time, it becomes the time for the sacrifice.

A parallel inversion shifts the understanding and usage of “in the evening” in Deut. 16:4. Because the narrative of Jub 49:1 understands this **בערב** as the evening preceding night, the phrase is emended to “before evening” and employed to indicate the time for the sacrifice. The converse function is assigned to the phrase in the legislation. No longer emended, **בערב** in Deut. 16:4 now designates the block of time for the eating. Its hours are from sunset to the third part of the night,¹⁴ with its end point emphasized by a partial citation of Exod. 12:10 (**והנותר ממנו עד בקר תשרף**)¹⁵ that is deliberately rephrased – “Any of its meat that is left over from the third part of the night and beyond” (Jub. 49:12) – to exclude the possibility of the eating extending beyond the eighth hour of the night. Unstated, but clear from context, the night, like the day, is divided into three parts, one part of which, in this case the third, is termed “evening”. The counterpart to the evening of the day, the evening of the night is the second half of “between the evenings”, the span of time within which the sacrifice and the eating are to be completed.¹⁶ With both the sacrifice and

13. A similar time frame for the sacrifice is put forth by R. Natan in *Mekilta Bo*, but in contrast to Jubilees, he argues from the phrase “between the evenings”, and begins the descent of the sun toward evening after the sixth hour of the day (*Mek. Bo* 5). On the extension of the period for the sacrifices, see also *m. Pesah.* 5.1 and Philo, *Laws* 2.145. In all these instances, the intent is to provide sufficient time to accommodate the great numbers that would come to the central sanctuary (Milgrom, p. 1969).
14. According to rabbinic halakah, the *pesah* can be eaten until midnight (*m. Pes.* 5.8; 10.9; *b. Pes.* 120b).
15. The biblical prohibition, which forbids any of the *pesah* being left until morning, also appears in Exod. 34:25; Num. 9:12; and Deut. 16:4, but only Exod. 12:10 specifies burning of the remains.
16. The interpretation voiced by R. Bathyra in *Mek. Bo* 5 – between the evenings indicates two separate evenings, one for sacrifice, the other for eating – is close to that developed in Jubilees.

eating falling within its perimeters, “between the evenings” thus becomes the time designator for celebration of the full pesaḥ ritual (Jub. 49:10–12).¹⁷

Its structure notwithstanding, the Jubilees treatment is not unlike the rabbinic exegesis it antecedes. The biblical terms, **בין הערבים**, **בערב**, **כבוא השמש**, **בין הערביים**, coexist without contradiction within the Jubilees legislation as time designators for the stages of the pesaḥ celebration. That a different exegesis functions in the narrative section of Jubilees 49 suggests a polysemous approach that is not unlike the multi-voiced exegesis of rabbinic midrash. Indeed, at certain points in its treatment of the time of the pesaḥ ritual, Jubilees not only anticipates exegetical strategies employed by the rabbis, but also may offer an insight into the exposition of biblical text that underlay and supported the practice of the pesaḥ ritual in the Second Temple period.

A different use is made of biblical material in the legislation regarding the date of the pesaḥ commemoration. As in the treatment of the date in Jub. 49:1, the date-related commands incorporate biblical phrases that allude to particular passages, but in neither the narrative nor the commands are the phrases deployed in a way that brings clarification to the biblical loan contexts. To the contrary, the allusions primarily function in service of the Jubilees assertion – the pesaḥ ritual spans the fourteenth and the fifteenth – that is never stated in the biblical text. Multiple biblical passages designate only the fourteenth (Exod. 12:6; Lev. 23:5; Num. 9:3, 5; 11 [*Pesaḥ Shenī*]; 28:16).¹⁸ Only by implication is the fifteenth associated with the pesaḥ ritual, specifically in Exod. 12:42,

17. Oddly, Charles understands “between the evenings” in Jub. 49:10 as referring only to the time of slaughter (R. H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, London 1902). “Between the evenings, from the third part of the day until the third part of the night” clearly includes the eating, permitted “until the third part of the night”, within the time frame of “between the evenings”.
18. Also Josh. 5:10; Ezek. 45:21; Ezra. 6:19; 2 Chron. 35:1. Exod. 12:6 specifies slaughter on the fourteenth and, without indicating a date, 12:8 commands that it be eaten that night. Forms of **לעשות הפסח** (possibly suggesting sacrifice and eating) are used in Num. 9; Josh. 5:10; Ezra. 6:19; 2 Chron. 35:1, 16–19; and a stated or elliptic to-be verb is used in Lev. 23:5; Num. 28:16; Ezek. 45:21.

Deut. 16:1, 3, 6, where the commemoration is in some fashion related to the departure from Egypt, dated the fifteenth in Num. 33:3.

The legislation of Jubilees deals with the problem of the biblical sources through a compositional design that accesses multiple biblical passages in support of a commemoration spanning two dates without overt contradiction of the biblical text. With the exception of one command where the fourteenth is specified (Jub. 49:10), no dates are mentioned in the legislation. In their place is a set of terms – “this day” (Jub. 49:7), “on its day” (Jub. 49:7, 8, 17), “its prescribed day” (lit. “the time of its day”) (Jub. 49:9), “at its time” (Jub. 49:9, 15, 16); “its specific day” (lit. “the day of its time”) (Jub. 49:10, 14, 15) “its festal day” (Jub. 49:14) – that represent the fourteenth, the fifteenth, or both. The date (or dates) designated by each term is revealed through an ingenious system of allusions employed in the wording of the date-related commands.¹⁹

This system of allusions has three distinctive features. First, the dating set forth in the preceding Jubilees narrative is presumed. Consequently, the fourteenth is represented by explicit references to sacrifice of the pesah and allusions to biblical passages involving that sacrifice. The fifteenth, “the beginning of the festival” in Jub. 49:2, is indicated by explicit and alluded references to eating the pesah and also, in accord with Num. 33:3, by allusions to biblical passages that associate celebration of the pesah with the exodus. Secondly, the allusions are triggered by the particular content of a command, by a full or partial citation, by an abstracted biblical phrase, or, in certain instances, by the day-term. Lastly, each date-related command is deliberately composed to point to both the fourteenth and the fifteenth.

Paralleling the language that opens the narrative (“Remember... so that you may celebrate...” [Jub. 49:1]), the first verse of the legislation has the angel commanding Moses:

Now you remember *this day throughout all the days of your life*.²⁰
Celebrate it *from year to year throughout all your lifetime, once a*

19. For a charting of the system of allusions in the date-related commands, see Appendix B.

20. Translation mine.

year on its day in accord with all of its law. Then you will not change a day from the day or from month to month (Jub. 49:7).²¹

There are three time-signals in the passage: “*this day*”, “*from year to year*”, and “*on its day*”. That “*this day*” to be remembered and commemorated refers to the day of the exodus from Egypt (and hence, the fifteenth) is evident from a command Moses addresses to the Israelites in Exod. 13:3: זָכוֹר אֶת הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר יֵצְאתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם. In that passage, however, it is the Festival of Massot, not Pesah, that commemorates the exodus. A similar command, תִּזְכֹּר אֶת יוֹם צֵאתְךָ, מִצְרַיִם מִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר יֵצְאתָ מִמִּצְרַיִם appears in a Deuteronomy context that assimilates the pesah ritual to the Massot festival and connects recollection of the exodus to both – וְלֹא יִרְאֶה לְךָ שָׂאֵר בְּכָל גְּבוּלְךָ שִׁבְעַת יָמִים וְלֹא יִלֵּין מִן הַבֶּשֶׂר – (Deut. 16:3–4). Transferring the Massot-associated Exodus command to a pesah context, Jubilees joins הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה in Exod. 13:3 with כָּל יְמֵי חֵיֶיךָ in Deut. 16:3 to create an indicator for the fifteenth.

That the day is to be celebrated *from year to year* (‘*am’ām la’ām*) is another indicator of the fifteenth. The phrase מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה (“from year to year”) appears in Exod. 13:10 – וּשְׁמַרְתָּ אֶת הַחֻקָּה הַזֹּאת לְמוֹעֶדָה מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה (“You shall keep this statute at its set time from year to year”). Immediately thereafter are commands regarding the offering of firstlings (Exod. 13:11–15) that are directly related to the slaying of the first-born and the exodus from Egypt. Understanding הַחֻקָּה הַזֹּאת in Exod. 13:10 as referring back to חֻקַּת הַפֶּסַח in Exod. 12:43, a position subsequently also held by Rabbi Akiba (*b. Menah.* 36b; *b. Erub.* 96a),²² Jubilees uses “from year to year” to allude to Exod. 13:10 and connect the eating of the pesah (the subject of the pericope introduced by Exod. 12:43) to the exodus from Egypt.

The third date-signal in Jub. 49:7, “*on its day*” (*ba’elatu*/בְּיוֹמוֹ), alludes to Lev. 23:37 where the term appears in a command to bring the required offerings for sacred occasions at their set times: אֱלֹהֵי מוֹעֲדֵי ה’

21. Here, and in other citations, allusive phrases are italicized.

22. The opposing position of R. Jose relates “this statute” to the command regarding phylacteries (*b. Menah.* 36b; *b. Erub.* 96a; cf. *Mek. Bo* 17; *Tg. Ps.-J.* on Exod. 13:10).

אשר תקראו אתם קדש להקריב עלה ומנחה זבח ונסכים דבר יום ביומו ("These are the set times of the Lord that you shall celebrate as sacred occasions, bring offerings by fire to the Lord... on each day what is proper to it"). In the enumeration of the set times of those sacred occasions the fourteenth of the first month is designated as the date for the pesaḥ offering (Lev. 23:5).

In addition to the allusive date-terms, the command in Jub. 49:7 also includes the phrase, "in accord with all its law". Formulated in the plural (ככל משפטי), the phrase appears in Num. 9:3, a biblical passage directing celebration of the pesaḥ on the fourteenth. Jubilees adopts the singular form not out of objection to the fourteenth, but rather to access Num. 9:14, where similar phrasing, וכמשפטו, appears in the context of a pericope dealing with *Pesah Sheni* and the participation of the resident alien in the pesaḥ celebration, neither of which does the author wish to include in his legislation. In contrast to Qumran and rabbinic texts,²³ Jubilees permits no postponement of the pesaḥ celebration. To express his opposition both to a postponement as well as to the participation of the גר, the author deliberately adopts משפטו from Num. 9:14, but negates its context by making no reference to the גר and by inserting into the command a prohibition against ever changing the day of the pesaḥ celebration. The opposition both to any postponement of the festival as well as to the inclusion of the resident alien is repeated at several other points in the legislation where similar tactics are employed in its expression (Jub. 49:8, 9, 14, 16–17).

The phrase "on its day" is again used to allude to Lev. 23:37 and the fourteenth as the time of the sacrificial offering in Jub. 49:8. The fifteenth is indicated by "throughout all their generations",²⁴ alluding to the Exod. 12:42 command that the Israelites observe the night of the exodus as night of vigil ליל שמרים הוא לה' (Lil Shemirah hu la') because לדרתם (Lidratam) ("throughout their generations") because להוציאם מארץ מצרים (Lehוציאam me'aretz Mitsrayim). Both the fourteenth and the fifteenth may be indicated by "they are to celebrate it each and every year" (*bak^wellu 'āmat*

23. On *Pesah Sheni* in the Qumran Scrolls, see 4Q259 viii 1; 4Q320 4 iii 4, 14 (reconstructed); iv 9; v 3, 12; vi 7 (reconstructed); 4Q321 2 ii 5, 9; iii 8; on *Pesah Sheni* in the Mishnah, see *m. Pes.* 9.1–4.

24. Literal translation.

wa'āmat / *בכל שנה ושנה*), possibly a playful allusion to Esth. 9:27 regarding commemoration of the fourteenth and the fifteenth, albeit of the month of Adar!²⁵

In Jub. 49:9, one of only two instances in the legislation where a full biblical verse is cited, the allusions are built into the reworked citation. Instead of *והאיש אשר הוא טהור ובדרך לא היה וחדל לעשות הפסח ונכרתה* (Num. 9:13), Jubilees reads:

The man who is pure but does not come to celebrate it – *on the time of its day* (*bagizē 'elatu*)²⁶ to bring a sacrifice that is pleasing before the Lord and to eat and drink before the Lord *on the day of His festival* – that man who is pure and nearby is to be uprooted because he did not bring the Lord's sacrifice *at its time* (*bagizēhu*). That man will bear responsibility for his own sin.

Num. 9:13 specifically refers to presenting the sacrifice *במועדו* identified in Num. 9:11 as the fourteenth. The author of Jubilees retains the term in the last part of the citation (“bring the Lord's sacrifice *at its time*”). At the same time, he adds phrases that extend the command to include the eating of the *pesaḥ* and inserts two additional day-signals. One is a reference to “*the day of His festival*” (*ba'elata ba'ālu*) that not only reflects the designation of the fifteenth as “the beginning of the festival” in the introductory narrative (Jub. 49:2), but also alludes to Exod. 23:18, the only instance in the Bible where *חג* appears with a pronominal suffix. The biblical passage, which sets forth a prohibition against leaving the fat of the offering of *חגי* lying until morning, appears within the context of a set of commands unrelated to celebration of the

25. The phrase also appears in Esth. 9:21, but its position in 9:27 is more conducive to abstraction. I suggest the allusion only as a possibility, since the same phrase *bak"ellu 'āmat wa'āmat* or a slight variant thereof also appears in reference to Shavuot (*bak"ellu 'ām wa'āmat*) (Jub. 6:17) and Succot (*bak"ellu 'āmat wa'āmāt*) (Jub. 16:29). In Jub. 6:17 it is the covenant that is to be renewed “each and every year” and in Jub. 16:29 it is the law (legislating Succot) that is eternal “throughout their history in each and every year”.

26. Literal translation. Positioning of dashes mine.

pesaḥ. However, the same prohibition, stated with explicit reference to the “sacrifice of the pesaḥ”, appears again in the context of the same series of commands²⁷ in Exod. 34:25 (ולא תלין לבקר זבח פסח).²⁸ Treating Exod. 23:18 and Exod. 34:25 as both referring to the paschal offering, Jubilees adopts חגי, with the pronominal suffix shifted to third person, as an allusive indicator for the fifteenth. The other day-reference, “*at the time of its day*” (*bagizē ‘elatu*), does not allude to a specific biblical passage, but rather is a version of במועדו that has been carefully reworked to indicate that each phase of the pesaḥ ritual – “to bring a sacrifice that is pleasing before the Lord and to eat and drink before the Lord”²⁹ – has its own day.

In three other commands (Jub. 49:10, 14, 15) a different created variant of במועדו, “*on the day of its time*” (*ba‘elatā gizēhu*), is used to indicate the fourteenth and fifteenth.³⁰ In addition to the created term, explicit and allusive references to dates are also incorporated within the three commands. Jub. 49:10 names the fourteenth as the day “to come and celebrate the pesaḥ” and indicates the fourteenth–fifteenth through a reference to the time when the full pesaḥ ritual is to be celebrated, i.e., “between the evenings, from the third part of the day until the third part of the night”. Two interrelated commands, Jub. 49:14–15, both open with phrasing evocative of Num. 9:2–5, (ויעשו בני ישראל את הפסח במועדו...), a pericope within which the fourteenth is twice identified as the set time for the pesaḥ celebration (Num. 9:3, 5). The fifteenth is indicated in Jub. 49:14 by its subject matter, the prohibition against breaking a bone of the pesaḥ, which appears together with the prohibition against leaving a remnant until

27. The use of only unleavened products in the sacrificial cult, the bringing of first fruits, and an injunction against seething a kid in its mother’s milk (Exod. 23:18–19; Exod. 34:25–26).
28. On Exod. 34:25 as a deliberate reworking of Exod. 23:18, see Milgrom, p. 2070.
29. The wording suggests an association between the pesaḥ and well-being offerings. On that association, see Milgrom, pp. 1985–86; S. Japhet, *1 & 2 Chronicles: A Commentary*, London 1993, p. 950.
30. The Latin reflects “on the time of its day” in Jub. 49:9. VanderKam suggests that “on the time of its day” and “on the day of its time” convey the same meaning (note on Jub. 49:9).

morning in Num. 9:12 (cf. Exod. 12:46). The same date is additionally signaled by the designation of the day as a “festal day”, alluding to Exod. 34:25 where the prohibition against leaving a remnant until morning is stated with specific reference to חג הפסח. Jub. 49:15 features an apotropaic connection between protection from plague and commemorations of the pesah “at its time in every respect as it was commanded”. Insofar as that connection reflects an extension of Moses’s assurance that the pesah-blood mark would protect the Israelites from the tenth plague (Exod. 12:23), it, like the time-phrase, “at its time” (במועדו), points to fourteenth. However, since the same type of apotropaic connection appears with specific reference to the prohibition against breaking a bone at the end of Jub. 49:13, the command in Jub. 49:15 is also referencing the theme as well as the allusions pointing to the fifteenth in Jub. 49:14.³¹

Three other date-related commands deal with the requirement for celebration of the pesah at a central sanctuary that is legislated in Deut. 16:5–7. The opening of Jub. 49:16 (“It is no longer to be eaten outside the Lord’s sanctuary”) directly alludes to Deut. 16:5 (כי אם אל המקום אשר ... יבחר ה’ אלהיך), but houses its date-indicators in a citation of Exod. 12:47 – “all the people of the Israelite congregation are to celebrate it” (כל עדת ישראל יעשו אתו במועדו) at the end. The addition, a standard allusion to Num. 9:3, provides the indicator for the fourteenth (cf. Jub. 49:9, 15). Less direct, the indicator for the fifteenth is accessed through the cited biblical passage. Exod. 12:47 appears within a pesah statute legislating that “all the community of Israel”, inclusive of the resident alien (גר), is to participate in the eating of the pesah (Exod. 12:43–49). Avoiding the inclusion of the resident alien, Jubilees abstracts the single verse, uses its biblical context (eating the pesah) as an allusive indicator for the fifteenth, and places the citation in the context of the Deut. 16:5 legislation of a central sanctuary.³²

31. The double function is also evident in the narrative. The sign of the blood protects the Israelites from the plague as “the Lord’s forces” pass over their houses (Jub. 49:4) and the Israelites are eating the pesah when Mastema’s forces were sent to strike the houses of the Egyptians (Jub. 49:2).
32. The technique is not unlike that adopted with *Pesah Sheni* (Jub. 49:9): a verse

Another standard indicator for the fourteenth, “on its day” (בִּיּוֹמוֹ) (cf. Jub. 49:7, 8), is used in the opening of Jub. 49:17. Maintaining the focus on celebration at the Lord’s sanctuary, this command alludes to the fifteenth by echoing the Deut. 16:7 requirement that the pesaḥ be eaten only at the central sanctuary. The indicators in Jub. 49:18 are placed in a clause – “and sacrifice it before the Lord from year to year” – that is appended to a command legislating centralized celebration of the pesaḥ from the time the Israelites enter the land.³³ Completing the use of all three passages in Deut. 16:5–7, an allusion to Deut 16:6 (focused on where the pesaḥ is to be sacrificed) points to the fourteenth. The indicator for the fifteenth rests in “from year to year” (*’am ’āmat ba ’āmat*), a phrase drawn from the Deut. 15:20 requirement that firstlings be eaten annually (שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה) at the central sanctuary.³⁴ Unlike the firstling command in Exod. 13:3 alluded to in Jub. 49:7, the Deuteronomy command makes no connection between firstlings and the pesaḥ. That association rests solely on the placement of the alluding phrase in a clause that involves sacrifice of the pesaḥ.

The legislative intent of Jub. 49:18 is perfectly clear without the addition of the allusion to Deut. 15:20. Indeed, the awkwardly appended clause, “and sacrifice it before the Lord from year to year”, could have been avoided and a reference to sacrifice readily incorporated into the body of the command. That the command is constructed to the contrary highlights both the import its author assigns to including indicators for both the fourteenth and the fifteenth within each date-related command as well as the deliberateness with which he constructs each command. The deliberate construction is necessary, for in the matter of the date, the author of Jubilees must access not what is manifest, but what is elusive in the biblical text. To do so, he devises a structure in which a system of

from a troublesome pericope is cited, but new meaning is given to the citation by its placement in a different context.

33. For a similar position in rabbinic literature, see *b. Meg.* 9b; *b. Zeb.* 115a.
34. None of Jubilees 49 is extant in the Hebrew original. That *’am ’āmat ba ’āmat* is a Ge’ez translation of שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה is suggested by the structure of the Ge’ez and by the fact that the term does not appear in the commandments to annually celebrate Shavout (Jub. 6:17) or Succot (Jub. 16:29).

allusions accesses multiple, varied biblical passages. Assuming great familiarity with the biblical text on the part of reader, the structure is a demanding and cryptic one. Only at the end of the pesaḥ legislation does the author provide a key to its workings:

Now you, Moses, order the Israelites to keep the statute of the pesaḥ as it was commanded to you so that you may tell them its year each year, *the day of the days* (lit.)... (Jub. 49:22).

Retaining the terminology, but departing totally from the system employed throughout the legislation, this date-related command contains no biblical allusion. Instead, a plural construction states the position set forth at the start of the Jubilees 49 narrative – the statute of pesaḥ requires a commemoration in accord with “the day of the *days*”.

Although the treatments of the time and the date of the pesaḥ celebration are integrated in Jubilees 49, they demonstrate very different uses of biblical material. In neither the narrative nor the legislation presentation of the date of the pesaḥ celebration is overt reference made to unleavened bread or to the exodus, both closely associated with the Festival of Massot in the biblical text.³⁵ Instead, a coded set of allusions accesses multiple biblical passages to function as proof-texts for the argument that the pesaḥ celebration extends into the fifteenth and supplants Massot as the central commemorative festival of the exodus.³⁶ Its resourceful use of biblical material notwithstanding, such a treatment is agenda-driven by its very nature.

Biblical material functions in a markedly different way in the presentation of the times for a two-phased pesaḥ ritual. The structure

35. The omission is quite deliberate. Allusions are made to verses prescribing that the pesaḥ be eaten with unleavened bread and/or bitter herbs (Exod. 12:8; Num. 9:11; Deut. 16:3), but they always refer to some other aspect of the verse. Similarly, passages that reference the exodus are used as indicators for the fifteenth, but the only such passages alluded to are those that in some way associate the exodus with celebration of the pesaḥ.

36. Mentioned only in Jub. 49:22b–23, the Festival of Massot commemorates the eating of unleavened bread from the time of the Israelite departure from Egypt to the day of their arrival across the sea into the wilderness of Sur.

remains that of a free composition, but within the composition there is exegesis of biblical text. In the narrative portion of the chapter it is reflected in a *pastiche* that employs biblical terms and phrases in a clarifying way; in the legislation it is evidenced by a creative exposition that effects harmonization between terms that conflict in their biblical contexts.

Appendix A

Legislation of the Date and Time of Pesah in Jub. 49:7–23³⁷

49:7 Now you remember this day throughout all your lifetime. Celebrate it from year to year throughout all your lifetime, once a year on its day in accord with all of its law. Then you will not change a day from the day or from month to month.

49:8 For it is an eternal statute and it is engraved on the heavenly tablets regarding the Israelites that they are to celebrate it each and every year on its day, once a year, throughout all their generations (lit.). There is no temporal limit because it is ordained forever.

49:9* The man who is pure but does not come to celebrate it – on the time of its day (lit.) to bring a sacrifice that is pleasing before the Lord and to eat and drink before the Lord on the day of his festival – that man who is pure and nearby is to be uprooted because he did not bring the Lord's sacrifice at its time. That man will bear responsibility for his own sin.

49:10* The Israelites are to come and celebrate the pesah on the day of its time (lit.) – on the fourteenth of the first month between the evenings, from the third part of the day until the third part of the night. For two parts of the day have been given for light and its third part for the evening.

49:11 This is what the Lord commanded you – to celebrate it between the evenings.

49:12 It is not to be sacrificed at any hour of the daylight but in the hour of the boundary of the evening. They will eat it during the evening hour(s) until the third part of the night. Any of its meat that is left over from the third part of the night and beyond is to be burned.

37. Positioning of dashes mine.

49:13 (No time or day indication)

49:14 Therefore the Lord ordered the Israelites to celebrate the pesaḥ on the day of its time (lit). No bone of it is to be broken because it is a festal day and a day which has been commanded. From it there is to be no passing over a day from the day or a month from the month because it is to be celebrated on its festal day.

49:15 Now you order the Israelites to celebrate the pesaḥ each year during their times on the day of its time (lit.). Then a pleasing memorial will come before the Lord and no plague will come upon them to kill and to strike (them) during that year when they have celebrated the pesaḥ at its time in every respect as it was commanded.

49:16 It is no longer to be eaten outside of the Lord's sanctuary but before the Lord's sanctuary. All the community of Israel (lit.) are to celebrate it at its time.

49:17 Every man who has come on its day, who is 20 years of age and above, is to eat it in the sanctuary of your God before the Lord, because this the way it has been written and ordained – that they are to eat it in the Lord's sanctuary.

49:18 When the Israelites enter the land which they will possess – the land of Canaan – and set up the Lord's tabernacle in the middle of the land in one of their tribal groups (until the time when the Lord's temple will be built in the land), they are to come and celebrate the pesaḥ in the Lord's tabernacle and sacrifice it before the Lord from year to year.

49:19 At the time when the house is built in the Lord's name in the land which they will possess, they are to go there and sacrifice the pesaḥ in the evening when the sun sets, in the third part of the day.

49:20 (No time or day indication)

49:21 (No time or day indication)

49:22 Now you, Moses, order the Israelites to keep the statute of the pesaḥ as it was commanded to you so that you may tell them its year each year, the day of the days (lit.)...

49:22b–23 (Festival of Massot)

Appendix B
Allusions in the Date-Related Commands

Verse	Allusion	Biblical Passage(s)	Date(s) Indicated
49:7	“this day” combined with “all the days of your lifetime”	Exod. 13:3; Deut 16:3–4	15 th (exodus from Egypt)
	“from year to year”	Exod. 13:10; 12:43	15 th (exodus from Egypt and eating of the pesah)
	“on its day”	Lev. 23:37; Lev 23:5	14 th (bring pesah offering) (explicit)
	“in accord with all its law”	Num. 9:14	14–15 th
49:8	“on its day”	Lev. 23:37; Lev. 23:5	14 th (bring pesah offering) (explicit)
	“throughout all their generations”	Exod. 12:42	15 th (exodus from Egypt)
	“to celebrate it each and every year”	Esth. 9:27	14 th and 15 th (explicit but with reference to Adar)
49:9	“The man who is pure...”	Num. 9:13 Full, but altered citation.	14 th –15 th
	“on the time of its day”	None	14 th (sacrifice)
	“at its time”	Num. 9:13	14 th (sacrifice)
	“day of His festival”	Exod. 23:18; 34:25	15 th (eating)
49:10	“on the day of its time”	None	14 th –15 th
	14 th explicitly identified		14 th
	“between the evenings from the third part of the day until the third part of the night”	Num. 9:3	14 th –15 th (Jubilees understanding of “between the evenings”)

Verse	Allusion	Biblical Passage(s)	Date(s) Indicated
49:14	“Let the Israelites offer the pesaḥ sacrifice at its time... on the 14 th day...”	Num. 9:2–3	14 th (explicit in Num. 9:3)
	“on the day of its time”	None	14 th –15 th
	Prohibition of breaking a bone of the pesaḥ	Num. 9:12 (Also Exod. 12:46)	15 th (not leaving remnant until morning) (eating)
	“festal day”	Exod. 34:25 (cf. Exod. 12:14)	15 th (no leaving a remnant until morning)
49:15	“Moses instructed the Israelites to offer the pesaḥ sacrifice... and they offered... on the 14 th day...”	Num. 9:4–5	14 th (explicit in Num. 9:3, 5)
	“on the day of its time”	None	14 th –15 th
	“at its time”	Num. 9:3, 5	14 th (explicit)
	Protection from plague theme Connected to Jub. 49:13c–14 (Not breaking bone)	Exod. 12:13 (cf. Exod. 12:23) Exod. 12:46 Num. 9:12	14 th (sign of blood from pesaḥ sacrifice) 15 th (eating) 15 th (not leaving remnant)
49:16	“at its time”	Num. 9:3, 5	14 th (explicit)
	“All the community of Israel...”	Exod. 12:47	15 th (eating)
	“no longer to be eaten outside the Lord’s sanctuary...”	Deut. 16:5–7	15 th (eating)
49:17	“on its day”	Lev. 23:37; Lev. 23:5	14 th (bring pesaḥ offering) (explicit)
	“eat in the Lord’s sanctuary”	Deut. 16:7	15 th (eating)

Verse	Allusion	Biblical Passage(s)	Date(s) Indicated
49:18	“sacrifice it... before the Lord”	Deut. 16:6	14 th (sacrifice)
	“from year to year”	Deut. 15:20	15 th (eating)
49:22	“the day of the days”	None	14 th –15 th

Le *mazzal* et le mérite, du *Testament d'Abraham* à Rabbi Aqiba

Francis Schmidt

La liberté, dans la doctrine et les pratiques de la Communauté de Qoumrân, apparaît enserrée, comme ligotée à l'intérieur d'un maillage serré de déterminismes, à commencer par la double prédestination aux voies de lumière et aux voies de ténèbres jusqu'à ce qu'à la fin des temps l'Esprit de lumière l'emporte définitivement sur l'Esprit de ténèbres. Déjà en 1984, dans une page magistrale de clarté et de pénétration, s'interrogeant sur la place faite à la liberté dans un tel système, Devorah Dimant avait proposé de distinguer deux niveaux d'analyse: d'une part un niveau général, celui d'une prédestination régissant toute l'histoire universelle, principalement documenté par l'*Instruction sur les deux Esprits*; et d'autre part le niveau du *hic et nunc* de la vie communautaire, celui des vies individuelles, documenté principalement par les *Hymnes* de la Communauté. La question de la liberté de choix et de la responsabilité humaine est particulièrement sensible lorsqu'elle est posée à ce second niveau. Certes la prédestination et la grâce divine y apparaissent déterminantes pour l'élection et le salut, mais encore faut-il qu'à la "totale dépendance de l'homme à Dieu inhérente aux lois fondamentales de la création" vienne s'ajouter "une attitude correspondante de la part de l'homme", et que par un vrai repentir et par l'obéissance aux commandements divins, "l'homme se rende capable de recevoir la grâce divine".¹ De ces deux mouvements analysés de façon si pertinente par

1. Devorah Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature", in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* (ed. M. E. Stone; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 536-538. Que Madalina Vârtejanu Joubert et Christophe Batsch trouvent ici tous mes remerciements pour leurs critiques et leurs suggestions.

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D. Dimant, celui de Dieu vers l'homme est bien sûr, pour reprendre les mots de Pascal, "la dominante, la source, le principe et la cause de l'autre".² J'ajouterai que ce double mouvement est inscrit dans le rite d'entrée des néophytes dans la Communauté tel que la décrit la *Règle*. Le mouvement d'acceptation est présent dans l'instruction et les examens des candidats par l'Inspecteur et les Nombreux. Quant à l'élection et la volonté divines, elles sont exprimées rituellement par le tirage au sort.³ On comprend dès lors que les deux phases de cette procédure d'élection, loin d'être contradictoires, sont strictement complémentaires.

De plus, s'agissant du premier niveau d'analyse, dans un article de 1998, D. Dimant a ouvert de nouvelles perspectives sur la nature et l'étendue de la doctrine dualiste mettant en jeu la double prédestination.⁴ Alors qu'auparavant les commentateurs de l'*Instruction sur les deux Esprits* interprétaient le dualisme comme étant d'ordre éthique et sotériologique, D. Dimant, s'appuyant sur un ensemble de textes de la grotte IV plus récemment publiés, en donne une nouvelle définition. Étant un principe préétabli, organisateur de toute la création, le dualisme qoumrânien n'oppose pas seulement la lumière aux ténèbres compris comme des métaphores du bien et du mal, il commande également à l'ordre cosmique et naturel, dont les éléments sont eux aussi associés au grand combat de la Lumière contre les Ténèbres. Dès lors la double prédestination ne détermine pas seulement les activités humaines, mais agit également sur les corps célestes, les cycles naturels, l'organisation du calendrier et des périodes historiques. C'est ainsi que dans le *Premier livre d'Hénoch* (II–V), les objets célestes et les cycles de la nature, qui obéissent strictement aux commandements divins et dont le mouvement ne s'écarte pas de la règle fixée, sont proposés en modèle aux sociétés humaines. La double prédestination induite par un dualisme ainsi redéfini, cosmique et non

2. Blaise Pascal, *Écrits sur la Grâce* I, i (in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. J. Chevalier, Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1954), 948.
3. Francis Schmidt, "Élection et tirage au sort (IQS VI, 13–23 et Ac 1, 15–26)", *Revue d'Histoire et de Philosophie Religieuses* 80 (2000): 105–117.
4. Devorah Dimant, "Dualism at Qumran. New Perspectives", in *Caves of Enlightenment. Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947–1997)* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hills, Texas: Bibal Press, 1998), 55–73.

plus simplement éthique, embrasse le cosmos et la totalité de la création autant que l'histoire humaine. On perçoit que, dans un tel système, le déterminisme est encore plus inflexible, restreignant encore davantage la part laissée à la liberté humaine.

Pour faire ressortir cette espèce de fatalité de la prédestination ainsi que la place si restreinte laissée à la liberté humaine, telles qu'elles sont conçues et vécues dans la Communauté de Qoumrân, dans cet article en hommage à Devorah Dimant, je me propose d'opposer cette doctrine, à titre de comparaison, à celle des Pharisiens et des Sages des premières générations. Sur l'axe tendu entre les deux pôles opposés du déterminisme et du libre choix, la position qoumrânienne se situe au plus près du déterminisme. Quant aux Pharisiens, rapporte Flavius Josèphe, ils disent que "certains événements, non pas tous, sont l'oeuvre du destin [le mot *heimarmenê* est ici un équivalent du vouloir divin]; mais que pour ce qui est des autres, il dépend de nous-mêmes qu'ils se produisent ou non" (*Antiquités* XIII, 172).⁵ A cette notice de Josèphe sur les Pharisiens fait écho la sentence de Rabbi Aqiba: "Tout est prévu, mais la liberté de choix est donnée [aux hommes]" (Michna, *Avot* III, 15).⁶ Sur l'axe opposant le déterminisme au libre choix, sans doute la position pharisienne se situe-t-elle à mi-distance de ces deux pôles extrêmes. Est-il possible de préciser quelles sont, dans la doctrine des premiers Sages, les

5. Sur les pharisiens dans ces trois notices de Flavius Josèphe, voir Francis Schmidt, "Destin et providence chez Flavius Josèphe", in *Pierre Vidal-Naquet, un historien dans la cité* (ed. François Hartog, Pauline Schmitt et Alain Schnapp; Paris: La découverte, 1998), 185–190.
6. Je retiens l'interprétation classique de *ha-kôl tsafûi* comme impliquant l'idée de préconnaissance. Toutefois, d'après Ephraïm E. Urbach, *Les sages d'Israël. Conceptions et croyances des maîtres du Talmud* (traduit de l'hébreu par M.-J. Jolivet; Paris: Cerf-Verdier, 1996), 268–70 [*The Sages. Their Concepts and Beliefs* (Translated from the Hebrew by I. Abrahams; Cambridge, Mass.–London: Harvard Un. Press, 1987), 256–258], cette expression n'implique ni l'idée de prédestination ni celle de prescience: "l'intention de R. Aqiba n'était pas de résoudre la contradiction entre la prescience de Dieu et la liberté de choix de l'homme, mais de rendre l'homme conscient de sa responsabilité dans l'acte". Pour Urbach, l'emploi de *tsafa* au sens de "connaître par avance" ne serait pas attesté avant les Amoraïm.

bornes assignées au libre choix ? Pour tenter de répondre à cette question, en me situant aux limites du système, je m'interrogerai sur ce qu'il advient du libre choix et de la responsabilité humaine face à l'une des formulations les plus radicales du déterminisme que sont les données inscrites dans les astres. Plus précisément encore, pour atteindre aux pronostics touchant les vies individuelles, en regard desquels l'homme apparaît le plus souvent entièrement dépourvu de possibilité d'action, je m'interrogerai sur l'horoscope, la question de la durée de vie et de la mort prématurée : face à ce qui est tenu pour une inéluctable fatalité, face au plus haut degré de déterminisme, quelle part de libre initiative, la doctrine des Sages concède-t-elle aux humains ?

Je commencerai par la relecture de l'une des pages du Talmud (TB *Shabbat* 156a–b) les plus caractéristiques et les plus fameuses sur la diversité des opinions des Amoraïm concernant l'astrologie, et plus particulièrement l'horoscope. L'influence des astres s'arrête-t-elle aux frontières d'Israël ? Faut-il comprendre que les Sages mis en scène dans cette page écartent toute forme de déterminisme astral pour faire porter l'accent sur la liberté de choix et la responsabilité humaines ? Ou au contraire affirment-ils tout à la fois le déterminisme et le libre choix ?

Dans un chapitre sur la Providence, E. Urbach consacre des observations pénétrantes et nuancées aux problèmes que pose l'antinomie entre les deux aspects de l'activité providentielle, celle qui gouverne la nature et le cosmos et celle qui intervient dans l'histoire et les affaires humaines, ou encore entre ces deux principes opposés que sont la préconnaissance divine et le libre arbitre humain. Ce chapitre analyse les différentes façons de concilier ces aspects ou ces principes antithétiques, depuis Philon d'Alexandrie et Flavius Josèphe à la fin de la période du second Temple jusqu'à l'époque des Amoraïm au troisième siècle et au-delà. Si Urbach admet que les Amoraïm décrivent souvent les voies de la Providence au moyen d'images ou de figures de style empruntées à la science astrologique, il n'en reste pas moins qu'en elle-même "l'astrologie n'est pas seulement la négation du libre arbitre, elle est aussi une atteinte à la Providence, autrement dit, à la libre volonté et à la puissance illimitée de Dieu".

Quant à R. Aqiba et aux sages de l'époque tannaïtique, Urbach insiste sur le fait que leur enseignement met essentiellement l'accent sur la liberté

de choix et la responsabilité humaine. Cette insistance sur le libre arbitre, au risque d'une réduction de champ d'intervention de la Providence, me paraît caractéristique d'un courant historiographique qui tend à sous-évaluer la problématique de l'astrologie, tout particulièrement au deuxième siècle de n. è., et à présenter ensuite la pensée des Amoraïm en rupture avec celle des Tannaïm des générations précédentes.⁷ Faut-il maintenir cette rupture? Les traditions sur la figure d'Abraham astrologue, le témoignage d'un Philon d'Alexandrie indiquent qu'à la fin de l'époque du second Temple, et tout particulièrement dans le judaïsme hellénisé de la diaspora d'Égypte, le pour et le contre d'une généthliologie – ou science des horoscopes – repensée dans le cadre d'une astrologie proprement juive, définie comme une cause instrumentale de l'action providentielle, faisaient déjà l'objet de discussions. Celles-ci auraient-elles été occultées à l'époque tannaïtique, pour ne réapparaître qu'au troisième siècle avec les premières générations des Amoraïm? La comparaison des doctrines du *Testament d'Abraham* avec les traditions attribuées à R. Aqiba sur la mort des justes comblés de jours et la mort prématurée des pécheurs apportera un éclairage différent sur la question des déterminations astrales et de la liberté de choix telle qu'elle était posée dans les cercles tannaïtiques entre 70 et 135.

Une nouvelle astrologie

Le *locus classicus* de la controverse juive ancienne sur l'astrologie se lit en TB *Shabbat* 156 a–b. Le plus souvent on a retenu de la discussion ici mise

7. Urbach, *Les sages d'Israël*, 267–297; 290 [*The Sages*, 255–285; 277]. Ludwig Wächter, "Astrologie und Schicksalsglaube im rabbinischen Judentum", *Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie*, neue Folge XI (1969): 194–200, dont les analyses sont très significatives de ce courant historiographique, situe le développement de l'astrologie juive en Babylonie à partir de la première moitié du troisième siècle; de là "une vague de spéculations astrologiques" aurait ensuite submergé le judaïsme palestinien (p. 199). En prenant en considération les données astrologiques des manuscrits de la mer Morte et des textes pseudépigraphiques, l'article de James H. Charlesworth, "Jewish Astrology in the Talmud, Pseudepigrapha, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and early Palestinian Synagogues", *HTR* 70 (1977): 183–200, a marqué un tournant historiographique important dans l'approche de l'astrologie juive antique.

en scène le propos de l'Amora R. Joḥanan, "il n'y a pas de *mazzal* pour Israël", comme signifiant qu'à la différence des nations, Israël n'était pas soumis à l'influence astrale.⁸ Pourtant le point de vue de R. Joḥanan est-il celui d'un adversaire de l'astrologie, résolument opposé à toute pratique astrologique en Israël? Ou plus simplement s'agit-il pour lui de souligner la dimension conditionnelle et non absolue des déterminations astrales?

La première partie de la controverse porte sur le mode d'établissement du *mazzal* et les pronostics qu'il est possible d'en tirer. Le terme *mazzal*, qui apparaît au pluriel en II Rois 23, 5 au sens de "constellations zodiacales", est employé ici au singulier au sens de "thème astral".⁹ Les caractéristiques psychologiques ou morales, la fortune, l'activité professionnelle ou le genre de mort sont-elles fonction du *mazzal* du jour ou du *mazzal* de l'heure? R. Ḥanina, Amora palestinien de la première génération, conclut cette première partie en déclarant: "le thème astral rend sage (מול מחכים), le thème astral rend riche (מול מעשיר), il y a un thème astral pour Israël (יש מול לישראל)".¹⁰ Ce à quoi R. Joḥanan

8. Amora palestinien de la deuxième génération, R. Joḥanan bar Nappaha (circa 180–279) est le fondateur de l'Académie de Tibériade. Parmi les nombreux commentaires de TB *Shabbat* 156 a–b, voir notamment Wächter, "Astrologie und Schicksalsglaube", 189–192; James H. Charlesworth, "Jewish Astrology", 185–188; repris dans James H. Charlesworth, "Jewish Interest in Astrology during Hellenistic and Roman Period", in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II, 20, 2 (1987), 930–932; Sylvie Anne Goldberg, *La Clepsydre II. Temps de Jérusalem, temps de Babylone* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2004), 69–84; et surtout Kocku von Stuckrad, *Das Ringen um die Astrologie. Jüdische und christliche Beiträge zum antiken Zeitverständnis* (Berlin. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000), 461–480.
9. Je comprends *mazzal* comme un équivalent "démystologisé" de l'hébreu *môlad* qui dans ses emplois qoumrâniens signifie le "thème de géniture"; voir Francis Schmidt, "Recherche son thème de géniture dans le mystère de ce qui doit être". Astrologie et prédestination à Qoumrân, in *Qoumrân et le judaïsme du tournant de notre ère* (ed. André Lemaire et Simon C. Mimouni; Paris-Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 51–62.
10. Identifié par Charlesworth, "Jewish Interest", 931 à R. Ḥanina bar Ḥama, originaire de Babylone, qui dirigea l'académie de Sepphoris au début du troisième siècle, et dont R. Yoḥanan fut l'élève. En revanche, von Stuckrad, *Das Ringen um die Astrologie*, 471–472, propose d'identifier ce R. Ḥanina à un Amora palestinien de la deuxième génération.

rétorque: “il n’y a pas de thème astral pour Israël (אין מזל לישראל)”, et cite en argument scripturaire à l’appui de sa thèse, Jérémie 10, 2: “Devant les signes du ciel, ne soyez pas effrayés! Ce sont les nations qui s’en effraient”. Et R. Joḥanan de commenter: “les nations sont effrayées, mais non pas Israël”. Suit un deuxième argument, attribué à Rav, en forme de développement aggadique de Gn 15, 3–5: Abraham consulte son horoscope, et voit qu’il n’aura pas de fils.¹¹ Reprenant la demande faite au patriarche de “sortir dehors” (Gn 15, 5), Dieu lui répond: “Sors de ton horoscope. Car il n’y a pas de *mazzal* pour Israël”. Jupiter (צדק) se tient-il à l’occident? Dieu n’est-il pas Celui qui “fait surgir le Justicier (צדק) de l’orient” (Es 41, 2)? L’argument de Rav rappelle les circonstances dans lesquelles Abraham a compris que les objets célestes n’étaient que des objets créés, dont les mouvements sont gouvernés par le Dieu créateur. Ce développement aggadique s’inscrit dans une longue tradition faisant d’Abraham l’inventeur d’une nouvelle astrologie, différente de celle des Chaldéens, une astrologie spécifiquement juive. La figure d’Abraham fondateur d’une nouvelle astrologie est tracée de façon particulièrement explicite par Flavius Josèphe:

Abraham résolut de renouveler et de réformer les idées sur Dieu que tout le monde avait alors. Il fut le premier à oser montrer que Dieu, créateur de l’univers, est un, et que pour le reste, si quelque chose contribue au bien-être humain, c’est dans chaque cas en vertu de décrets divins et non en vertu d’une puissance propre (où κατ’ οἰκείαν ἰσχύν). 156 Il avait déduit ces conceptions des évolutions de la terre et de la mer, de la course du soleil et de la lune, et de tous les phénomènes célestes: si tous ces corps avaient une puissance à eux, jugeait-il, ils auraient pourvu à leur propre régularité; mais comme tel n’est pas le cas, il est manifeste que même les actions auxquelles ils concourent pour notre plus grand

11. Rav, Amora babylonien de la première génération. Après avoir suivi en Palestine l’enseignement de Rabbi Yehuda ha-Nasi, rentre en Babylonie et fonde l’Académie de Soura en 219. “Son horoscope (איצטגנינות)”: littéralement “son signe astral”. Voir le dictionnaire de Marcus Jastrow, s. v. איצטגנינות, qui traduit par “constellation”, “astrological speculation”, et renvoie à סיגנון, du latin “signum”.

profit ne proviennent pas de leur autorité propre (κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν), mais procèdent de la force de Celui qui les dirige (ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κελεύοντος ἰσχὺν ὑπουργεῖν), auquel seul il convient d'adresser hommage et action de grâce. 157 C'est pour ces opinions que les Chaldéens et les autres Mésopotamiens se dressèrent contre Abraham; et lui, jugeant à propos d'émigrer, s'établit (...) en terre de Canaan (*Antiquités* I, 155–157).¹²

Comprenant qu'une Puissance organisatrice supérieure présidait au mouvement des objets célestes, Abraham en vient à rompre avec le polythéisme astral et invente le monothéisme. Dans la conception de cette nouvelle astrologie, non seulement les objets célestes sont gouvernés par le Dieu créateur, mais de plus ils sont mis au service de la réalisation du plan divin pour la création. De même Philon d'Alexandrie fait d'Abraham la figure de celui qui s'est définitivement séparé du Destin et de la Nécessité (*De Migratione* 177–179). Pour l'Alexandrin également, qui reprend les arguments de Carnéade pour critiquer l'erreur de la généthialogie consistant à retrancher la liberté humaine pour tout rapporter au fatalisme astral, loin que la Providence soit soumise au Destin, c'est elle qui a l'entière maîtrise des objets célestes et du cercle zodiacal (*De Providentia* I, 88).

Trois récits, qui tous trois concernent des enfants d'Israël, viennent ensuite illustrer le point de vue de R. Joḥanan. Dans le premier récit, Ablat, un astrologue étranger, voyant un homme se diriger vers un étang,¹³ prédit à Samuel que l'homme mourra, piqué par un serpent. "Si cet homme est un fils d'Israël, rétorque Samuel, il reviendra".¹⁴ De fait,

12. Traduction Etienne Nodet, *Flavius Josèphe, Les Antiquités juives. Vol. I : Livres I à III. B – Traduction et notes* (Paris: Le Cerf, 1990), 38–39. Sur la figure d'Abraham astrologue chez les historiens juifs hellénistiques et Flavius Josèphe, voir en dernier lieu Annette Yoshiko Reed, "Abraham as chaldean scientist and father of the Jews: Josephus, *Ant.* 1.154–168, and the greco-roman discourse about astronomy/astrology", *Journal for the Study of Judaism*, XXXV, 2 (2004): 119–158.

13. נַמְנָא: un étang, ou un près.

14. Samuel, ou Mar Samuel dit "l'astronome", Amora babylonien de la première génération d'après Wächter, "Astrologie und Schicksalsglaube", 190 et note 36. Sur Ablat, *ibid.*, 190 et note 37.

grâce à un geste de charité (צדקה), l'homme échappe à la mort annoncée par l'astrologue.

Le second récit met en scène R. Aqiba et sa fille. D'après la prédiction des Chaldéens (כלדאי), celle-ci mourra le jour de son mariage, elle aussi piquée par un serpent. Le jour venu, le pronostic des astrologues est à nouveau démenti. Pour avoir fait œuvre de charité auprès d'un pauvre, la fille d'Aqiba échappe à une mort prématurée. Le récit se conclut par cette parole de son père: “‘La charité (צדקה) sauve de la mort’ (Pr 10, 2) – non pas seulement de la mort violente (ממיתה משונה), mais aussi de la mort elle-même (ממיתה עצמה)”. Comme l’a noté E. Urbach, le texte parallèle de la compilation des *Haggadot ha-Talmud* présente une autre leçon, plus satisfaisante dans ce contexte: “non pas de la mort elle-même, mais de la mort violente”.¹⁵

Quant au troisième récit, il rapporte à l'inverse une prédiction qui s'est effectivement réalisée. Les astrologues (כלדאי) avaient annoncé à la mère de R. Naḥman que son fils serait un voleur.¹⁶ Alors que dans les deux récits précédents les actions charitables de l'homme à l'étang et de la fille de R. Aqiba avaient contrecarré le pronostic tiré de leur thème astral respectif, dans le cas de R. Naḥman, il a suffi qu'en dépit des conseils de sa mère il abandonne un instant l'étude et la prière pour qu'aussitôt, livré à son mauvais *yetser*, il commette un vol et que s'accomplisse la prédiction le concernant.

Que conclure de ce débat talmudique et comment interpréter l'affirmation de R. Joḥanan suivant laquelle “il n'y a pas de *mazzal* pour Israël”? Le rappel d'une part de l'enseignement donné à Abraham d'après lequel la pleine souveraineté sur les objets célestes appartient au Dieu créateur, la constatation d'autre part que les prédictions astrologiques se réalisent lorsqu'elles ne sont pas contrecarrées par des actes de justice (ainsi dans l'exemple de R. Naḥman), indiquent que le propos de R. Joḥanan n'est pas de condamner toute pratique juive de l'astrologie. Ce à quoi s'opposent tant R. Joḥanan que les trois récits qui

15. Urbach, *Les sages d'Israël*, 277 et 809, note 35 [*The Sages*, 264–265 et 804–805, note 35].

16. Amora babylonien de la quatrième génération, R. Naḥman bar Isaac (mort en 356) est un contemporain de Raba.

illustrent son propos, c'est à toute interprétation de l'horoscope, et en particulier du thème astral (*mazzal*) comme impliquant un *fatum*, c'est-à-dire un destin irrévocable auquel l'homme serait incapable d'échapper.¹⁷ Au II^e siècle à Alexandrie, Claude Ptolémée s'interrogeant dans son *Tétrabible* sur l'utilité des prévisions met en garde lui aussi contre une telle mésinterprétation :

Évitons de croire que tout ce qui arrive aux hommes est l'effet d'une cause venue d'en haut, comme si dès l'origine, en fonction de quelque irrévocable et divin décret, tout avait été réglé à l'avance pour chaque individu et se produisait par nécessité (ἐξ ἀνάγκης).

Car, ajoute-t-il en insistant sur le relativisme du déterminisme astral :

Si l'événement a été prévu et les remèdes appliqués, alors, en accord avec la nature et le destin (καθ' εἰμαρμένην), l'événement ne se produira pas ou ses effets seront atténués (I, 3).¹⁸

Dans l'interprétation de R. Joḥanan également les malheurs annoncés par les prédictions astrologiques, tels ceux que diagnostiquent les médecins, peuvent être écartés, à la condition que soient appliqués les remèdes appropriés, en l'occurrence les actes de justice. Dans la conception juive de l'astrologie dont témoigne TB *Shabbat* 156a–b, loin d'être absolues, les déterminations astrales sont relatives; et les prédictions néfastes, loin d'être inéluctables, sont conditionnelles.

Quelle est en définitive la morale du récit de l'homme à l'étang et celui de la fille de R. Aqiba? Ces deux récits enseignent que pour les enfants d'Israël, même si la consultation du thème astral prévoit une mort prématurée, il est en leur pouvoir d'échapper à ce pronostic en choisissant un comportement de juste. Ainsi ces deux *exempla* sont l'illustration dans le champ de la généthialogie – pourtant considérée le plus souvent

17. Je rejoins les analyses de K. von Stuckrad, *Das Ringen um die Astrologie*, 478–480.

18. Traduction de Pascal Charvet, *Ptolémée, Le Livre unique de l'astrologie. Le Tétrabible de Ptolémée. Astrologie universelle et thèmes individuels* (Paris: NiL éditions, 2000), 37 et 39. Sur la possibilité, en Mésopotamie ou en Egypte, de modifier ou d'effacer par des rites ou des prières appropriées la prédiction d'un avenir défavorable, voir l'«Avant-propos» de P. Charvet, *ibid.*, 14–15.

comme le lieu par excellence où convergent les forces d'un destin implacable déterminant le cours des vies singulières – de cette tension entre prescience divine et libre choix humain que formulait R. Aqiba en Michna, *Avot* III, 15.

Rabbi Aqiba et la durée de vie des justes

Le propos de R. Aqiba, d'après lequel les actes de charité (*tsedaqah*) sauvent sinon de la mort elle-même du moins de la mort prématurée, est explicité en TB *Yébamot* 49b–50a,¹⁹ à l'occasion d'un échange exégétique entre R. Aqiba et d'autres Sages sur l'interprétation de Ex 23, 26: "Je remplirai le nombre de tes jours". Pour R. Aqiba ce verset fait référence aux "années des générations (שני דורות)", c'est-à-dire à la durée de vie attribuée à tout un chacun à sa naissance,²⁰ et implique que les justes accomplissent la totalité de leur temps de vie, mais qu'à l'inverse la durée de vie des pécheurs est écourtée: "Il s'agit des années des générations. Si c'est un juste (יָדָה) elles sont complètes (משלימים). Si ce n'est pas un juste, elles sont abrégées (פּוֹחֲתִין)". Quant aux autres Sages, ils admettent que la durée de vie des pécheurs est abrégée, mais soutiennent qu'en ce qui concerne les justes des années de vie leur sont *ajoutées* (הוֹסִיפוֹ), ainsi que le prouve la parole d'Isaïe à Ezéchias: "*J'ajouterai (וְהוֹסַפְתִּי)* quinze années à tes jours" (II Rois 20, 6). Ce à quoi R. Aqiba répond que ces quinze années ont été prises sur le temps de vie préalablement attribué à Ezéchias.

L'idée que les années de vie des pécheurs sont écourtées présuppose la notion de *karèt* (כרת) qui dans la Bible désigne la peine de "retranchement" pour certaines fautes commises contre Dieu.²¹ La

19. Sur l'interprétation de la sentence de R. Aqiba en TB *Shabbat* 156 b à la lumière de TB *Yébamot* 49b–50a, voir Urbach, *Les sages d'Israël*, 277 [*The Sages*, 265].

20. Sur l'idée biblique d'après laquelle chacun se voit attribuer une durée prédéterminée de vie, outre Ex 23, 26, voir Is 65, 20; Ps 39, 5; 90, 10. La longévité récompense les justes (Gn 25, 8; Jb 42, 17), ceux qui observent les commandements (Dt 4, 40; 5, 16). Sur l'expression "les années des générations", voir Urbach, *Les Sages d'Israël*, 278 et 810, note 38 [*The Sages*, 265–266 et 805, note 38].

21. Sur la distinction biblique (P et H) entre les crimes commis contre les personnes

Michna, en *Keritot* I, 1, développe la liste biblique des fautes encourant la peine de *karèt* et dénombre trente-six transgressions. Il s'agit principalement de fautes de caractère rituel, de l'idolâtrie et des relations sexuelles illicites. Quant à la nature de la peine infligée, les Rabbins s'accordent à la définir comme la mort prématurée survenant avant le terme fixé, toute la question étant de savoir jusqu'à quel âge une vie est susceptible d'être prématurément interrompue, et à partir de quel âge on peut estimer que la mort survient au terme fixé. Pour certains celui qui meurt "avant cinquante ans meurt frappé de *karèt*" (TJ *Bikkurim* II, 1); pour d'autres "entre cinquante et soixante ans, c'est une mort par *karèt*" (TB *Mo'ed Katan* 28a). En revanche, une fois passé cet âge critique, la mort survient au terme fixé et peut être tenue pour une mort naturelle. C'est ainsi que R. Joseph atteignant l'âge de 60 ans se réjouit d'avoir "passé (l'âge de) *karèt*" et échappé à une mort prématurée sanctionnant une faute grave contre Dieu. La mort naturelle, comblée de jours, des justes s'oppose donc à la mort prématurée des pécheurs.

Vient alors une objection attendue, celle du scandale de la mort prématurée des justes opposée à la longévité des impies.²² Citant l'exemple de deux sages qui tous deux ont mené une vie de justes mais dont l'un n'a vécu que 40 ans alors que l'autre est mort à 92 ans, Raba objecte: "la durée de vie, les enfants et la subsistance ne dépendent pas du mérite (בזכותא) mais du thème astral (במזל)" (TB *Mo'ed Katan* 28a).²³

qui relèvent de tribunaux humains et sont passibles de la peine de mort immédiatement exécutoire, et les crimes commis contre Dieu qui sont jugés et punis de *karèt* par les tribunaux célestes, voir Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22* (The Anchor Bible. New York – London: Doubleday, 2000), 1420–1421. Dix-neuf cas de fautes encourant le châtement divin sont dénombrés dans la Torah par Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (The Anchor Bible. New York – London: Doubleday, 1991), 457–460, qui propose un classement de ces fautes *karèt* en cinq catégories: les fautes contre les temps sacrés, les matières sacrificielles, les purifications rituelles, les cultes illicites et les relations sexuelles illicites.

22. Comparer Is 57, 1; Sg 4, 16–17.

23. Amora babylonien de la quatrième génération, mort en 352, Raba (Raban bar Joseph bar Ḥama) est un contemporain de R. Naḥman bar Isaac. Wächter, "Astrologie und Schicksalsglaube", 188, compare la position de Raba au point de vue de Vettius Valens V, 9 (édition Kroll, Berlin, 1908), pour lequel, face aux décrets inéluctables du destin, la prière reste sans effet.

Contrairement à R. Aqiba pour qui la durée de vie dépend tout à la fois du thème astral (*mazzal*) et des actes de charité, pour Raba la question de la durée de vie, celle de la descendance ou des moyens de subsistance dépendent uniquement du *mazzal*. Pour lui, dans ces trois domaines, ainsi qu'en témoigne l'exemple des deux sages, le mérite ou les œuvres de justice n'interviennent pas.

Or ces trois domaines, qui pour Raba sont exclusivement déterminés par le thème astral, correspondent à trois chapitres des traités de généthliologie grecque. Ainsi Claude Ptolémée énumère-t-il dans son *Tétrabible*, parmi les pronostics que la science des *Mathematici* permet d'établir à l'examen de l'horoscope, la fortune matérielle,²⁴ les enfants²⁵ et le genre de mort.²⁶ Cette correspondance indique que ces traités de généthliologie n'étaient pas inconnus des astrologues juifs scrutant le *mazzal* de ceux qui venaient les consulter pour répondre à leurs interrogations.

Abraham et la mort prématurée des pécheurs

La recension longue du *Testament d'Abraham*, rédigée en grec, provient du judaïsme d'Égypte et date vraisemblablement du début du deuxième siècle.²⁷ Le plus ancien témoin – les fragments d'une version sahidique conservée dans un papyrus daté du Ve siècle – indique un premier *terminus ad quem*.²⁸ D'autre part les tendances universalistes du

24. Claude Ptolémée, *Tétrabible* IV, 2: περὶ τύχης κτητικῆς. Voir Auguste Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), 436–437.

25. *Tétrabible* IV, 6: περὶ τέκνων. Comparer Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis*, VI, 32, 33–39; VII, 3, 1–7; 10, 1–5; 11, 1–6; et voir Bouché-Leclercq, *ibid.*, 451–453.

26. *Tétrabible* IV, 9: περὶ θανάτου ποιότητος. Comparer Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis*, VII, 23, 1–29; et voir Bouché-Leclercq, *ibid.*, 422–428.

27. Sur la datation du *Testament d'Abraham*, voir Dale C. Allison, Jr., *Testament of Abraham* (Berlin. New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 34–40.

28. Sur ces fragments sahidiques, voir Francis Schmidt, *Le Testament grec d'Abraham. Introduction, édition critique des deux recensions grecques, traduction* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1986), 42. Ces fragments sont principalement une adaptation de la recension courte grecque. Toutefois dans l'énumération des

Testament, son ouverture à l'hellénisme,²⁹ suggèrent une date antérieure aux soulèvements des communautés de la diaspora contre Rome, en 115–117, dont la répression entraîna pour une longue période l'anéantissement du judaïsme hellénisé d'Égypte.

“Abraham atteignit la mesure de sa vie à l'âge de 999 ans”. D'emblée le patriarche apparaît comme le modèle parfait du juste qui parvient au terme de la durée de vie (τὸ μέτρον τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ) qui lui a été assignée (RL, I, 1; XV, 1). A la mort du juste qui arrive “au délai fixé (ὁ ἔχων ὄρον)” (XX, 2), s'oppose la mort “imprévue (παράλογος)” des pécheurs (XIX, 16; XX, 1), qui survient “prématurément (άώρως)” (XVII, 17; XVIII, 9; XIX, 11), “avant l'heure (παρὰ μίαν ὥραν)” (XX, 2).³⁰ Ce vocabulaire et cette thématique, absents de la recension courte, sont propres à la recension longue. En opposant la mort des justes qui vient au terme fixé à la mort prématurée des pécheurs, la recension longue du *Testament* se présente comme un récit illustrant la sentence de R. Aqiba: “Si c'est un juste, ses années de vie seront complètes. Si ce n'est pas un juste, elles seront abrégées” (TB *Yébamot* 50a).

Mais si la doctrine du *Testament d'Abraham* est en accord avec celle de R. Aqiba, que les Sages des générations ultérieures développeront par la suite, le *Testament* apporte une précision supplémentaire sur les différents genres de mort qui emportent prématurément les pécheurs. En effet, avant qu'Abraham le juste ne meurt comblé de jours, Thanatos, l'ange de la Mort, se “dépouille de sa beauté” et apparaît sous la forme qu'il revêt lorsqu'il va au-devant des pécheurs: une forme à sept figures de dragons et quatorze faces. A Abraham qui l'interroge, Tanathos donne

visages de la Mort (ch. XVII et XIX) ils suivent la recension longue grecque. Ces fragments sahidiques, datés du Ve siècle, constitue donc un *terminus ad quem* pour les deux recensions grecques.

29. Voir en particulier sur la description du monde habité (*Testament d'Abraham*, recension longue, X, 2–3) à l'image du bouclier d'Achille (*Iliade*, XVIII, 478–608), la note *ad loc.* dans Francis Schmidt, “Testament d'Abraham”, in *Écrits Intertestamentaires* (ed. André Dupont-Sommer et Marc Philonenko, Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1987), 1670.
30. Sur ce vocabulaire grec de la mort imprévue et de la mort qui vient au délai fixé, voir le commentaire de Allison, *Testament of Abraham*, 356, 389–390, à Recension longue XVII, 17 et XX, 1–2.

l'explication de ces sept figures terrifiantes: "Je t'ai montré, dit-il, une figure de précipice parce que nombreux sont ceux qui meurent en tombant du haut d'un arbre ou d'un précipice et voient la Mort sous la forme d'un précipice" (RL, XIX, 9), et ainsi de suite.

Bien que la tradition textuelle soit passablement perturbée par les additions des copistes, il est possible de reconstituer la liste des sept figures de l'ange de la Mort: figure de feu, de précipice, d'épée, de fleuve, de mer, de bêtes sauvages et de coupe de poison. Chacune de ces figures correspond à un type d'accident mettant prématurément fin à la vie du pêcheur. Il s'agit en effet de la mort prématurée ou *violente*, non par maladie mais par accident, de ceux que les astrologues grecs nomment les *biaiothanatoi*. La généthliologie prévoyait dès la naissance si la mort serait naturelle (*para phusin*) ou accidentelle (*kata phusin*), et dans ce cas quel type d'accident viendrait écourter la vie. L'énumération des différentes catégories de *biaiothanatoi* constitue un chapitre obligé des traités d'astrologie. De Critodème, l'un des successeurs de Bérose, au milieu du troisième siècle avant notre ère, à Claude Ptolémée ou Vettius Valens au milieu du deuxième siècle de notre ère, tous traitent "du genre de mort". A la lecture de l'horoscope d'un individu, suivant que Saturne ou Mars, les planètes malfaisantes, séjourne dans tel ou tel signe du Zodiaque, quel accident mettra prématurément fin à sa vie? Suivons le divin Ptolémée au livre IV de son *Tétrabible*.³¹

La première planète malfaisante, froide et sèche, est Saturne.³² Dans les signes qui ont une forme animale, Saturne cause la mort par les *bêtes sauvages*. Si ces signes sont en forme de serpents, Saturne cause la mort

31. Ptolémée, *Tétrabible* IV, 9; et voir les analyses de Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, 422–425. Déjà Critodème, au III^e siècle avant n.è., énumérait ces différentes catégories de morts violentes. Voir Franz Cumont, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*, VIII, 4 (Bruxelles, 1922), 199–202 [Excerpta ex Codice 82 (Paris. 2425)]: par empoisonnement (199, ligne 19; 200, ligne 16); par les bêtes sauvages (200, lignes 1 et 11); par noyade dans les fleuves ou en mer (200, ligne 5); par précipitation (200, ligne 9); par des brigands ou des ennemis (200, ligne 11); par le feu (201, ligne 14). Sur Critodème, voir Wilhelm Gundel & Hans Georg Gundel, *Astrologumena. Die astrologische Literatur in der Antike und ihre Geschichte*, (Sudhoffs Archiv, 6. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1966), 106–107.
32. Sur les caractères généraux de Saturne, voir Bouché-Leclercq, *ibid.*, 93–97.

par la morsure de *bêtes venimeuses*; si Vénus est présente, par *empoisonnement*. Dans les signes humides, la Vierge ou les Poissons, la Lune étant présente, Saturne cause la mort par *noyade*; dans le voisinage d'Argo, par *nauffrage*. Dans les signes quadrupèdes, si Saturne est avec le Soleil, il cause la mort par *précipitation* d'une hauteur.

La seconde planète maléfique est Mars aux reflets de sang.³³ Si Mars est avec le Soleil ou la Lune dans les signes humains, il donne la mort par *la guerre* ou le meurtre; dans le Scorpion ou le Sagittaire, par *le feu*.

Ainsi les sept figures de Thanatos – feu, précipice, épée, fleuve, mer, bêtes sauvages et coupe de poison – correspondent aux principaux types de morts violentes prévus par les astrologues en fonction de la position occupée par les planètes maléfiques dans l'horoscope. Cette correspondance permet de supposer, de la part du milieu de rédaction du *Testament d'Abraham*, une ré-élaboration juive, adaptée à l'éthique propre au judaïsme hellénisé d'Égypte, des spéculations généthliologiques sur les genres de mort tels que les prédisaient les astrologues grecs.

Car en effet, dans le *Testament d'Abraham*, ces interrogations ne concernent que la mort *des pécheurs*. Dans le *Testament*, la mort prématurée et violente épargne les justes, dont Abraham est le modèle. Les justes, contrairement aux pécheurs, échappent aux lois de la généthliologie. Cette différence de statut face à la mort permet de comprendre quelle est la conception de la généthliologie implicitement à l'oeuvre dans le *Testament d'Abraham*. Pour les astrologues grecs le genre de mort de tout un chacun est implacablement déterminé par la configuration astrale qui préside à sa naissance ou sa conception. Dans la transposition juive de la généthliologie dont témoigne le *Testament*, tous les humains ne sont pas également soumis aux déterminations astrales. Tout comme R. Aqiba, faisant l'exégèse de Proverbes 10, 2 et s'interrogeant sur le genre de mort prévu par le *mazzal* dont libère la charité, conclut que la charité libère sinon de la mort naturelle du moins de la mort accidentelle, ainsi dans le *Testament* seuls sont soumis aux déterminations astrales ceux qui choisissent la voie du péché; ceux qui choisissent la voie de la justice en sont libérés. Car, contrairement à

33. Sur les caractères généraux de la planète Mars, voir Bouché-Leclercq, *ibid.*, 98–99.

l'opinion que formulera plus tard Raba, pour le *Testament d'Abraham* comme pour R. Aqiba, la durée de vie et le genre de mort ne sont pas fonction du *mazzal* seul, mais dépendent tout à la fois du *mazzal* et du mérite. La conception de l'horoscope dont témoigne le *Testament d'Abraham*, loin d'enfermer les humains dans un implacable déterminisme, fait place à la liberté de choix.

Conclusion

Provenant de la diaspora juive d'Égypte, datée du début du second siècle, la recension longue du *Testament d'Abraham* est contemporaine de R. Aqiba, dont l'école était installée à Benè-Beraq, au sud-est de Jaffa (TB *Sanhedrin* 32 b). Le milieu d'origine de cet écrit et R. Aqiba ont en partage les mêmes conceptions sur la mort des justes comblés de jours et la mort prématurée des pécheurs. Pour l'un et l'autre, seuls les pécheurs voient leur durée de vie interrompue et connaissent le genre de mort annoncé à l'examen de leur horoscope, alors que les justes sont affranchis des déterminations astrales. L'exemple de R. Aqiba indique d'autre part que les questions d'astrologie étaient déjà en discussion à l'époque des Tannaïm. Le modèle étranger qui avait été démythologisé puis remythologisé – pour reprendre une formulation de James H. Charlesworth³⁴ – en sorte de le rendre conforme aux catégories juives est, au moins autant que le modèle babylonien, le modèle grec.

Les analyses qui précèdent, loin de mettre en lumière une position commune, font entendre différentes voix. Pour Raba, l'homme, sinon en toutes circonstances, du moins sur certaines questions, à commencer par celles de la durée de vie et du genre de mort, paraît sans possibilité d'action, entièrement livré au déterminisme astral (TB *Mo'ed Katan* 28a). R. Ḥanina lui aussi est d'avis qu'il y a un *mazzal* pour Israël, que la sagesse et la richesse en dépendent. Quant à R. Joḥanan (souvent tenu, sous l'influence rétrospective de Maïmonide, pour le porte-parole de l'idée que l'astrologie s'arrête aux limites d'Israël), il condamne le fatalisme astral; ce faisant, il rappelle implicitement que les pronostics

34. Charlesworth, "Jewish Interest in Astrology", 929.

tirés des astres sont conditionnels, et met l'accent sur la responsabilité et le libre choix (TB *Shabbat* 156 a–b). En définitive, le point de vue de R. Johanan rejoint les enseignements de R. Aqiba. Dans cette conception, qui affirme tout à la fois le *mazzal* et le mérite, il dépend de l'accomplissement des commandements que soient neutralisées ou non les déterminations astrales, même les plus inexorables (TB *Yébamot* 49b–50a).

Sans doute ces différentes voix, dont chacune propose une solution différente à la tension énoncée par R. Aqiba entre prescience divine et liberté humaine (Michna, *Avot* III, 15), ont-elles en commun avec toutes les conceptions juives de l'astrologie, y compris la conception que s'en fait la Communauté de Qoumrân, de se représenter les astres, non comme des Puissances, mais comme des objets créés, soumis au Dieu créateur et exécutant sa Volonté. Mais les conceptions qoumrâniennes et rabbiniques se différencient sur des points essentiels. L'astrologie qoumrânienne et tout particulièrement la généthliologie constituent un savoir révélé, et font partie des Mystères transmis par révélation aux *Mevinîm*, à “ceux qui savent discerner”. A l'inverse, les discussions sur le pour et le contre de l'astrologie montrent assez que pour les Sages comme au sein du judaïsme hellénisé d'Égypte, il s'agit d'un savoir humain soumis à l'argumentation et à la controverse. Dans la spiritualité qoumrânienne, ceux qui savent discerner scrutent le “Mystère de ce qui doit être” et interrogent le thème de géniture (*môlad*) en sorte de plier leur action au Vouloir divin.³⁵ Dans l'enseignement des Sages, l'interrogation du thème astral (*mazzal*), loin de révéler quelque verdict divin auquel l'homme ne pourrait se soustraire, lui offre la liberté de neutraliser les pronostics les plus sombres par la repentance et les actes de justice. S'agissant de la succession des générations et des périodes de l'histoire humaine, quand dans les représentations de la Communauté de Qoumrân tout dépend du “Mystère de ce qui doit être”, dans la pensée pharisienne et rabbinique les actions humaines concourent à la mise en œuvre du plan divin pour la création.

35. Schmidt, “Astrologie et prédestination à Qoumrân”, 58–59.

Are the Biblical Texts from Qumran Biblical? 4QTestimonia and the Minimalists

Zipora Talshir

In my 1999 article, “Textual and Literary Criticism of the Bible in Post-Modern Times: The Untimely Demise of Classical Biblical Philology”,¹ I outlined the chaos inflicted by the “minimalist school” – Thompson, Lemche, Davies and others – on different fields of biblical studies: textual and literary criticism, language, epigraphy, archaeology and history. In the age of post-modern trends that defy the possibility of reconstructing one truth, one past, or one history, the classical discipline of history has perhaps suffered most.² It is not surprising, therefore, that biblical history, based as it is on the multifarious corpus of the Hebrew Bible, seems similarly to be fading away. The minimalists do not acknowledge the craft of the historian in reconstructing the past.³ They dwell on the inherent problems of the Bible and expand them into a total denial of Ancient Israel. For them biblical evidence has no import on historical

1. Unlike modern science, post-modernism is most characteristically defined by the loss of faith in the meta-narrative; cf. J.-F. Lyotard, *La condition postmoderne: rapport sur le savoir*, Paris 1979.
2. *Henoch* 21 (1999), pp. 235–252.
3. Rofé makes an attempt to re-establish the reliability of the biblical sources on David’s reign by arguing: (1) Sources of different provenance reflect a similar historical background. (2) The sources were not written in order to describe this particular historical background but rather indirectly show it. (3) Even if the sources do not teach us a thing about the exact course of events they teach us a lot about history. Such considerations are beyond the understanding of the minimalists. A. Rofé, “The Reliability of the Sources About David’s Reign; An Outlook from Political Theory”, in E. Blum (ed.), *Mincha, Festschrift R. Rendtorff*, Neukirchen 2000, pp. 217–227; in n. 31, he quotes M. Bloch, *The Historian’s Craft* (translated from the French by P. Putnam), Manchester 1954, pp. 48–137.

Meghillot 5–6 (2008), pp. *119–*140

reconstruction. They naturally erase the prehistory of the people, the conquest and settlement, through the united kingdom. But they do not stop there. For them the only evident thing about king Hezekiah, for example, is that he paid tribute to the Assyrians in 701 B.C.E., since there is external evidence for this.

Archaeology of the biblical period equally seems to be losing its connection with the Bible. Archaeologists have themselves gradually banned the Bible from their considerations, lest they be accused of misinterpreting their finds in order to accommodate them to biblical contexts. The minimalists discard the relevance of archaeological finds for the reconstruction of biblical events without scruples.⁴ In certain cases, like the Tel Dan inscription, their quest for external evidence – since the Bible is false until proven right – backfired, when the House of David turned up on an ostrakon. The minimalists rejected the significance of the inscription for bizarre reasons, most typically that it was a forgery planted by past-hunting so-called Israeli scholars.⁵

Epigraphy is, by definition, a diachronic art, since it is based on the history of the script. Chronological distinctions made on the basis of epigraphy are sometimes sound and sometimes debatable. The minimalists deduce from their own illiteracy in epigraphic tools that epigraphy cannot be used to tell one script from another. What is there to prevent them from placing the Siloam inscription in the Hasmonean period?⁶

A language can be studied synchronically or diachronically – there is no

4. See “Face to Face: Biblical Minimalists Meet their Challengers”, *Biblical Archaeology Review* 23/4 (July/August 1997), and W. G. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know & When Did They Know It? What Archaeology Can Tell Us about the Reality of Ancient Israel*, Grand Rapids 2001.
5. For a general review and qualification of this issue, see O. Lipschitz, “The Polemic of ‘Beit David’ – pursuing the inscription from Tel Dan”, in H. Baron and O. Lipschitz (eds.), *David King of Israel Alive and Enduring*, Jerusalem 1997, pp. 9–77 (Hebrew).
6. See J. W. Rogerson & P. R. Davies, “Was the Siloam Tunnel Built by Hezekiah?”, *Biblical Archaeologist* 59 (1996), pp. 138–149, followed by a multi-participant discussion titled: “Defusing Pseudo-Scholarship; the Siloam Inscription Ain’t Hasmonean”, *Biblical Archaeology Review* (March/April 1997), pp. 41–50.

one truth.⁷ The minimalists' attack against the diachronic nature of biblical Hebrew has taken different routes, from totally ignoring language as a factor, through the allegedly linguistic assessment that biblical Hebrew is not a language at all, to depicting biblical Hebrew as a homogeneous language, invented by the scribes during a short and late period of time. The OT may seem to be written in an uniform language when read in the Hieronymus' 4th century C.E. Latin, or in English, the lingua franca of our times. But whoever sets out to search beneath the surface cannot but realize that biblical Hebrew is a vivid, varied, multi-layered language. Its pattern of development has been proven in a host of studies and backed up by examples in which inner-biblical changes in vocabulary and grammar – such as the interchange ספר/אגרת for “letter”, or the changed name of דמשק/דרמשק – agree with the development of the language as attested by external data.⁸

Literary criticism of the Bible is obviously a fragile art of reconstruction, of retrieving ancient phases in the evolution of biblical literature. The minimalists withstand the achievements of literary criticism, and replace it by a simplistic synchronic approach that treats the Bible as an one-dimensional product of Hellenistic times. The elusive growth-processes of biblical literature have led the school of Graf-Kuenen-Wellhausen – and modern research since – to a general questioning of its coherence and reliability. Biblical literature was taken apart and reassembled in a multitude of ways. This distinctively diachronic approach has a say nowadays against the destructive nature of synchronic approaches. The variegated nature – linguistic, literary and ideological – of the Bible, its gaps and its contradictions, all unite to prove the diachronic nature of biblical literature. Many fine examples come to mind, such as the seven-days' long Feast of Booths of Deut. (16:13), also attested in 1 Kgs. 8:65–66, compared with the priestly law that adds a festive assembly (עצרת) on the eighth day (Lev. 23:36, Num 29:35), also reflected in the parallel text of 2 Chr. 7:9–10 (cf. Neh 8:18).

7. M. Pei, *Glossary of Linguistic Terminology*, Garden City 1966, pp. 66–67, 270.
8. A. Hurvitz, “The Historical Quest for Ancient Israel and the Linguistic Evidence of the Hebrew Bible: Some Methodological Observations”, *VT* 47 (1997), pp. 301–315.

Textual criticism of the OT suffers heavily from the lack of Hebrew MSS that attest its transmission during the ages. For the minimalists, no text transmission preceding Qumran is worth exploring, since they would not consider it scientifically correct to deal with texts that are not actually there. This is the core of the minimalists' argument: the entire biblical literature is the product of the Hellenistic era, since it is not attested before the second century BCE, the time of the Qumran scrolls.

Looking at the ongoing debate between the minimalists and mainstream scholarship, there seems to be no point in attempting to make them reconsider the virtue of good old philology. It would therefore seem more productive to analyze, rather deconstruct, their own method. I have chosen to look closely at a short piece by Thompson, the most stimulating among the minimalists who never leaves one indifferent. I refer to his 1998 article "4QTestimonia and Bible Composition".⁹

Let us begin with three introductory remarks:

(1) The article's subtitle is: "A Copenhagen Lego Hypothesis". This says it all: it is a product of the Copenhagen school, and it is only a game. It is just an hypothesis, which, like Lego toy blocks, is easily erected and easily dismantled.

(2) The article appeared in a collection of papers published in Sheffield – one of the minimalists' home-bases – and edited by Cryer and Thompson, and features articles by some of their main speakers – Lemche, Cryer and Thompson.

(3) The article comprises 16 pages, with only two bibliographical references. The first quotes a study on a Serbo-Croatian singer, who for some reason starts at the beginning of the article. I wonder whether this singer of tales is included because of the national problem implied by his ethnic definition. For otherwise, there are better known and more significant examples, such as the challenging history of the epic of Gilgamesh.¹⁰ Or, the heritage of Homer, who lived in six different centuries, was born in seven different cities, existed or may not have

9. Th. L. Thompson, "4QTestimonia and Bible Composition: A Copenhagen Lego Hypothesis", in F. H. Cryer & Th. L. Thompson (eds.), *Qumran between the Old and New Testament*, JSOT SS 290, Sheffield 1998, pp. 261–276.
10. J. H. Tigay, *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, Philadelphia 1982.

existed, wrote or may not have written all or only parts of the books of the Iliad and Odyssey, works that must have been centuries earlier than the papyri in which they are attested.¹¹ Even the Nibelungenlied, the medieval German heroic epic, would have made a more significant example.¹²

The only other bibliographic reference quotes one of Thompson's own books. This is characteristic of a school that neglects earlier scholarship: they do not value extant studies and do not stop to realize that without taking those into consideration they are bound to end up with a distorted point of view.

We divide our comments on the article itself also in three: (1) The introduction of the article that offers the essence of Thompson's concept regarding the composition of the Bible. (2) 4QTestimonia and its relevance to Bible composition. (3) Some other texts revisited and reinterpreted, so to speak, by Thompson.

The Introduction (Thompson, pp. 261–263)

The article begins with a credo:

1. [p. 261] In the formation of the Old Testament, it is not so much clear that we are dealing with ancient traditions as that we are dealing with... traditions that have been presented... as ancient.

This is an axiomatic proclamation, suitable for domains other than science. It practically accuses the bearers of tradition of sophisticated forgery. The process of transmission of ancient traditions is much too long and complicated to allow for such a simplistic presentation. But, then, for Thompson, as we will see, traditions do not have a past, only a present.

After slandering tradition, Thompson presents his low opinion of scholarship:

11. Interestingly, the papyri earlier than 150 BCE vary considerably from the known text, while later papyri agree with the 'accepted' text. Something must have happened around 150 BCE; see G. G. Aimé Murray, "Homer", in: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. 11, Chicago–London–Toronto (1768) 1952, pp. 689–690.
12. W. A. Phillips, "Nibelungenlied", *ibid.*, vol. 16, pp. 407–410.

2. [p. 261] The... separation... between... the relatively hard science of lower criticism and... the very soft, theologically-driven, speculation of higher criticism... has allowed many higher critics a security and self-confidence that is not properly ours.

Some comments are in order: (1) Textual criticism is anything but hard science. It involves speculation, common sense, endless doubts and changing preferences. It may even involve theological biases. Ask the Samaritans, the faithful guardians of the Torah, or, for that matter, the Jewish sages.¹³ (2) More importantly, why is higher criticism necessarily theologically driven? If it is, so is each and every one of Thompson's declarations. My impression, though possibly naive and prejudiced, is that literary-criticism is philology, and has nothing to do with theology. (3) Higher criticism of the Hebrew Bible is as speculative as that of other religious texts such as the New Testament, other cherished texts such as the Greek classical literature, or any other ancient non-religious text that has come down to us after generations of transmission.

Following is an eloquent presentation that actually speaks of the MSS as if they were identical with the compositions they carry:

3. [p. 261] Our traditions, as we *first* know them in the Dead Sea Scrolls, are... not so much ancient as textual manifestations of Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman traditions... The referents of these texts do not *in fact* carry us into a tradition earlier than that implied by the conglomerate of the extant texts themselves. (emphasis added)

Even where Qumranic literature proper is concerned, we distinguish between the date of the scroll and the date of the work it contains, although the gap amounts, sometimes, to no more than fifty or a hundred

13. E.g., Sifre to Deuteronomy 11:30 (Parashat Re'eh, Pisqa 56): אמר רבי אלעזר ברבי יוסי אמרתי להם לסופרי כותיים: זייפתם את התורה ולא ההניתם בה כלום. שכתבתם אצל Said R. Eleazar b. R. Yose, I said to the Samaritan scribes, you have falsified the Torah but not gained a thing. For you have written, the terebinths of Moreh, Shekhem. We, too, have understood that this refers to Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal [without having to introduce Shekhem].

years.¹⁴ The entire study of ancient literatures is based on a systematic distinction between two sets of dates, that of the work and that of the manuscripts in which it is preserved. Speculative or not, there is no other way. Should we deduce from Thompson's sweeping statement that if biblical texts were not found in the caves of Qumran they would have been the reflection of the medieval world of the ninth-century MT?

The contribution of Qumran to Bible composition is now stated:

4. [p. 261] The richness and variety found among the Qumran texts... not only open up many alternative explanatory possibilities for biblical composition, they also present us with concrete examples of those processes... [p. 262] The Qumran collection offers us our extra-biblical... control that has always been absent in biblical composition theory....

With all due respect, Thompson reveals the treasures of Qumran known for fifty years and offers an allegedly fresh approach known long before Qumran blessedly burst into our scientific life, and more so ever since. The Chronicler offered this perspective to scholarship, as did the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, Josephus, and even the rich Jewish Midrash literature; they all enlightened us on composition processes. May I call attention to Tigay's 1985 exemplary volume, which offers "empirical models for biblical criticism" based on the mentioned witnesses of transmission, including, naturally, Qumran.¹⁵ In 1982, Steven Kaufman used the Temple Scroll precisely "to test the methods of higher criticism empirically".¹⁶ A century earlier, in 1890, Moore wrote his pioneering study on the Diatessaron, a work that merges the four gospels into one

14. For one example among many, see Puech on 4Q521: Paleographical evaluation of this manuscript places it in the 1st quarter of the 1st century BCE. However, this scroll, produced in the Qumranic scriptorium, is a copy of an earlier work, possibly from the second half of the second century BCE, since the author consistently avoids the use of יהיה, a practice characteristic of that time; É. Puech (ed.), *Qumrân Grotte 4XVIII: Textes Hébreux (4Q521-4Q528, 4Q576-579)*, DJD 25, Oxford 1998, pp. 1-38, and passim.

15. J. H. Tigay (ed.), *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, Philadelphia 1985.

16. S. A. Kaufman, "The Temple Scroll and Higher Criticism", *HUCA* 53 (1982), p. 33 (the quotation is from the abstract, p. 29).

literary work.¹⁷ Moore titled the article “Tatian’s Diatessaron and the Analysis of the Pentateuch”, and posed the inevitable question: “Every OT scholar who examines the Diatessaron will doubtless ask himself the question: If this Composite Gospel had come down to us as the Pentateuch has, without diacritical signs to distinguish one source from another, the original sources themselves having been lost, should we be able, by the methods which we have applied to the Pentateuch, to decompose it, and to reconstitute its elements?” He answers in the affirmative: “No matter how closely parallel the sources, no matter how ingenious the mosaic, the lack of homogeneousness in conception will appear”. Thompson’s allegedly new approach was invented long ago.

Nevertheless, we are threatened – in advance – with a radical approach:

5. [p. 262] *I am afraid* our approach is going to have to be *radical* in more than one way. (emphasis added)

Radicalism is the name of the game. It is a game without rules, since the winner is named in advance.

First of all, he argues, the fragmentary texts from Qumran precede the final biblical forms:

6. [p. 262] A specific book of the Bible in its *so-called* final form – whether it is Isaiah..., Genesis or Psalms – is not a terribly productive focal point for biblical composition theory. (emphasis added)

How would one speak of the process of composition of a book without the book? I wonder what would have happened to our composition theories, were we to produce them on the basis of the partially preserved biblical texts from Qumran, not to mention non-biblical texts. Paradoxically, the final form of a book is our raw material. On its basis we try to retrieve its history, using established methods based on cumulative knowledge and practice. Isaiah makes a very poor example from Thompson’s point of view, since it proves that Qumran enjoyed the final products of tradition. We can imagine the pack of theories that

17. G. F. Moore, “Tatian’s Diatessaron and the Analysis of the Pentateuch”, *JBL* 9 (1890) pp. 201–215; reprinted in Tigay’s volume (above, note 5), pp. 243–256.

would have been piled up on the back of this book, if just part of it had been preserved in Qumran, e.g., the second Isaiah scroll that comprises only chapters 53–60. The case of Isaiah makes us question the overtones in favor of Qumran as the starting point of tradition.

Second, the significance of the LXX is set aside:

7. [p. 262] Sinaiticus and Vaticanus – and we certainly cannot speak *intelligently* about final or canonical form in any earlier period – surely are far too late to serve as direct witnesses to issues of composition. (emphasis added)

This context-lacking paragraph demonstrates Thompson’s amazing practice. He mentions in passing the fourth-century CE MSS of the LXX, without as much as hinting at the actual date of the LXX. Once again he identifies the work with the MSS in which it is attested. He does not take into consideration the second–first century BCE 4QLXXLev and Num., the Nahal Hever scroll, late first century BCE, that offers a revision of the LXX version of the twelve prophets, Eupolimos’ quotation from Chronicles in the second century BCE, or Josephus, who undoubtedly uses the LXX at large. We would not dare mention the Epistle of Aristeeas and the renowned connection with Ptolemy Philadelphus’ library of Alexandria.¹⁸ No partial direct evidence and no indirect testimony would count, since none of these quote the entire LXX. All we have is the “worthless” late evidence of fourth-century CE MSS. Indicatively, Thompson fails to mention the LXX explicitly, lest someone begins to think and ask: what about the LXX indeed? The LXX is a major obstacle to those who anchor the biblical texts in Qumran. The third–second century BCE LXX proves that most of the biblical texts were biblical before the Qumran community was even born.

Our evaluation of biblical composition, says Thompson, must be biased:

8. [p. 262] Final forms do not render us with a satisfactory vantage point for viewing the process of historical composition. *This is true whatever our theological needs.* (emphasis added)

18. Ni. L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek*, SVT 82, Leiden 2000.

We do not endow final forms with virtues they lack. The final forms is what we have, their past is what we are trained to find out. This has absolutely nothing to do with theological needs. He who suspects others may be suspected of his own priorities. The Sages have a saying for that: כל הפוסל במומו פוסל “he who charges others may be charging them with his own defects”.

He then categorically reverses the relationship between Bible and Qumran:

9. [p. 262] The Dead Sea texts... present us with sources, drafts and versions of what, *at a much later date*, came to be recognized as biblical tradition. In themselves, however... *they are not biblical*, but independent of such a final form and significance. These scrolls and text fragments reflect literary contexts not only logically but empirically prior to any scholarly-constructed biblical world.... (emphasis added)

Now we come closer to what this is all about. It is about turning things upside down. In the beginning God created Qumran! But of course, logically and empirically Qumran is no more than a crystallization of a certain stage in the transmission of biblical literature. It did not emerge *deus ex machina*. Qumran is indisputably pre-biblical only in one sense: the scrolls are physically earlier than any other biblical evidence we have. All the rest is open to discussion. Some Qumran texts may preserve an earlier stage of the biblical text compared with the MT, others may coincide with it, and many others are later than the texts that survived in the MT. The fact is that some biblical texts are attested at Qumran in their MT form and in their biblical contexts. The fact is that Qumran attests later stages that are based on biblical texts and contexts. Translations of these texts exist at Qumran. The Pesharim literature, which draws its power from the authoritative status of biblical texts, flourishes at Qumran. Where is the time gap, the authority inspiring span of time? How can a text be more biblical than the book of Isaiah fully preserved in Cave 1, or the book of Job whose full translation into Aramaic was discovered in Cave 11, or the book of Habakuk fully interpreted in the Qumranic Pesher? Qumran may have a “biblical” future (mainly regarding the formation of the canon), but it also has a

substantial and lengthy biblical past. We cannot be sure that all the para-biblical texts are para-biblical and not “para” other texts, but this is a matter for philological consideration of each and every text.

The denial of pre-hellenistic phases of biblical tradition continues:

10. [p. 262] We are not required to fall into the trap of discussing texts we do not have. If we should find ourselves talking about phenomena such as the wilderness tradition, we need to avoid prejudicing our discussion by thinking too specifically from the familiar [p. 263] perspective of the canonical Exodus / Numbers tradition. In the context of the Hellenistic world of our texts, it is not yet clear that this specific variant of the wilderness tradition had yet taken pride of place...

We should not fall into the trap of discussing texts that are not there! But the texts *are* there, at Qumran, not to speak of the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX, and, yes, even the MT, that join forces to prove that the texts *were* there. And why should we not look at the wilderness tradition from the biblical point of view? The biblical wilderness account is attested in 4QpaleoExod^m for which we have the substantial remainders of 44 columns that run parallel to Exod. 6 to 37. What else do we need, to be able to speak of the biblical context of the Exodus?¹⁹

All in all, our starting point should not be in the extant biblical books, which are themselves, sometimes “strikingly arbitrary products of collection techniques”, but rather in the concise bible-related compositions from Qumran:

11. [p. 263] We have a large number of texts from the caves of the Dead Sea that lead me to question the sharp distinction that we have made between the process of text transmission and their composition I am here thinking of the many segmentary blocks of

19. The mentioned texts differ from the MT. In their major feature, the harmonizations, they are, in fact, later than the MT, as argued – in reference to the Samaritan Pentateuch – in 1837 by Gesenius, and more accurately by Geiger – who seems to have fortold the findings of Qumran – and accepted since; A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung des Judentums* (1857), Jerusalem 1949 (translated into Hebrew from the 2nd edition by I. L. Baruch), pp. 64–65.

very brief compositions that have been recognized as variants of Bible texts or as resembling... passages that are found in the Bible... I also doubt that we can any longer speak intelligently about identifying specific texts as either expansions or abbreviations of biblical texts simply on the basis of their being larger or smaller forms of our canonical versions.

This is the second time in three pages that our intelligence is being questioned. The first was when we were said to have mistakenly acknowledged the LXX as a witness to the biblical context of biblical traditions, and now when we are accused of considering the biblical texts used in Qumran literature as biblical.

What is the basis of this sweeping prohibition to consider the Bible-related texts from Qumran as variants, expansions or abbreviations of biblical texts? Sometimes we may, sometimes we may not. We have comparative tools for this purpose. The segmentary Qumranic compositions and the full biblical books lived side by side at Qumran. The relationship between them is a matter of evaluation. Finally,

12. [p. 263] Certainly the widespread mixing... of biblical and non-biblical texts requires that we entertain the question of whether our authors and collectors understood what a biblical text was. It is not apparent.

What does the mixing prove? It may prove that the biblical text was not “canonical” – a self-evident conclusion in the milieu of Qumran – or, that other texts as well were cherished in this community, another manifest conclusion where this sect is concerned. But it does not impede the probability that the biblical texts were known at Qumran – most of them long before Qumran – in their known biblical context. The mixture of biblical and non-biblical texts proves nothing regarding the provenance of the biblical texts. It certainly does not prove that the biblical texts were derived from a source other than the biblical source or that they existed as independent segments, out of context.

Let us say in conclusion of this introductory part that we certainly can speak intelligently about final forms in the milieu of Qumran, even beyond entire books. Ben Sira mentions the Twelve Prophets as a corpus

early in the second century BCE. His grandson is aware of the threefold division of the Bible, as does the Qumranic composition *Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* that speaks of “the book of Moses”, “the books of the prophets” and, presumably, “David”, representing a third part (Col. III, line 10).²⁰

4QTestimonia (Thompson, pp. 263–266)

Thompson now offers a test-case to his theory: 4QTestimonia.²¹ Let there be no expectations. The pattern continues: general questions are posed, suppositions made, consequences deduced, all based on little and inaccurate argumentation. The main question-supposition-consequence is that the texts used in 4QTest are not “biblical”: they do not derive from their “biblical contexts”, but rather from a source used by both the author of the Qumranic composition and (much later, we presume) by the biblical writers.

4QTest is a collection of passages that have parallels in different books of the Hebrew Bible, and one last passage that, while containing a verse from Joshua, has, in the main, no parallel in the Bible. The text reads as follows:

1. וידבר יידי אל מושה לאמור שמעת את קול דברי 2 העם הזה אשר דברו אליהם היטיבו כל אשר דברו. 3 מי ינתן ויהיה לבכם זה להם לירא אותי ולשמור את כול 4 מצותי כול הימים למעאן יטב להם ולבניהם לעולם. 5 נבי אקים לאהם מקרב אחיהם כמוכה ונתתי דברי 6 בפיהו וידבר אליהם את כול אשר אצונו. והיה האיש 7 אשר לוא ישמע אל דברי אשר ידבר הנבי בשמי אנוכי 8 אדרוש מעמו. []

2. 9 וישא משלו ויאמר נאום בלעם כנבעור ונאם הגבר 10 שהתם העין. נואם שומא אמרי אל וידע דעת עליון אשר 11 מחזה שדי יחזה נופל וגלו עין.

20. E. Qimron & J. Strugnell (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4 V*, DJD 10, Oxford 1994.

21. J. M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4:I*, DJD 5, Oxford 1968, pp. 57–60, Pl. XXI; J. Strugnell, “Notes en marge du Volume V des Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan”, *RQ* 7 (1970), pp. 225–229. F. G. Martínez & E. J. C. Tigchelaar, “4Q175 (4QTest) 4QTestimonia”, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls – Study Edition*, II, Leiden – New York – Cologne 1997, pp. 354–357.

אראנו ולוא עתהא 12 אשורנו ולוא קרוב. דרך כוכב מיעקוב ויקום שבט מישראל ומחץ 13 פאתי מואב וקרקר את כול בני שית. 3. 14 וללוי אמר הבו ללוי תמיך ואורך לאיש חסידך אשר 15 נסיתו במסה ותרבהו על מי מריבה. האמר לאביו {{לוא}} 16 {{{***}}} ולאמו ל{{א}}י» דעתיכהו ואת אחיו לוא הכיר ואת בנו לוא 17 ידע. כי שמר אמרתכה ובריתך ינצר. ויאירו משפטיך ליעקוב 18 תורתכה לישראל ישימו קטורה באפך וכליל על מזבחך. 19 ברך יייו חילו ופעל ידו תרצה מחץ מתנים קמו ומשנאו 20 כל יקומו.

4. 21 [] בעת אשר כלה ישוע להלל ולהודות בתהלותיהו 22 ויאמר ארור היש אשר יבנה את העיר הזות. בבכורו 23 ייסדנה ובצעירו יציב דלתיה. ואנה איש ארור אחד בליעל 24 עומד להיות פ[ח]י קוש לעמו ומחתה לכול שכניו. ועמד 25 [--]*מ[לה]יות שניהמה כלי חמס ושבו ובנו את 26 [העיר הזות. ויצ]י/בו לה חומה ומגדלים לעשות לעזו רשע 27 [ורעה גדלה] בבישראל ושערוריה באפרים וביהודה. 28 [--] [וע]שו חנופה בארץ ונצה גדולה בבני 29 [יעקוב ושפכו ד]ם כמים על חל בת ציון ובחוק 30 [--] [] ירושלם.

4QTest belongs to a genre of, as Thompson rightly puts it, non-coherent collections of multiple small segments chosen and arranged according to motif- or theme-dependent analogies. For him 4QTest is a model since “it puts together several Pentateuch-like segments... of the sort that we find scattered throughout Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy”, and, moreover, mixes them with his “own unique text segment”.

This presentation, however, is far from being accurate: First, the texts quoted in 4QTest are not Pentateuch-like segments but Pentateuch segments. Second, they are not scattered in the Pentateuch, but rather a part of well-structured contexts: The promise of a future prophet who will replace Moses is part of the scene in which the people, intimidated by the ominous divine revelation, ask for a mediator (Exod. 20, according to the harmonistic version of the Pentateuch). The words of Balaam son of Beor are part of a well defined unit, the Book of Balaam (Num. 22–24). Even the blessing to Levi is not scattered in Deuteronomy, but part of a collection of blessings said to be addressed by Moses to the Sons of Israel (Deut. 33). Finally, the author of 4QTest does not mix the Exod.–Num.–Deut. texts with his own writing. The last passage, too, is a quotation, as we shall see.

Thompson, then, would not consider the possibility that the author of

4QTest actually borrowed these texts from their biblical contexts, but rather from other independent contexts.²² May we mention that these contexts do not exist except in Thompson's imagination. He who idolizes solid facts as a means to discredit the Hebrew Bible cannot start imagining vague, non-established contexts and procedures. It would mean working with double standards. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that the Pentateuchal context existed at this point in time, and even on the very site of Qumran. 4QpaleoExod^m, as mentioned, attests large parts of the context of the Book of Exodus, 4QpaleoGenesis-Exodus¹ probably contained the first two books of the Pentateuch,²³ and *Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*, mentioned above, refers to "the book of Moses". We should not hesitate, again, to offer the evidence of the Samaritan Pentateuch or the LXX.

For Thompson, it is, naturally, very important to show the differences between the texts quoted in 4QTest and their biblical counterparts, in order to substantiate his argument that they were not excerpted from biblical contexts. However, Thompson's description of the relationship between the texts, his doubts and final suggestion are entirely based on a misunderstanding.

1. Like others before him, Thompson describes the first paragraph of 4QTest (lines 1–8) as a combination of texts from Deut. 5:28–29 and Deut. 18:18–19. This is certainly not the case. This paragraph, rather, parallels a text from the book of Exodus, albeit in its expanded, harmonistic version, attested in the Samaritan Pentateuch and probably also in 4Qpaleo-Exod^m.²⁴ Indeed, the harmonistic version borrowed its

22. He compares this "to the way 1 Samuel and 1 Chronicles are dependent on an independent context". May we remind him that 1 Samuel and 1 Chronicles are neither books nor otherwise definable literary units, and that the assertion he makes has not been proven yet.

23. P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich & J. E. Sanderson (eds), *Qumran Cave 4 IV, DJD 9*, Oxford 1992. The first fragment preserves letters from what is probably the final verse of Genesis continued by the beginning of Exodus. On p. 17 the editors say: "Conceivably, it could have been a complete Torah scroll, but there is no evidence to support this suggestion".

24. Our verses specifically are not preserved in Qumran, but, since 4QpaleoExod^m is undoubtedly akin with the Samaritan Pentateuch regarding the harmonizations, there is hardly room for doubt that they agreed on this point as well.

text from the mentioned passages in Deut., and slightly remodeled them to suit their new context, appended as they are at Exod. 20:18 (21). It is this Exod. text that is quoted in 4QTest. Seen as such, one does not have to explain why in the Deuteronomy text the addressee is different, since the change is already there in the expanded Exodus text. And, one does not have to wonder why the compiler of 4QTest decided to quote Deut. 5:28–29 at all: it is part of the following text and, together with it, speaks of the future prophet, and therefore qualifies for the purposes of 4QTest.²⁵ Finally, one does not have to resort to an imaginary scenario that “the received texts are both independently derived from a common stream of tradition” (p. 265). Rather, the Qumran text simply quotes from a received text.

2. Thompson finds another difference that is not actually there – in the Numbers passage. He states that 4QTest has its own introductory clause that only resembles that of Num. 24:15a, and, again, asks himself “whether this is the result of arbitrariness or whether it is reflective of an independent source” (p. 265). In fact, there is no difference between 4QTest וישא משלו ויאמר and MT Num. 24:15a וישא משלו ויאמר. The translations Thompson used may have given different renderings of the same phrase, but in Hebrew they are exactly the same, down to the spelling. Therefore, Thompson’s suggestion and conclusion may be safely neglected.

3. As for the Deuteronomy passage (33:8–11), even Thompson agrees that the MT and 4QTest are identical.

Since the first paragraph is anchored in a received Exod. text, and the Num. and Deut. texts are identical with the MT, there remain no differences between 4QTest and the biblical texts in their known forms. Thus, the comparison between the biblical passages and 4QTest offers no ground whatsoever to substantiate an assumption that they draw on a common source and are not interrelated.

25. Thompson quotes 4Q158 Frag. 6 as backing up the version of 4QTestimonia. But this fragment is nothing but a quotation of the same biblical text, Exod. 20:21, in its expanded, harmonistic form, as identified by R. Weiss, “Review of DJD V”, *Kiriath Sepher* 45 (1970), p. 61 [= “Newly Published Dead Sea Scrolls”, in *Studies in the Text and Language of the Bible*, Jerusalem 1981, pp. 330–331] (Hebrew).

4. We come to the last passage of 4QTest, that, as a whole, has no parallel in the MT. It, nevertheless, quotes Josh. 6:26, notably without mentioning Jericho.

Thompson's treatment of the quoted passage is, again, very sloppy. He seeks and finds variation between the texts. To his knowledge "instead of Joshua's 'youngest', the Qumran text reads 'your Benjaminite', which is a referent to the well-known story of Joseph" (p. 265). There is absolutely no difference between the texts on this point. The biblical text reads **וּבְצַעִירוֹ** and the Qumran text reads **וּבְצַעִירוֹ**. Even the spelling is the same. There is no Benjaminite in the Qumran text and hence no referent to the Joseph story. The difference stated by Thompson with great ado may be found in the translations he used. There is nothing of the kind in the Hebrew texts.

He further argues that "instead of Joshua's 'Jericho', we read in our Qumran text: 'this town', and Jerusalem is now clearly our text's reference". The words **הָעִיר הַזֹּאת** 'this town' do not replace Jericho. They, too, are borrowed from the "biblical" text: **אֶת הָעִיר הַזֹּאת אֶת יְרִיחוֹ**. The only real and important difference between the texts is the omission of the words **אֶת יְרִיחוֹ**, replacing Jericho's fate with, probably, Jerusalem's destiny-determining evil. We can imagine a text that pronounced a curse on an anonymous city (that is, without the words **אֶת יְרִיחוֹ**), although 1 Kgs. 16:34 substantiates the Jericho context. However, the fact that the Qumran text speaks of *Joshua* and associates *him* with *Jerusalem* shows that the curse is borrowed from the biblical context and reused in a Qumranic context.

Unlike the previous passages, which do not support in any way the existence of non-biblical contexts for the quoted texts, the last segment obviously suggests a different context for Joshua's curse. Indeed, this text is borrowed from a non-biblical context, a fact which Thompson fails to mention. The author of 4QTest used a text extant in 4Q379, the Apocryphon of Joshua^b, Frag. 22, col. ii, lines 7–15.²⁶ The preceding lines of this fragment reveal its context: it follows immediately after Joshua's praise, as is specifically apparent in line 5, that seems to wrap up the text to this point: **5 בָּרוּךְ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי [יִשְׂרָאֵל...]** "Blessed be YHWH, God of

26. Martínez & Tigchelaar, I, pp. 748–752.

[Israel...]. Joshua's praise of the Lord is also the subject of Col. i of the same fragment that speaks of his mighty deeds and asserts that there is no God apart from him. This explains the beginning of our text in 4QTest: **בַּעַת אֲשֶׁר כָּלָה יֵשׁוּעַ לְהַלֵּל וּלְהוֹדוֹת בַּתְּהִלּוֹתָיו** "At the moment when Joshua finished praising and giving thanks with his psalms...". If this text were not preserved in 4Q379, we would have probably argued that the compiler of 4QTest composed it. Even so, we should have questioned this self-evident conclusion, since it would not have explained the introduction to the passage that betrays its previous context.

Brooke places the Josh.-Apocryphon where it belongs, with midrashic interpretations of the biblical texts.²⁷ This is not the result, as Thompson argues, of a "prior assumption of dependence and citation" (p. 265), but of an examination of the inner-relations between the texts, specifically, in reference to the combination of Joshua's curse with the evil of Jerusalem. Following Brooke, we would say, then, that 4QTest is a quotation from a Qumranic text, which is, in turn, a manipulation of the biblical Joshua text.

As it is, it seems quite safe to assume that the author of 4QTest simply quotes four passages in a row: one from Exodus, using the expanded harmonistic text-form, the second from Numbers, the third from Deuteronomy, the fourth from the Apocryphon of Joshua. As such, the last segment is no surprise. It is yet another quotation. I am not arguing that the author did not have a more sophisticated reason for this range of texts, but their order – Exodus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua – must have been a factor in his choice.

Thompson is right to emphasize that 4QTest is a complete composition in its own right that reproduces segments of texts without commentary. This is indeed the genre: it is a small collection of quotations inter-related by a common motif that the compiler had in mind. Thompson's interpretation of these observations, however, is quite alarming (p. 266): for him it is possible to understand 4QTest as "a variant biblical-like tradition which had failed to make a canon". For him it is possible that "the biblical texts in their many variations originally derived from such texts as 4QTest".

27. G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, Sheffield 1985, pp. 309–319.

4QTest does not allow for such suppositions. It is a collection of four apparently unrelated texts. All start “in the middle”: “And the Lord spoke to Moses...”; “And he uttered his poem...”; “And about Levi he says...”; “And the moment Joshua finished praising... he said...”. Different speakers appear: the Lord, Balaam, the Lord again, Joshua. The texts obviously had different contexts before they ended up in 4QTest. The first segment begins: “And the Lord spoke to Moses saying: You have heard the sound of the words of this people...”, that is, this text must have followed the people’s words, as it indeed does in the biblical text of Exodus. The second segment starts: “And he uttered his poem and said...”. Who is “he”, unless the text derives from a context that stated “his” identity. The third segment begins with “And about Levi he says...”. This definitely reads as a continuation of previous similar sayings. And finally, the last segment, is clearly derived from a context that contained Joshua’s praise of the Lord. This is not a biblical-like text that did not happen to make a canon. It is a collection of texts of different provenance, genre, and meaning, previously used in different contexts. The connection between the texts is provided by their unique interpretation in their new milieu, a meaning they did not carry on their own or in their previous context. The texts were endowed with messianic connotations, overtones that made them appropriate to be quoted together by the compiler of 4QTest, probably in reference to his milieu.²⁸

4QTest is a genre in its own right. It may well be a forerunner of a similar genre known from the New Testament.²⁹ 4QTest may have had its own forerunners. The Chronicler has the Levites praise the Lord with a mosaic of psalms (1 Chr. 16).³⁰ On another occasion he lets a prophet, Azariah son of Oded, approach Asa king of Judah with a series of

28. See H. Eshel, “The Historical Background of 4QTest”, *Zion* 55 (1990), pp. 141–150.

29. See J. A. Fitzmyer, “4QTestimonia and the New Testament”, in idem, *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, Missoula 1974, pp. 59–89.

30. Ps. 105:1–15; Ps. 96; and the framework of Ps. 106, vv. 1, 47–48. The latter seems to prove that the Chronicler already had the Psalter organized in the form already known to us since he quotes the conclusion of the psalm (v. 47) together with the doxology which marks the end of the fourth part of the psalter.

proclamations borrowed from different prophets (2 Chr. 15:1–7).³¹ This does not necessarily mean that the Chronicler is quoting from contexts other than the biblical context. The compiler of 4QTest offers us a very impressive collection of texts that teaches us a lot about his cultural heritage that included the expanded Pentateuch and the apocryphal Joshua. However, the composition process that produced 4QTest does not teach us much about the composition of the Hebrew Bible.

Some Other Texts revisited (Thompson, pp. 266–276)

The seeds of chaos having been sown, everything becomes possible. Why not argue that the florilegia type is based on a grundtext such as 4QTest rather than on biblical texts? Why not argue that the biblical texts elaborate on texts such as the florilegia? Why argue that certain Qumran texts expand biblical texts and not the other way round, that is, that the biblical text is rather an abbreviation of the Qumranic compositions? Let us consider briefly two of Thompson's examples.

The first is 4Q158, Frag. 1–2:³²

[-]ץ למען[-] 2 [-]שרית ופ[-] 3 [-]וי/וטר י[עק]וב ל[בדו] שמה
ויאבק[-] 4 [-]בהאבקו עמו/ ו[יאחזו] ויאמ[ר] אל[יו] 5 [-]אלי.
ויאמר לו מה שמכה [ויגד] לו[-] 6 [-]אנשים ותוכל. וישאל י[עק]וב
ו[יאמ]ר הגיד נא לי מ[ה] 7 [-]ויבר[ך] אותו שם ויאמר לו יפרכה י[הוה]
יירב[כה] 8 [-] [ד]עת ובינה. ויצילכה מכול חמס 9 [-] עד היום הזה ועד
דורות עולם[-] 10 וילך לדרכו בברכו אותו שם. וי/[-] 11 לו השמש כאשר
עבר את פנוא[ל] 12 ביום ההוא ויאמר אל תוא[כל] 13 על שתי כפות
הירך עד היום הזה.

According to Thompson (p. 266), 4Q158 is a complete story, while its biblical counterpart, the Esau/Jacob story of Gen. 32:25–33 breaks off uncompleted between verses 29 and 30, and, in addition, speaks of blessing, but fails to actually give it. Therefore, he argues, it is possible to understand Genesis “as a shortened form of a story like 4Q158”. And,

31. Cf. Deut. 4:29; Hosea 3:4; Zech. 8:10; Zeph. 3:16; Jer. 31:16.

32. Martínez & Tigchelaar, *ibid*, II, pp. 304–307.

why not “understand the florilegia as theological traditions comparable to those we find in the Bible”?

(1) The Genesis narration is said to break off in the biblical text between verses 19 and 20, but 4Q158, fortunately preserved at the juncture of these two verses (ותוכל-וישאל), runs parallel to the biblical text (line 6).

(2) Completeness of a story is not necessarily proof of its priority. The problems of an earlier text may be remedied in a later stage of its transmission.

(3) We do not necessarily expect a blessing. “And he blessed him” may be used as an introduction to a quotation, but is also repeatedly used without specifying the contents of the blessing.³³

(4) The parallel scene in Gen. 35, which offers another version of the change of name, indeed includes a quotation of a blessing: פרה ורבה... (v. 9). The author of 4Q158 may have used the pattern of this parallel version (line 7).

(5) It is, of course, improper, when arguing with Thompson, to mention that פרו ורבו does not belong with the style of Gen. 32 but rather with the priestly style of Gen. 35. The late Qumran text does not distinguish between the different styles but he who argues for its priority must think of such issues.

(6) How can Genesis be understood as a shortened form of a story like 4Q158? This is quite an alarming supposition, considering that the text that is supposed to preserve the original form of Gen. 32 combines fertility with knowledge and intelligence in the quoted blessing (lines 7–8).

Another supposedly telling example, adduced by Thompson, is the Testament of Judah (p. 267). Since, in the Testament, the sons gathered around Judah are said to descend from Shelah (8:4) rather than from Judah himself, as in the biblical story of Tamar, Thompson suggests two possibilities:

(1) The story of Tamar is unknown to the author of the testament. This would indeed be a monumental innovation, considering that Judah's

33. E.g., Laban blesses his sons and daughters, without his words of blessing being provided (Gen. 32:1), and Moses blesses the people in appreciation of the good work done, without his blessing being quoted (Exod. 39:43) and so on and so forth.

testament is all about the story of Tamar. Judah's lesson to his sons is entirely based on his own regrettable relations with the women in his life, Bat Shua and Tamar.

(2) The Testament reflects a wholly independent tradition. It is self-evident that the author of the Testament lives in a cultural milieu that abounds in traditions independent of the Bible. The fact is, however, that the Testament follows the story of Tamar step by step and is certainly dependent on it. He may have his own ideas regarding Judah's descendants, but he does mention that Tamar became pregnant by him (12:4).

There are many other examples that Thompson throws into the discussion without discussing, without offering an accurate comparison, a neglected art nowadays, without taking into consideration the nature of the entire work, its relationship with the biblical context, and especially its own literary preferences and ideological tendencies.

Thompson's general conclusion is obvious: His Copenhagen Lego hypothesis should explain the composition of texts such as 4QTest or Florilegia, as well as the Hebrew Bible, since "All biblical genres... are segmented genres; that is, they are complex units of tradition that are composed of multiple smaller segments of material" (p. 268). I am afraid Thompson did not succeed in showing that 4QTest and Florilegia and the Bible were composed by similar methods. Neither did he succeed in his attempt to prove that such Qumran texts present us with sources, drafts and versions of what became much later the biblical text. Moreover, Thompson actually falls into the trap of the same scholarship, he is so eager to deplore for its speculative nature. He offers no evidence, only assumptions. However, unlike classical scholarship his deductions are not based on an established method.

Adam's Incense Offering (Jubilees 3:27)

James C. VanderKam

Jubilees is classified these days in that broad category Rewritten Bible or, better for its time, Rewritten Scripture. Large parts of the text justify the tag, as the writer devotes lengthy stretches of his book to re-presenting the text of Genesis and the first part of Exodus. While there are fascinating, often subtle ways in which the author packages the older text for his readers, another significant way in which he communicates his message is through additions to Genesis–Exodus. These may be labeled additions in that they are present in Jubilees but are not in Genesis–Exodus, yet they may not be additions in the sense that they are free creations by the writer. At times units that appear to be additions are actually drawn from other scriptural sections and, for whatever reason, inserted into the narrative of Genesis–Exodus. Whether those extra pericopes come from the author of Jubilees or other sources must be decided case by case.

The subject of the present essay is one of these additions – the brief but tantalizing report in Jub. 3:27: “On that day, as he was leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance – frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices – in the early morning when the sun rose at the time when he covered his shame”.¹ Genesis 3 says nothing about an offering made by Adam, much less an

- * I wish to thank Robert Hayward for allowing me to use his unpublished paper “‘Let My Prayer Be Set Forth as Incense’: Observations on the Significance of the Incense Offering in Second Temple Times”, which he delivered at the University of Notre Dame on March 21, 2001. As the title indicates, his focus in that paper is different from the aim of the present essay, but he does examine Jub. 3:27 and other texts as he explores the significance of the incense offering in the Second Temple period.
- 1. Translations of Jubilees are from J. C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* CSCO 510–11, *Scriptores Aethiopici* 87–88, vol. 2, Leuven 1989.

Meghillot 5–6 (2008), pp. *141–*156

incense offering, as he and Eve depart from the garden. Once the deity became alarmed that mankind might take some fruit from the tree of life and live forever, “the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden, to till the ground from which he was taken. He drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life” (Gen. 3:23–24).²

Background Information

While the immediate context in Genesis was probably not the only textual trigger that induced the author of Jubilees to insert the additional verse, commentators have noted some items in that context which, with others from elsewhere in the scriptures, probably nudged the writer in the direction in which he proceeded. Before turning to those features, we should first survey a familiar theme in Jubilees.

A. Eden as a Sanctuary³

A crucial factor for understanding the incense offering of Adam is the author’s teaching that the garden of Eden was a sanctuary. For him the garden, which was one of the four items created on the third day (2:7), belongs in a group of locations with a special status: “For there are four places on earth that belong to the Lord: the Garden of Eden, the mountain of the east, this mountain on which you [Moses] are today – Mt. Sinai – and Mt. Zion (which) will be sanctified in the new creation for the sanctification of the earth. For this reason the earth will be sanctified from all its sins and from its uncleanness into the history of eternity” (4:26). It is of special interest that the passage is occasioned by the writer’s description of Enoch’s labors after his removal. As the angel of the presence reports: “He was taken from human society, and we [angels of

2. Scriptural citations are from the NRSV.
3. There are a number of studies on the subject. See, e.g., J. van Ruiten, “Eden and Temple: The Rewriting of Genesis 2:4–3:24 in *The Book of Jubilees*”, in G. Luttikhuisen (ed.), *Paradise Interpreted: Representations of Biblical Paradise in Judaism and Christianity*, Themes in Biblical Narrative 2, Leiden 1999, pp. 63–94, especially pp. 75–79.

the presence] led him into the Garden of Eden for (his) greatness and honor... He burned the evening incense of the sanctuary which is acceptable before the Lord on the mountain *of incense*" (4:23a, 25). Enoch, like Adam, burned incense at Eden. Later one learns that the garden of Eden fell to the lot of Shem (8:16, 21). His delighted father Noah recalled his prophecy that the Lord would reside where Shem lived (8:18; see 7:12 // Gen. 9:27). "He knew that the Garden of Eden is the holy of holies and is the residence of the Lord; (that) Mt. Sinai is in the middle of the desert; and (that) Mt. Zion is in the middle of the navel of the earth. The three of them – the one facing the other – were created as holy (places)" (8:19).

To these explicit statements about the garden as a sanctuary we should add Jub. 3:8–14, the passage that grounds the legislation of Leviticus 12 in the experiences of the first couple. The number of days after childbirth that a woman is unclean and then must not touch holy things or enter the sanctuary differs depending on whether her child was a male (a total of 40 days) or a female (a total of 80 days). Following the stipulated time, she is to bring an offering to the sanctuary. The precedent that gave rise to the legislation is that Adam entered the garden after 40 days and his wife after 80. To this material the writer adds: "After she had completed these 80 days, we brought her into the Garden of Eden because it is the holiest in the entire earth, and every tree which is planted in it is holy" (3:12). The entire pericope makes sense only if the garden is a sanctuary.⁴

4. 4Q265 7 ii 11–17 also attest this connection between the Garden of Eden and Leviticus 12. Note the phrase in line 14: אֶדֶן וְכֹל הָאֵבֶר אֲשֶׁר בְּחֹרֶב קִדְּשׁ. See J. Baumgarten, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees", in G. Brooke (ed.) with F. García Martínez, *New Qumran Texts and Studies*, STDJ 15, Leiden 1994, pp. 3–10; G. Anderson, "Celibacy or Consummation in the Garden? Reflections on Early Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the Garden of Eden", *HTR* 82 (1989), pp. 121–148, especially 129–131. Anderson emphasizes that in Jubilees the garden as temple requires that those who enter it be pure, as was the rule for the temple; Jub. 3:6 says the first couple had sex outside the garden, hence the delay for entry into it by the man and woman. See also B. Ego, "Heilige Zeit – heiliger Raum – heiliger Mensch", in M. Albani, J. Frey, and A. Lange (eds.), *Studies in the Book of Jubilees*, TSAJ 65, Tübingen 1997, pp. 211–215; M. Segal, "The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible,

So, the picture in Jubilees 3 is that Adam presented an incense offering as he was leaving the garden – the sanctuary or more specifically the holy of holies from which he and his wife were being expelled. There is no question that the writer thought of Eden as a sanctuary; the question to be pursued is why he or his tradition came to this conclusion.

B. Clues about Eden as a Sanctuary in Genesis 2–3

Scholars have spotted a number of features in the Genesis section about the garden that might have suggested the Eden-sanctuary equation to the careful reader. Among them are.

1. *The cherubim*: Perhaps the most obvious parallel with the scriptural depiction of the sanctuary is provided by the *cherubim* whom the Lord God stationed on the east of the garden (Gen. 3:24). Their role was to guard the way to the tree of life. There were, of course, cherubim in both the tabernacle and the Jerusalem temple. In Exod. 25:17–22, the paragraph about construction of the mercy seat (כפרת) which was to be placed on the ark, the Lord commanded Moses to make two cherubim and to place them at the two ends of the mercy seat (see 37:6–9 for the execution of the command). 1 Kings 6:23 relates that Solomon made two cherubim in the inner sanctuary (כדביר). “He put the cherubim in the innermost part of the house [בתוך הבית הפנימי]; the wings of the cherubim were spread out so that a wing of one was touching the one wall, and a wing of the other cherub was touching the other wall; their other wings toward the center of the house were touching wing to wing” (6:27; see 2 Chr. 3:10–14). They clearly occupied a most sacred place in the Solomonic sanctuary: “Then the priests brought the ark of the covenant of the Lord to its place, in the inner sanctuary of the house [אל דביר הבית], in the most holy place [אל קדש הקדשים], underneath the wings of the cherubim” (8:6; 2 Chr. 5:7–8). These figures, then, afforded a natural parallel between the garden of Eden on the one hand and the tabernacle and the Jerusalem temple on the other. And, judging by the

Redaction, Ideology and Theology”, Ph.D. dissertation, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2004, pp. 40–53. R. H. Charles adduced a number of ancient texts in which a similar correlation of texts was made (*The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis*, Oxford 1902, pp. 22–24).

description of their wingspans in the sanctuaries, they would have been effective guards at the entry to Eden.

2. *The stream*: Genesis 2:6 refers to the way in which the Lord God supplied water to the earth before he made it rain: “a stream would rise from the earth, and water the whole face of the ground...”. Gen. 2:10 adds that the stream, which “flows out of Eden to water the garden”, divided into four rivers. This extraordinary body of water in paradise is often cited as a tradition that underlies the remarkable stream of Ezek. 47:1–12. The prophet saw that “water was flowing from below the threshold of the temple toward the east (for the temple faced east); and the water was flowing down from below the south end of the threshold of the temple, south of the altar” (v. 1). That life-giving river flowed east to the Dead Sea, supporting luxuriant growth on its banks: “On the banks, on both sides of the river, there will grow all kinds of trees for food. Their leaves will not wither nor their fruit fail, but they will bear fresh fruit every month, because the water for them flows from the sanctuary. Their fruit will be for food, and their leaves for healing” (v. 12). W. Zimmerli, after adducing Ps. 46:4 (“There is a river whose streams make glad the city of God, the holy habitation of the Most High”), comments regarding the river: “In Psalm 46, however, the related reference to the abundant waters of the impregnable mountain of God reveals another line of tradition. This can be seen particularly clearly in Gen. 2:10–14, where the location of paradise is described as a place of great abundance of water. All the great rivers of the world come down from this place, which must therefore be thought to be on a high mountain. The inhabited world lives on the surplus of the riches of paradise. But paradise, as is shown also by many features in Genesis 2f, is the dwelling place of God – or, to transfer it back to the polytheistic past, of the gods. This motif of the river of paradise, which flows down from the dwelling place of the gods, has been clearly at work in the formation of Ezek. 47:1–12...”.⁵

3. *The Gihon*: Genesis 2:10–14 says that the single stream introduced in 2:6 (it watered the face of the whole earth) divided into four branches (cf. וְכֹל נְהָרוֹת עֵדֶן [1QH^a 14.16]). “The name of the second river is Gihon; it is

5. W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, vol. 2, Philadelphia 1983, p. 510. Cf. H. Wallace, *The Eden Narrative*, HSM 32, Atlanta 1985, pp. 77–78.

the one that flows around the whole land of Cush” (v. 13).⁶ In its retelling of Genesis 2, Jubilees says nothing about the four rivers, although it does mention that on the third day, when the garden was created, God also formed all the rivers (2:7). A source of water named Gihon is mentioned three times in connection with the anointing of Solomon in 1 Kings 1 (vv. 33, 38, 45). It is hardly a river, but the context in which it occurs in vv. 38–39 is suggestive: “So the priest Zadok, the prophet Nathan, and Benaiah son of Jehoiada, and the Cherethites and the Pelethites, went down and had Solomon ride on King David’s mule, and led him to Gihon. There the priest Zadok took the horn of oil from the tent and anointed Solomon. Then they blew the trumpet, and all the people said, ‘Long live King Solomon!’”. The Gihon, then, was the place where the tent David had pitched for the ark was located (see 2 Sam. 6:17; 1 Kgs. 2:28; in 8:4 it is the tent of meeting, thus identifying it with the sanctuary from the wilderness).⁷ Perhaps not too much should be made of the coincidence of names, but it does call attention to itself.⁸

4. *Garments of Skins*: After the first couple had transgressed the divine command and had learned of their punishments, “the Lord God made garments of skins [כתנות עור] for the man and for his wife, and clothed them” (Gen 3:21). The point of interest here is the term כתנות which is

6. Jubilees again pairs the Gihon River and Eden in 8:15–16, where they play a role in depicting the boundaries of Shem’s allotment. See also 1QapGen 21.15, 18–19, where the river is mentioned in the account of Abram’s journey around the land assigned to him.
7. J. Montgomery & H. S. Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings*, ICC; Edinburgh 1951, p. 79.
8. H. Eising, “גִּיחוֹן, *gîhôn*”, *TDOT* 2.467: “In any case, the context indicates that all the watercourses of the earth come from Eden. Therefore, we must consider whether perhaps the spring of Jerusalem is connected mentally with the river of Paradise that has the same name, so that Zion was looked upon as the center of the world, from which all watercourses come, symbolizing salvation from God”. See also his discussion of Ezekiel 47 and related passages (468). In Sir. 24:23–33 it is clear that the poet is drawing on the four rivers of Genesis 2 (and others) and on the river of Ezekiel 47 in describing wisdom. See also Wallace, *The Eden Narrative*, pp. 74–75, 86; G. Anderson, “The Cosmic Mountain: Eden and its Early Interpreters in Syriac Christianity”, in G. Robbins (ed.), *Genesis 1–3 in the History of Exegesis: Intrigue in the Garden*, Lewiston, NY 1988, pp. 192–193.

also used for the clothing that God ordained for the priests. So, for example, Exod. 28:4 lists such a garment fourth among the items of clothing to be made for Aaron so as “to consecrate him for my priesthood” (v. 3; cf. also 28:39; 29:5, 8; Lev. 8:7). It recurs when the clothing for Aaron’s sons is under consideration (28:40, where it is the first one mentioned; Lev. 8:13).⁹ Though the word can be quite general in meaning, it was potentially suggestive to those looking for such clues. We do have evidence from a much later time that expositors inferred a priestly connection or its equivalent from Gen. 3:21. So, for instance, a story that resembles Jub. 3:27 to some extent can be read in the Apocalypse of Moses. When the angels ask Adam, as he is being expelled from the garden, what he wanted, he replied: “Behold, you cast me out. I pray you, allow me to take away fragrant herbs from the Garden, so that I may offer an offering to God after I have gone out of the Garden that he hear me” (29:3).¹⁰ The angels request from God “incense of sweet odor from the Garden” (v. 4), and “God commanded it to be so for Adam that he might take sweet spices and seeds for his food” (v. 5). Verse 6 names four kinds that he took: crocus, nard, calamus, and cinnamon (with various seeds). Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Gen. 8:20, reads: “Then Noah built an altar *before the Lord – it is the altar which Adam built at the time he was banished from the garden of Eden and on which he offered an offering, and upon which Cain and Abel offered their offerings*”.¹¹ *Numbers Rabbah* 4.8 has an interesting reference to the passage in a discussion of Num. 3:45 (“Accept the Levites as substitutes for all the firstborn among the Israelites...”). The rabbis point out that originally, before the tribe of Levi existed, the firstborn performed sacrifices. “From the moment when the Tabernacle was erected the high places were forbidden and the service was confined to the priests. There is proof that the firstborn offered the sacrifices before the tribe of Levi took office. Go back to the beginning of

9. Exod. 28:42–43 stresses how important it was for the priests to cover their nakedness when entering the sanctuary or approaching the altar. Violation of the rule would lead to death.
10. Translation of G. Anderson & M. Stone, *A Synopsis of the Books of Adam and Eve*, 2nd rev. ed., SBLEJL 17, Atlanta 1999, pp. 72E–73E.
11. Translation of M. Maher, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Genesis*, The Aramaic Bible 1B, Collegeville, MN 1992.

the creation of the world. Adam was the world's firstborn. When he offered his sacrifice, as it says: *And it pleased the Lord better than a bullock that hath horns and hoofs* (Ps. LXIX, 32) – he donned high priestly garments; as it says: *And the Lord God made for Adam and for his wife garments of skins, and clothed them* (Gen. III, 21). They were robes of honor which the subsequent firstborn used”.¹² There follows a list of those firstborn who performed sacrifices. *Genesis Rabbah* 34.9 transmits a similar interpretation of Gen. 8:20: “R. Eliezer b. Jacob said: That means on the great altar in Jerusalem, where Adam sacrificed, as it is written...” (Ps. 69:32 is then quoted).¹³

5. *To till it and to keep it*: Genesis 2:15 (cf. 2:5) says that the Lord God placed the man in the garden “to till it and keep it *לעבדה ולשמרה*”. The verb *עבד* is used regularly for priestly service and *שמר* too may have sacerdotal associations; as a result, some interpreted the two words in this sense in Gen. 2:15. *Genesis Rabbah* 16.5 records a way of attaching both verbs with offerings by finding in them “an allusion to sacrifices: thus it is written, *Ye shall serve* (ta-‘abdun) *God upon this mountain* (Ex. III, 12); and, *Ye shall observe* (tishmeru) *to offer unto Me* (Num. XXVIII, 2)”.¹⁴

6. *The Place of Gods Presence*: A more general point of contact with a

12. J. Slotki, *Numbers* vol. 1, 3rd ed., Midrash Rabbah, ed. H. Freedman & M. Simon, London / New York 1983, p. 101. For references to and a summary of the several sources that elaborate upon the garments of Eden, see L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 7 vols., paperback ed., Baltimore 1998, vol. 5, pp. 103–104. For a modern reading of the act of clothing as marking status (humanity's inferiority to God), see R. Oden, “Grace or Status? Yahweh's Clothing of the First Humans”, in idem *The Bible Without Theology: The Theological Tradition and Alternatives to It*, Urbana/ Chicago 1987; repr. 2000, pp. 92–105. Oden also notes the possible priestly connotations of *כְּתֹנֶת* and of the act of investiture.
13. As H. Freedman indicates, the inference about the altar in Gen. 8:20 arises from the fact that *מִזְבֵּחַ* has the definite article attached to it (*הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*) (*Genesis* vol. 1 [3rd ed.; Midrash Rabbah, ed. H. Freedman & M. Simon, London / New York 1983], vol. 1, p. 272 n. 6). See also *b. A.Z.* 8a; *b. Šabb.* 28b, and Ego, “Heilige Zeit – heiliger Raum – heiliger Mensch”, pp. 215–216.
14. Freedman, *Genesis*, vol. 1, p. 130. See also J. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as It Was at the Start of the Common Era*, Cambridge/London 1998, pp. 110, 120–121; Anderson, “The Cosmic Mountain”, pp. 207–209. Some later expositors understood Adam's labor to be in the Torah.

sanctuary was the fact that in Eden the Lord God himself was present; it was the place where he met the people he had created. This reminds one of scriptural statements regarding the tabernacle, a structure whose purpose was “that I may dwell among them” (Exod. 25:8). The same chapter cites the words of the Lord regarding the mercy seat which was to be placed on the ark and had cherubim at both ends: “There I will meet with you, and from above the mercy seat, from between the two cherubim that are on the ark of the covenant, I will deliver to you all my commandments for the Israelites” (25:22; more generally regarding the tent of meeting, see Exod. 29:42–43). We encounter the same idea in Exodus 30, a crucial chapter for understanding Jub. 3:27. There, speaking of the incense altar, the Lord commands: “You shall place it in front of the curtain that is above the ark of the covenant, in front of the mercy seat that is over the covenant, where I will meet with you” (30:6). And later he orders regarding the incense: “You shall beat some of it into powder, and put part of it before the covenant in the tent of meeting where I shall meet with you...” (30:36).

C. Clues from Other Scriptures

Another category of passages that facilitated the Eden–sanctuary equation consists of pericopes other than Genesis 2–3 that mention Eden or Eden-like themes. They broaden the attributes of Eden and thus increase the opportunities for correlating the garden with a temple.

1. *Ezekiel 28:1–19*: The passage about the king of Tyre, including the lament over him, is rich in parallels with Genesis 2–3 and names Eden, the garden of God, in v. 13. With this explicit reference and themes such as creation (vv. 13–15), human aspirations to divinity (2, 6, 9) and perfect wisdom (2–6, 12, 17), and a cherub besides (14, 16), it was difficult to dissociate Ezekiel 28 from Genesis 2–3.¹⁵ Yet, with all these points of intersection, the actual contributions that Ezekiel 28 makes to the Eden–sanctuary equation are not transparent; nevertheless, they are present. First, the passage identifies Eden as a divine place by calling it “the garden of God” (13) and God’s holy mountain (14, 16).¹⁶ The idea that

15. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, vol. 2, p. 90. See *Gen. Rab.* 9.5.

16. The latter phrase reminds one of ways in which some psalmists refer to Mt. Zion

Eden was on a mountain may lie behind those passages in Jubilees which pair Eden with the sacred mountains (Sinai, mountain of the east, Zion); Jub. 4:25 says that Enoch, who was in Eden, burned incense on the mountain of incense. Second, Ezek. 28:13 offers a list of precious stones present in Eden. As Zimmerli explains the matter, “The nine names of the precious stones which are found in \mathfrak{M} correspond, with minor rearrangements in sequence (in place of the sequence 1–6, 10–12 in Exodus, here the sequence is 1–2, 6, 10–12, 3–5), to the stones of the first two and the fourth rows of jewels on the high priest’s breastplate in Ex. 28:17–20”.¹⁷ This overlap – sharing precious stones with the unique clothing of the high priest himself – could have endowed the garden with a sacerdotal aura.

2. *Psalm 104:16 and Ezekiel 31:8*: A combination of these two verses allowed exegetes to infer another connection between garden and temple. According to Gen 2:9, “Out of the ground the Lord God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food, the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil”. The verse does not name any particular kind of tree, but other passages documented that cedars grew in Eden. Ezek. 31:8, in a section dealing with the king of Assyria and Assyria itself, which it calls a “cedar of Lebanon” (v. 3), reads: “The cedars in the garden of God could not rival it”. Ps. 104:16 declares: “The trees of the Lord are watered abundantly, / the cedars of Lebanon that he planted”. In *Gen. Rab.* 15.1 these two passages and others are related to one another. Psalm 104:16 was taken to refer to cedars in the garden (since they are the “trees of the Lord”), and, as Gen 2:9 reports that God planted trees rather than creating them, it implies he took them from elsewhere and transplanted them in Eden. The term ‘Lebanon’ in the Psalm was understood to mean the temple.¹⁸ Solomon’s temple was, of course, constructed in good part

as the place of the temple (e.g., Ps. 15:1; 24:3). On Ezekiel 28 and the garden of Eden, see also J. Levenson, *Theology of the Program of Restoration of Ezekiel 40–48*, HSM 10; Atlanta 1976 (reprint 1986), pp. 25–34.

17. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, vol. 2, p. 82. There he also points out that the list in Greek Ezek. 28:13 exactly matches the one in Greek Exod. 28:17–20.
18. See the text and notes in Freedman, *Genesis*, vol. 1, p. 119.

of cedar wood (1 Kgs. 6:9–10, 15–16, 18, 20, 36; cf. 7:12 and 2 Sam. 7:7). Since this series of associations is attested only in much later texts, we should not assume earlier readers had made the connections – but they may have.

D. The Incense Offering in Exodus 30

Jubilees 3:27 says that Adam made an incense offering as he left the garden. So, moving from the observation that Eden was a sanctuary / the holy of holies, we should now examine the scriptural givens about the incense offering. Two passages in the tabernacle section of Exodus are particularly important for this purpose: 30:1–10 and 30:34–38. The former deals with the altar for the offering and the latter with the offering itself (see also 37:25–28; 40:26–27).¹⁹

In Exod. 30:1–10 (located after 26:35 in the Samaritan Pentateuch) there are instructions for building and transporting the golden altar of incense. We should note especially v. 6 which tells where the altar was to be located: “You shall place it in front of the curtain that is above the ark of the covenant, in front of the mercy seat that is over the covenant, where I will meet with you”. The instructions continue by ordering that Aaron offer incense on this altar each morning (בִּבְקֶרֶת) and evening (v. 7–8).

The second section (vv. 34–38) lists the ingredients used to make the incense. It repeats the information about where the altar is to be placed and adds after “where I shall meet with you” the words “it shall be for you most holy [קֹדֶשׁ קֳדָשִׁים]” (v. 36; cf. Num. 7:89). This phrase would have caught the attention of someone who believed Eden was the holy of holies.

Jubilees 3:27

With all of this material in mind, we may turn to Jub. 3:27: “On that day, as he was leaving the Garden of Eden, he burned incense as a pleasing fragrance – frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic

19. See M. Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel: An Inquiry into Biblical Cult Phenomena and the Historical Setting of the Priestly School*, Winona Lake, IN 1985, pp. 230–245.

spices – in the early morning when the sun rose at the time when he covered his shame”.

On that day (*wa-ba-ye’eti ’elat*): The first item to notice is the date. Adam’s sacrifice occurs on the very day of another event which turns out to be the sin of the first couple. Jubilees is specific about the timing of that event. “When the conclusion of the seven years which he had completed there arrived – seven years exactly – in the second month, on the seventeenth, the serpent came and approached the woman” (3:17). Between this notice and 3:27 there are no indications of the passage of a day; thus “On that day” in 3:27 should refer to month 2 day 17. Yet, in 3:32 one learns that “[a]t the beginning of the fourth month Adam and his wife departed from the Garden of Eden”. Exactly how the writer understood what happened on the two dates is not clear, but the general timing is worth highlighting because the scriptural teachings about offering incense are not confined to the daily morning and evening offerings mandated in Exod. 30:7–8. Rather, a similar incense offering is a part of the ritual for the day of atonement in Leviticus 16: “He [Aaron] shall take a censer full of coals of fire from the altar before the Lord, and two handfuls of crushed sweet incense, and he shall bring it inside the curtain and put the incense on the fire before the Lord, that the cloud of incense may cover the mercy seat that is upon the covenant, or he will die” (16:12–13; see Exod. 30:10 for the connection). Since the day of atonement falls in the seventh month, the tenth day (also in Jub. 34:18–19), the date in Jubilees clearly separates Adams incense offering from the one made by the high priest as part of the day of atonement rituals.

As he was leaving the Garden of Eden (*’enza yewaḏḏe’ ’em-gannata ’edom*): The writer has clearly exploited the givens about the location of the altar of incense relative to the holy of holies, that is, the Garden of Eden. As we have seen, the relevant passages in Exodus locate the altar very near the ark which was in the holy of holies: Exod. 30:6 לפני הפרכת אשר על העדת. Also, the cherubim were attached to the mercy seat which was on the ark. Thus, the altar for incense would have been on the east side of the room (the temple faced the east), right on the border that marked off the holy of holies. It makes good sense, then, that Adam would make his offering as he was leaving the holy of holies and moving toward the east of Eden.

Since our text does not relate Adam's offering to the day of atonement, it does not explicitly address an issue later disputed by the Pharisees and Boethusians (according to *t. Yoma* 1.8): where was the high priest to make the incense offering on the day of atonement – inside the holy of holies or outside it. Jubilees 3:27 is too vague about the place of the offering, but 4:23–26 has Enoch make the incense offering in the garden, that is, in the holy of holies (matching the Pharisaic position; see also Heb 9:3–4 which says the golden altar of incense was in the holy of holies).²⁰

He burned incense as a pleasing fragrance (*ʿaṭana la-maʿāzā šannāy ʿetāna*): The expression identifies clearly the type of offering that Adam presents but adds to the scriptural gives the words “as a pleasing fragrance”. The words *maʿāzā šannāy* stand in the Ethiopic Pentateuch where the MT has ריח נחורח. It is not employed with the incense offering in Exodus 30, but 30:38 does use the infinitive להריח in connection with offering incense. The incense or perfume offering would be a natural one for use of the phrase. In this regard Sir. 24:15 is interesting. After describing herself like trees, wisdom says: “Like cassia and camel's thorn I gave forth perfume, / and like choice myrrh I spread my fragrance [εὐδωρίαν], / like galbanum, onycha, and stacte, / and like the odor of incense in the tent”. No Hebrew survives for the passage, but M. Segal renders εὐδωρίαν with ריח and comments that the original may have read the familiar ריח נחורח.²¹ The phrase “in the tent” indicates the incense of the tabernacle is meant, while the terms to which she compares her fragrance are the ingredients of incense in Exod. 30:37 (see below).

Frankincense, galbanum, stacte, and aromatic spices (*seḥina wa-qenʿata wa-māya lebn wa-sanbalta*): The list clearly reflects the instructions in Exod. 30:34: “Take sweet spices, stacte, and onycha, and galbanum, sweet spices with pure frankincense...”. Three of the four terms in Jub 3:27 are present in the Ethiopic version of Exod. 30:34 (*sanbalta* is not there) but in a different order.²²

20. For a discussion and references to the sources, see J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, AB 3; New York / London 1991, pp. 1028–1031.

21. ספר בן סירא השלם, 2nd ed.; Jerusalem 1953, pp. 145, 149 (the comment is at v. 17).

22. The reference to “crushed sweet incense” in Lev. 16:12 is the occasion for a

In the early morning when the sun rose (*ba-ṣebāḥ mesla tenšāʾē dāḥay*): The timing of the sacrifice derives from the order in Exod. 30:7 (cf. 2 Chr. 13:11): “Aaron shall offer fragrant incense on it; every morning [בבקר בבקר] when he dresses the lamps he shall offer it”. Jubilees’ expression differs from the one in Exodus by lacking an indication of daily repetition (Ethiopic Exod. 30:37 reads *ba-ba-nagh*, marking repetition by the double use of the preposition *ba-*).²³ The formulation in Jubilees is probably intentional because, once he leaves Eden, Adam will not repeat the incense offering. That the offering took place at sunrise reminds one of *A.J.* 3.199 where Josephus says the first offering was made “before sunrise” (LCL [Thackeray]) or Philo’s words “at dawn” or “at the first glimpse of day” (*Spec. Laws* 1.169 [and 171], 276 [LCL (Colson)]); see also *m. Tamid* 1.2; 3.2; *b. Sukk.* 56b: תמיד של שחר).

At the time when he covered his shame (*ʿama kadana xāfrato*): The clothing that the Lord had made for Adam and Eve just before sending them from the garden was mentioned in the immediately preceding verse (26). As we have seen, the garments, at least for Adam, were understood to be priestly apparel. Exod. 28:40–43 provides not only for the special vestments for the priests but also undergarments “to cover their naked flesh” (v. 42; cf. 20:26). The word *xāfrat* is a common rendering of Hebrew ערוה.

What conclusions may we draw from analyzing Jub. 3:27 in its wider and immediate scriptural contexts? One clear implication is that the passage enunciates some themes that are important to the author of Jubilees. First, this verse and perhaps v. 26 as well make Adam the first (high-) priest. Commentators have noted that the writer traces a line of priests throughout the period covered in the book, even though the evidence for

lengthy discussion of the components for the incense offering in Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, pp. 1025–1028; a chart on p. 1027 aligns the terms used in several versions of Exod. 30:37, though he does not adduce the evidence from Jubilees. See also Jub 16:24.

23. Jubilees’ simple expression is the one used in Ethiopic Exod. 29:39 for the time of the first tamid offering of which the incense offering was a part.

this in Genesis, where the patriarchs do sacrifice, is slight.²⁴ Second, by having Adam offer the first incense offering, the writer provides an example of one of his favorite devices: antedating laws or practices, known only from Mosaic times in the Hebrew Bible, to the time of the ancestors. As we have observed, it is not until Exodus 30 that the incense altar and offering appear in the text; Jubilees moves the practice back to the time of the first man. In fact, the author of Jubilees provides earlier warrant for both of the tamid offerings: Adam presented the morning incense offering and Enoch the evening incense offering (4:25). Both patriarchs made their offering at or in the Garden of Eden. A reasonable inference from such evidence is that the addition of Jub. 3:27 to Genesis (and of 4:25) is due to the writer. These passages document key themes for him and are known from no earlier passages.

Another implication is a negative one – what the author does not say about Adam's incense offering. First, the purpose of the incense in Jub. 3:27 is not stated. The verse is surrounded by statements having to do with covering one's shame by wearing clothing (vv. 26, 30–31). The priestly connotations of Adam's clothing have been noted, but no particular reason for or result of the incense offering figures in the text.²⁵ Jub. 4:23–26 mention Enoch's incense offering in the context of human sin (which he records) and sanctification from sin and uncleanness, but it is not obvious that these themes relate to his evening sacrifice of incense. Second, nothing is said in either passage about a connection between incense and prayer. There is evidence for comparing incense and prayer in Ps. 141:2 ("Let my prayer be counted as incense before you, / and the lifting up of my hands as an evening sacrifice"; cf. Dan. 9:20–21); and later the equation is attested (Rev. 5:8 "golden bowls full of incense, which are the prayers of the saints"; 8:3–4 "Another angel with a golden censer came and stood at the altar; he was given a great quantity of

24. For a summary of the evidence, see VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, Guides to Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Sheffield 2001, pp. 141–142.

25. J. Levison (*Portraits of Adam in Early Judaism: From Sirach to 2 Baruch* [JSPS 1; Sheffield: JSOT 1988], pp. 94–95) thinks there is a subtle polemic in 3:27–32 against the priestly nudity mentioned in 1 Macc. 1:13–14, but 1 Maccabees is not talking about a lack of clothes when sacrificing, only at the gymnasium.

incense to offer with the prayers of all the saints on the golden altar that is before the throne. And the smoke of the incense, with the prayers of the saints, rose before God from the hand of the angel.”).²⁶ Luke 1:10 says: “Now at the time of the incense offering, the whole assembly of the people was praying outside”. There is no mention of prayer in either Jub. 3:27 or 4:23–26.

26. See D. Aune, *Revelation 6–16*, WBC 52b, Nashville 1998, pp. 511–515 for an extensive analysis and reference to other passages.

The Original Language and Historical Milieu of the Book of Judith

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The Book of Judith makes for captivating reading. One may like or dislike its heroine, approve or disapprove of its perceived message; one may have doubts as to the usefulness of reading a book like this to one's children or congregation. But having started to read one will find it difficult to stop: questions arise at every turn, tensions are constantly created, surprise follows surprise. Judith is, in modern idiom, a page-turner. It is also an enigmatic book, raising many problems that are difficult to solve. When was it created? In the Persian or in the Hellenistic period? Or perhaps even later? What is its literary genre, what purpose did the book intend to serve? What is the social and religious background of the author?

Many questions persist also with regard to the textual history of the book. The Greek text exists in several recensions, one of which served as the *Vorlage* of the Syriac and Old Latin versions. The Vulgate differs much from the Septuagint: Jerome explains that he used a Chaldee version current among the Jews of his time in order to determine the correct text. In actual fact, he may have done little more than to rework an Old Latin version of the book. Aside from these ancient witnesses, a number of medieval versions in Hebrew have been transmitted. Whether these texts go back to translations of the Vulgate or the Septuagint, or whether they reflect a lost Semitic source is still *sub iudice*.¹

1. A good survey of the principal questions related to Judith is found in P.-M. Bogaert, "Judith", *RAC* 19 (2001), col. 245–258. For secondary literature, see T. Craven, "The Book of Judith in the Context of Twentieth-Century Studies of the Apocryphal/Deuterocanonical Books", *Currents in Biblical Research* 1/2 (2003), pp. 187–229.

Meghillot 5–6 (2008), pp. *159–*176

In this paper, two series of remarks will be presented. First, we will review a number of linguistic and philological arguments favoring the view that Judith was originally written in Greek. Subsequently, we will explore the possibility that Judith reflects certain views and preoccupations of Alexandrian Judaism.

The Original Language of the Book of Judith

In the commentary he published in 1972, Enslin writes: “That the Book of Judith (...) was originally written in Hebrew is recognized by all scholars”.² More recently there have been some dissenting voices,³ but the majority of informed scholars probably still accept the Hebrew, or at least Semitic, origin of the Book. The main argument for this view is the Greek language of Judith, which is heavily Hebraized. One finds such typically Hebraistic turns of phrase as καὶ ἐγένετο “and it happened” (reflecting Hebrew וַיְהִי), καὶ ἰδοὺ “and behold” (וְהִנֵּה), εἰμι εἰς “to become” (הָיִה לְ), and many more. Several features of Greek writing are either completely absent or very rare: there are no cases of οὖν, τε or ἄρα, and only one of μέν; the style is mainly paratactic, the storyline consisting principally of καὶ with aorist indicative.

Features of Idiomatic Greek

One also encounters, however, some linguistic features that are hard to explain on the supposition that Judith is a translation from a Semitic language.

2. See M. S. Enslin, *The Book of Judith*, Leiden 1972. Similarly, R. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des Buches Judith*, MSU XIV, Göttingen 1979, p. 9: “Der griechische text des Buches Judith ist ein Übersetzungstext. Seine Vorlage war entweder hebräisch oder aramäisch”.
3. See, e.g., H. J. Priebatsch, “Das Buch Judith und seine hellenistischen Quellen”, *ZDPV* 90 (1974), pp. 50–60; H. Engel, “‘Der Herr ist ein Gott der die Kriege zerschlägt’. Zur griechischen Originalsprache und der Struktur des Buches Judith”, in K.-D. Schunk & M. Augustin (eds.), *Goldene Äpfel in silbernen Schalen*, Frankfurt a.M. 1992, pp. 155–168; C. Rakel, *Judit – über Schönheit, Macht und Widerstand im Krieg. Eine feministisch-intertextuelle Lektüre*, BZAW 334, Berlin 2003, pp. 33–40; B. Schmitz, *Gedeutete Geschichte. Die Funktion der Reden und Gebete im Buch Judith*, HBS 40, Freiburg i.B. 2004, pp. 2–3.

- In the sixteen chapters of the book, there are eight occurrences of the future infinitive.⁴ This feature has no obvious counterpart in Hebrew or Aramaic, and is indeed rare in books translated from the Hebrew. Only three cases of the future infinitive are found in the entire Greek Pentateuch, and even the Greek Job, a very free translation, has only five.⁵
- Greek words in Judith such as ἀπεγνωσμένοι “the disowned” (9:11),⁶ ἀπηλπισμένοι “the desperate” (9:11),⁷ ἀνυπέρβλητος “unsurpassed” (16:13), have no simple Hebrew equivalent and are either very rare or totally absent in the LXX books of which we have a Hebrew source.
- In Jdt. 11:17 we read the expression νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας “night and day”, in the typical Greek order; in Hebrew, the idiomatic order is “day and night”.⁸

Admittedly, such indications remain impressionistic. A more systematic sampling of the quality of Judith’s Greek is provided by an analysis of relative clauses. Some of these are markedly Hebraistic:

Jdt. 7:10 οὐ πέποιθαν ἐπὶ τοῖς δόρασιν αὐτῶν ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὕψεσι τῶν ὀρέων ἐν οἷς αὐτοὶ ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐτοῖς “They do not rely on their spears but on the height of the mountains where they live (literally: in which they live in them)”.

The repetition of the pronoun is unnecessary in Greek and reflects Hebrew syntax.⁹ The construction is very frequent in the LXX:

Gen. 19:29 ...τὰς πόλεις ἐν αἷς κατῴκει ἐν αὐταῖς Λωτ “the cities where Lot lived” (לְעָרֵים אֲשֶׁר-יָשַׁב בָּהֶן אֲשֶׁר-לֹט)

4. See Jdt. 1:12; 8:9,11,33; 13:3; 16:4,4,4.
5. In the Pentateuch, see Gen. 21:23; 26:29; Num. 14:31; in Job, Job 12:6; 20:2; 27:4; 34:12; 42:17. See further I. Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, Ser. B 132 (Academia Scientiarum Fennica), Helsinki 1965, pp. 150–151.
6. This word occurs also in Deut. 33:9.
7. This word occurs also in Isa. 29:19.
8. The expression “day and night” occurs 66 times in the Hebrew Bible, the expression “night and day” six times; see K. Hognesius, *The Text of 2 Chronicles 1–16. A Critical Edition with a Textual Commentary*, CBOT 51, Stockholm 2003, p. 107 n. 223.
9. The syntax is not wholly unheard of in Greek; see F. Blass, A. Debrunner & F.

Similar examples of Hebraizing relative clauses are found in Jdt. 5:19; 8:22; 10:2; 16:3.

Other relative clauses are structured in a way which, though correct in Greek, could reflect Hebrew as well as Greek: 5:8,12,23; 7:30; 9:2 (compare Ex. 36:2); 10:3; 11:11 (compare Gen. 44:5), 19 (compare Num. 27:17; 2C 18:16); 12:16 and 16:22 (compare Ex. 9:18); 13:15.

A small group of relative clauses, however, reflect an elegant Greek style untypical of the translated books of the Septuagint. Notably, Judith has a number of relative clauses preceding the antecedent:

Jdt. 5:3 τίς ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ὁ καθημενος ἐν τῇ ὄρεινῃ καὶ τίνες ᾧς κατοικοῦσιν πόλεις “What people is this that lives in the hill country? What are the towns they inhabit?”

This type is impossible to reproduce in Hebrew. It is almost wholly unattested in the translated books. The normal Septuagintal syntax is markedly different:

Num. 13:19 καὶ τίνες αἱ πόλεις εἰς ᾧς οὗτοι κατοικοῦσιν ἐν αὐταῖς “What are the towns they inhabit?” (הָעָרִים הַנֵּשֶׁבֶת בְּהֶהָרָה)

Other examples of the pre-positioned relative clause are found in Jdt. 9:1 and 9:9.

The following instance is even more typically Greek, and practically unparalleled in the translated books of the LXX:¹⁰

Jdt. 8:15 αὐτὸς ἔχει τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐν αἷς θέλει σκεπάσαι ἡμέραις “He has power to protect us within any time he pleases”.

The verse reflects free writing in Greek.

At this point, we should recall that Hebraistic diction does not necessarily constitute proof of translation. Among Jewish Hellenistic writings, some come to mind that were almost certainly written in Greek, but whose style is marked by Hebraisms.¹¹ The Testament of Abraham is

Rehkopf, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttinge 1990¹⁷, p. 246 §297.

10. See, however, Dan. 1:8 ἐν ᾧ πίνει οἶνον; Lam. 3:57 ἐν ᾧ σε ἡμέρα ἐπεκαλεσάμην.

11. See G. Walser, *The Greek of the Ancient Synagogue. An Investigation on the*

one example, the Gospel of Luke another.¹² They testify to a tendency on the part of certain authors to imitate the style of the Septuagint. Their presumed Hebraisms are in fact Septuagintisms.¹³ The question arises, then, whether Judith may not be regarded as an early example of this tendency. In this view, a Greek author, intending to create a “biblical” story, adopted the biblical style he knew from the Septuagint.¹⁴ This model would accommodate the numerous Hebraisms encountered in the text, which might as well be Septuagintisms. The model would also explain the occasional “lapse” into good Greek: since the writer was composing the text freely, he tended to fall back on his own Greek idiom.

The reasoning is plausible, but it falls short of proof. If Judith were a very free translation, this might also account for the occasional use of “un-Hebraic” expressions. The Greek version of Isaiah, Job, or Esther, too, contains features that cannot be explained as mechanical calques of the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Perhaps one could argue that Judith was at first

Greek of the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha and the New Testament, Stockholm 2001.

12. For discussion, see W. G. Most, “Did St Luke Imitate the Septuagint?”, in C. A. Evans & S. E. Porter (eds.), *The Synoptic Gospels. A Sheffield Reader*, The Biblical Seminar 31, Sheffield 1995, pp. 215–226.
13. Some of the Hebraisms in Luke may come from his sources, but in redactional passages without parallel in the other gospels, most Semitisms will have been created by the evangelist himself.
14. It has often been highlighted that this stylistic procedure would have been in keeping with Greek models. See, e.g., J. H. Moulton, “New Testament Greek in the light of Modern Discovery”, in H. B. Swete (ed.), *Essays on Some Biblical Questions of the Day*, London 1909, pp. 461–505, repr. in S. E. Porter (ed.), *The Language of the New Testament. Classic Essays*, JSNTS 60, Sheffield 1991, pp. 60–97, on p. 75: “The reading of the classics soon shows us how the several literary forms attached themselves to dialects associated with their earliest exemplars. Epic poetry, even down to Nonnus, must endeavour to follow the nondescript dialect into which Ionic rhapsodists had transformed the Achaian of Homer. Choral odes in tragedy and comedy must preserve the broad long *alpha* which witnesses to the origin of drama in some region outside the area of the Ionic-Attic *eta*. We can therefore understand the instinct that would lead the educated Greek Evangelist to suit his style under certain conditions to the book which held the same relation to his Gospel as the *Iliad* held to subsequent experiments in epic verse”.

translated literally, whence the Hebraisms, but that the text was later reworked – a process not unheard of for the deuterocanonical books (one might think of Tobit, or Ben Sira). The idiomatic Greek phrases might then reflect this later recension.

Use of the Septuagint in Quotations and Allusions

There remains one phenomenon, however, that cannot be explained if Judith is a translation. The Book of Judith is a mosaic of biblical allusions: ideas, literary motifs, turns of phrase, dates, places, characters, actions and objects are modeled upon, and refer to biblical antecedents.¹⁵ What is presently of interest is that a number of biblical allusions and quotations appear to go back to the Greek text rather than the Hebrew. Of course, use of the Greek text as such is not proof of original Greek composition. A translator, too, confronted with a biblical phrase in a Hebrew text may adopt the corresponding expression from the LXX.¹⁶ However, when the point of the quotation or allusion is found only in the Septuagint and not in the Hebrew, one may legitimately infer that it was created in Greek. A New Testament example springs to mind: if in Matt. 1:23, Isa. 7:14 is quoted to show that the Messiah was to be born from a virgin, one can be fairly certain that at least this part of the gospel was originally conceived in Greek. Indeed, the LXX alone states that “the *virgin* will conceive and bear a son” while the Hebrew text speaks of a “young woman”.

A similar phenomenon occurs in Judith – not once, but several times. Let us quickly review some of the most striking examples:

Jdt. 8:16 ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς ἀπειληθῆναι οὐδ’ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου διαιτηθῆναι “For God is not like a human being, to be threatened, or like a mere mortal, to be won over by pleading”.

15. For some general remarks on biblical quotations and allusions in original Greek texts contained in the Septuagint canon, see D. Dimant, “The Problem of Non-Translated Biblical Greek”, in C. E. Cox (ed.), *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies. Jerusalem 1986*, Septuagint and Cognate Studies 23 (Scholars Press), Atlanta GA 1987, pp. 1–19.
16. Most of the biblical quotations in the gospels follow the Septuagint, but this is not proof that the texts were entirely composed in Greek.

In spite of a number of divergences, the words of Judith clearly quote a verse from the Torah:

Num. 23:19 οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ὁ θεὸς διαρτηθῆναι οὐδὲ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἀπειληθῆναι “God is not like a human being, to be deceived, or like a mere mortal, to be threatened”.

The Septuagint version here varies considerably from the Hebrew text:

וְיִתְנַחֵם יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְיִכְזֹב וְיִכְזֹב אֶל אִישׁ אֶל “God is not a human being, that he should lie, or a mortal that he should change his mind”.

The differences between the Hebrew and the Greek in Numbers are probably due to the translator, who wished to avoid any association of God with the notion of lying.¹⁷

The Greek text of Num. 23:19 fits the context in Judith much better than does the Hebrew. What incenses the heroine is that the ruler of Bethulia has determined a period of five days within which God is to manifest his mercy: if God does not act in these five days, the city will surrender. Such a direct challenge to God is, she feels, a gross breach of propriety. It is practically a threat. One should not threaten God as if he were a mere mortal! This is where the quote from Numbers comes in. The notion of threatening God, so topical in this context, is found only in the Greek version. This fact suggests that the text of Judith was created in Greek.¹⁸

Jdt. 9:7 οὐκ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι σὺ εἶ κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος ὄνομά σοι “They do not know that you are the Lord who crushes wars, the Lord is your name”.

The expression “the LORD who crushes wars” is repeated in the final hymn of praise (Jdt. 16:2 ὅτι θεὸς συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος) and corresponds to one of the main thematic strands of the book. Man makes war, but God breaks war: he does away with it entirely, thrusting aside

17. The choice of the verb ἀπειλέω may owe something to Gen. 27:42.

18. The implications of the quotation in Jdt. 8:16 were noted in passing by a number of earlier scholars, notably E. Nestle and G. Brunner, see Schmitz, *Gedeutete Geschichte*, p. 167.

every symbol of human strength and imposing his victory in an unexpected way. The thought is biblical, figuring in both the Hebrew and Greek text (Hos. 2:20; Ps. 76:4; also Ps. 46:10). The expression, however, is peculiarly the Septuagint's:

Ex. 15:3 κύριος συντρίβων πολέμους κύριος ὄνομα αὐτοῦ “The Lord who crushes wars, the Lord is his name”.¹⁹

This is the verse quoted in Jdt. 9:7 and 16:2. The Hebrew text says something very different:

יְהוָה אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ “The LORD is a warrior, the LORD is his name”.

The difference between the Hebrew and the Greek is difficult to explain. What is clear, however, is that the Book of Judith refers to the LXX.

In other passages, one cannot speak of quotations. The text merely contains a striking expression that appears to reflect a phrase from the LXX:

Jdt. 6:2 καὶ τίς εἶ σύ Αχιωρ καὶ οἱ μισθωτοὶ τοῦ Εφραιμ “Who are you Achior and you mercenaries of Ephraim?”

The expression is surprising. Holofernes appears to accuse Achior and his companions, although only the former has said anything to arouse his displeasure. The import of the phrase, too, is somewhat obscure: does Holofernes mean to suggest that Achior and his companions have been bribed by the Israelites? What is not in doubt is that the phrase “mercenaries of Ephraim” is found as such in the LXX:

Isa. 28:1 οὐαὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῆς ὑβρεως οἱ μισθωτοὶ Εφραιμ “Woe to the crown of pride, you mercenaries of Ephraim”.

What this means is not clear. The Hebrew is very different:

הוּא עֲטָרַת גִּאוּת שְׁכָרִי אֶפְרַיִם “Ah the proud garland of the drunkards of Ephraim”.

The translator appears to have vocalized differently: שְׁכָרִי, “hirelings”,

19. See also Isa. 42:13.

instead of דְּרִיכִי, “drunks”. However this may be, it is clearly the Greek text that has been used in Judith.

In the same category we may quickly list the following:

Jdt. 14:18 ἠθέτησαν οἱ δοῦλοι “The slaves have rebelled”.

The expression is a reminiscence of 1Sam. 13:3LXX ἠθετήκασιν οἱ δοῦλοι, where the Hebrew has יְהִי שְׁמִיעַ לְהֶעֱבָרִים “let the Hebrew hear”.²⁰

Jdt. 16:12 υἱοὶ κορασίῶν κατεκέντησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὥς παῖδας αὐτομολούντων ἐτίτρωσκον αὐτούς “Sons of slave-girls pierced them through, and wounded them like the children of fugitives”.

This verse reflects the vocabulary of 1Sam. 20:30 υἱὲ κορασίῶν αὐτομολούντων “son of fugitive slave-girls”. Again, the Hebrew is different and could hardly have figured in a presumed Hebrew version of Judith: בֶּן־נָעִוֶת הַמְּרִדוֹת “son of a rebellious woman”.²¹

Other Arguments for a Semitic *Vorlage*?

In defense of a Semitic *Vorlage*, the testimony of Jerome is at times referred to. It is to be noted, however, that while the Semitisms of Judith have a strong Hebrew flavor, Jerome claims to have knowledge of an Aramaic text. If the Church Father may be believed on this point, one could imagine, perhaps, that he had seen an Aramaic translation of the Greek text. The Syriac version of Judith probably antedates the fourth century, so, conceivably, this might be the text he refers to. There are good reasons to take Jerome’s words with a pinch of salt, however. Although he must have worked on the basis of an Old Latin manuscript, he says nothing about this. Moreover, some of the additions praising celibacy and prayer are suspected by many scholars of having been added on no other authority than the translator’s own.

What is not subject to doubt is that Jerome’s translation is vastly inferior to the Greek text. In hardly any passage does the Vulgate appear to offer a better text than the Greek manuscripts, and in many places the

20. For a discussion of the reading of the Septuagint, see S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel*, Oxford 1912², p. 98.

21. See Driver, *Notes*, pp. 170–171.

Latin clearly goes back to the Septuagint. In Jdt. 8:16 (8:15 in the Vulgate), it simply follows the Greek: *Non enim quasi homo Deus sic comminabitur* “God is not threatened as if he were a man”. The reference to Num. 23:19 has practically disappeared, all that is offered is a flat translation of the Greek. Under these conditions, the Vulgate can hardly be used against the view that Judith was originally created in Greek.

Apart from Jerome, Antiquity has nothing to say of a Semitic version of Judith. Origen states explicitly that in his time the Jews did not have this book. There are no ancient quotations from it in rabbinic writings. No part of Judith has been found in Qumran. It has been claimed, by Dubarle and others, that some of the Medieval texts of Judith go back independently to an early Semitic source text. Although it is hard to disprove this hypothesis, the least that can be said is that the arguments that have been put forth are not very strong.

Other arguments in favor of a Hebrew original are equally feeble. Variant readings among the manuscripts of the Greek version, or between the Greek and the Latin, can at times be traced back to Hebrew words. But alternative explanations are always possible. Some passages in the Greek text are difficult to make sense of. Ingenious retroversions into Hebrew have been proposed that supposedly make sense in the context.²² None of these proposals is completely persuasive. On any account, Judith is an exacting work of art. It stands to reason that some of the more subtle puns or allusions were poorly understood by scribes and became corrupted over time. No far-reaching inferences should be drawn from dubious verses.

In short, there are no massive or incontrovertible arguments against the hypothesis that Judith was originally written in Greek.

Historical remarks

Most authorities nowadays date the Book of Judith to the Maccabean period, with good arguments.²³ On the supposition of a Hebrew original,

22. See F. Zimmermann, “Aids for the Recovery of the Hebrew Original of Judith”, *JBL* 57 (1938), pp. 67–74; Y. Grintz, *Sepher Yehudit*, Jerusalem 1957.
23. See, e.g., M. Delcor, “Le livre de Judith et l’époque grecque”, *Klio* 49 (1967),

the Book of Judith has usually been located in Palestine.²⁴ On the latter point, the facts gathered in the first part of this study point in a different direction. If the book was originally written in Greek, a Palestinian milieu is far from obvious. One should take into account the peculiar style of the book, with its constant reference to the Septuagint. The many quotations, the allusions, the language itself tie the book to the Greek Bible. We must look, then, for a community where the Bible was read in Greek. Such communities may perhaps have existed, in the second century BCE, in Palestine, or even in Asia Minor or Mesopotamia. But surely the main place to look for Jewish groups who regarded the Septuagint as Scripture is in Egypt. This suggests Alexandrian Judaism may be the milieu where the Book of Judith came into being.

In what follows, I will argue that the book itself confirms this. A background in the Egyptian Diaspora makes sense of several characteristic features of the Book of Judith.

The Geography of the Land

As has often been remarked, the geography underlying the plot of Judith is very curious. Some principal facts are accurately represented. Jerusalem lies in the hill country, with the plain of Jezreel – called Esdrelon in Judith – to the north; the cities of the coast are situated with tolerable accuracy, as is Scythopolis/Bet-Shean. In crucial details, however, the description of the Land of Israel seems to be the fruit of a vivid imagination: the normal road to Jerusalem would lead up from the coast, not through a northern mountain pass “wide enough only for two at a time to pass” (Jdt. 4:7). The cities of Bethulia and Bethomesthaim cannot be identified with any sites to the south of the plain of Jezreel.

Striking, too, is the suggestion that a city located in northern Samaria

pp. 151–179; M.-Fr. Baslez, “Polémologie et histoire dans le livre de Judith”, *RB* 111 (2004), pp. 362–376.

24. An exception is S. Zeitlin who situates the origin of the book in the diaspora because it contains such expressions as “the high priest... who was in Jerusalem” (Jdt. 4:6; 15:8). Because the book was written in Hebrew, in his view, he opts for Antioch rather than Alexandria (in Enslin, *Book of Judith*, pp. 31–33).

would take orders from the High Priest in Jerusalem.²⁵ The land called *Judea*, in *Judith*, stretches out north of Jerusalem unto the plain of Jezreel, but comprises neither Galilee nor the coastal area. Within this territory lives one single people, called *Israel*, in fraternal solidarity. Israel in the Book of *Judith* is not merely another name for Judah: Judith herself is from the tribe of Simeon, as is Uzziah, the ruler of the city of Bethulia;²⁶ the existence of other Israelite tribes is alluded to in two passages (8:18; 9:14) although no other tribe is mentioned by name.

The idealization and the vagueness affecting the description of the land in the Book of *Judith* may simply reflect the work's literary genre. The author is obviously more interested in the plot and the message than in factual adequacy. Nevertheless, it is easier to account for the liberty taken with geographical data on the supposition that the author and his readership are not living in the land of Israel. The image of the land in *Judith* could easily have been composed from Bible reading, hearsay and poetic imagination, by someone who had never seen the land, or visited it only briefly.

The History of Israel

As interesting as its geography is the historical knowledge to which the book testifies. I will leave aside here the problems of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Nineveh, and Holofernes, his chief general. More interesting in the present context is the conspectus of the history of Israel transmitted by the Ammonite leader Achior as recounted in *Jdt.* 5:6–19. Achior's account goes back to the very beginnings of the people's existence, in Chaldea, where their ancestors get to know the "God of heaven"; having

25. In monarchic times, Jerusalem and Bethulia would have been situated in different kingdoms. During the Persian period, Judea was limited to a small area around Jerusalem. The only time that would fit are the years following 107 BCE, when John Hyrcanus had taken the city of Samaria and sent its Greek population into exile. This period is probably too brief to account for the conception underlying the Book of *Judith*.
26. How did the tribe of Simeon end up near Samaria? One wonders whether the author may have derived this information simply from Gen. 34. Note that the slaying of the Shechemites at the hands of Simeon is referred to explicitly in *Jdt.* 9:2–4.

left this place they live in Mesopotamia for a while, but then their God commands them to go to the land of Canaan, which they do. Forced by a great famine, they descend into Egypt, where they become numerous. The king of Egypt oppresses them and their God leads them out. They occupy the land of the Amorites and the hill country on the western side of the Jordan. After a long time, they depart from the way their God has commanded them. Consequently, they are defeated in battle, their temple is razed, and they are taken into exile. Then, however they return from their dispersion and settle once more in Jerusalem and the surrounding hill country.

Achior's account is not, it should be noted, completely fanciful. In fact, it is entirely in accord with the biblical record, except for a number of blanks. The most important lacunae are situated between, in biblical terms, the conquest and the exile. To begin with, there is not a word on Israelite kings. Since Holofernes' questions explicitly include a reference to kings – "Who rules over them as king and leads their army?" (Jdt. 5:3) – Achior's silence on this point may be significant. What he seems to be suggesting is that the political organisation of Israel is centred on the sanctuary (Jdt. 5:18, 19) and oriented essentially towards their God.

Another remarkable feature in the speech is the complete absence of any reference to the schism between Israel and Judah. The fall of Samaria and the exile of the ten tribes are passed over in total silence.²⁷ These blanks might be attributed to the purpose of Achior's speech. His objective is not to give a complete account but to present the principle underlying Israelite history: when they are faithful, the God of heaven comes to their help, when they are not, he punishes them. It is to be noted, however, that the omission of the schism and of the exile of the ten tribes concords with the picture drawn elsewhere in the book: the people of Israel living in the land is made up of different tribes, among others that of Simeon. This is logical if there has only ever been one exile, affecting all Israel, and one return. The silence, then, with regard to the schism and the loss of the ten tribes may again be meaningful.

27. Contrast the mention of these events in books roughly contemporary with Judith: Tob. 1:2; Sir. 48,15; and perhaps Neh. 9:32.

At this juncture, it is interesting to compare Achior's account with that of Hecataeus of Abdera, a pagan historian of the time of Alexander the Great and Ptolemy I, whose words have been transmitted by Diodorus the Sicilian.²⁸ Hecataeus takes back Jewish history to Moses and the exodus from Egypt – thus differing from the Book of Judith.²⁹ From that point on, however, the two accounts are remarkably parallel: under Moses' guidance, the refugees settle in the land of Judea where they build the city of Jerusalem and the temple. Moses divides them into twelve tribes; they do not have a king but are ruled by a Chief Priest (*archiereus*); later they come under foreign rule, first that of the Persians, then that of the Macedonians.

As in Judith 5, so in this account the Jewish People of the present day is viewed as a direct continuation of the Exodus generation. The twelve tribes that once settled in and around Jerusalem are the ones that continue living in the land. The hierocracy characterizing their nation today is inherited from of old. The only discontinuity stems from their coming under foreign rule.³⁰

Hecataeus' intelligence is undoubtedly of Egyptian origin and must go back, directly or indirectly, to Jewish informants. What stands behind this portrayal is probably nothing else than the Pentateuch itself, complemented by knowledge of actual contemporary circumstances. Indeed, most of what is mentioned by Hecataeus is told in the Pentateuch – some of it foretold: the settlement, the falling under foreign rule. As is well known, the Pentateuch held a special place among Alexandrian Jews in the Hellenistic period. In a first stage, only the Pentateuch was translated into Greek (probably as early as 280 BCE). The other books were translated later, and stood under the influence of the Greek Torah.

Judith is to be dated rather later than Hecataeus, probably in the second century BCE.³¹ Nevertheless, the book appears to perpetuate the

28. See M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, Jerusalem 1974, vol. 1, pp. 26–28.

29. Since Hecataeus represents the Jews as foreigners in Egypt, the difference does not amount to a contradiction.

30. A similar conception appears to be found in the Letter of Aristeas: the Jewish people is composed of twelve tribes, they are led by a high priest.

31. Since the historical books, notably 1 Samuel, are alluded to several times (see Jdt.

traditional Alexandrian narrative of Jewish origins known already, in some form, to Hecataeus.

The Widow's Right to her Late Husband's Inheritance

Judith is a rich woman. Her late husband Manasse has left her (ὑπελίπετο) gold and silver, men and women slaves, livestock and fields (Jdt. 8:7). She keeps possession of all this wealth until just before her death, when she divides it over Manasse's kin and her own (Jdt. 16:24). The motif of Judith's rights to her husband's possessions is rather surprising.³² In Palestinian Jewish practice, illustrated by both epigraphic and literary sources, a widow was allowed the usufruct of her late husband's possessions, but she was not his heir. At her death, those possessions would automatically revert to the husband's family.³³

A situation similar to that described in the Book of Judith is found in documents from the Jewish colony in Elephantine. In several marriage contracts it is stipulated that the wife, upon the decease of her husband, succeeds to all his goods and acquires the right to give them to whom she wills. This corresponds to the situation described in Judith. The parallel becomes even closer if one pays attention to the terminology. In one document from Elephantine, Cowley 15/TAD B2.6, it is said that if the husband dies, the wife will, in the absence of children, "have a right" (הי שליטה l. 18) to all his possessions; if the wife dies, leaving no children, the husband will "inherit" (ירתנה, l. 18) her goods and property. In another document, Kraeling 7/TAD B3.8, again, if the wife dies, her husband will *inherit* from her (l. 35), but if the husband dies, the wife will *succeed* him

14:18; 16:12, referred to above), the author must have had some notion of Israelite kingship. This knowledge appears not to have become formative for his view of history.

32. See the additional note on Jdt. 8:7 in Grntz, *Sepher Yehudit*, pp. 188–189.
33. See E. Bons, "Konnte eine Witwe die *nahalah* ihres verstorbenen Mannes erben? Überlegungen zum Ostrakon 2 aus der Sammlung Moussaïeff", *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 4 (1998), pp. 197–208, in particular pp. 203–208; A. Lemaire, "Veuve sans enfants dans le royaume de Juda", *Zeitschrift für Altorientalische und Biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 5 (1999), pp. 1–14, in particular pp. 11–14.

to his possessions (אָרֶתְהָ or אָרְתְּהָ, 1. 29).³⁴ Although in practice the implications are the same for husband and wife, the term “to inherit” is avoided in the case of the widow. This is exactly what happens in our book, where it is never explicitly stated that Judith inherited from her husband. In one verse, the avoidance is particularly clear:

Jdt. 16:21 ἀνέζευξεν ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰουδιθ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Βαιτυλουα καὶ κατέμεινεν ἐπὶ τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτῆς
 “After this, they all returned home to their own *inheritances*, and Judith went to Bethulia, and remained on her *estate*”.

Every man returns to his *inheritance*, and Judith to her *belongings*.³⁵

The similarity between Elephantine and Judith on this point could be attributed to chance. But it may also be interpreted as a pointer to a common cultural background. Egyptian Jews may have observed some customs slightly different from those of their Palestinian coreligionaries. Admittedly, the Elephantine material is more than two centuries earlier than the Book of Judith. Unfortunately, there is no evidence, to the best of my knowledge, regarding a widow’s rights among Egyptian Jews in the Hellenistic period.³⁶

Polemics against Egyptian anti-Semitism

After Achior has advised against attacking Israel, Holofernes responds with an outburst of anger vowing to vanquish “this race that came out of Egypt” (Jdt. 6:5). Although the exodus has just been mentioned, the qualification of the rebellious people dwelling in the land of Judea as “this race that came out of Egypt” is surprising. As has been remarked by Grintz, the sneer corresponds to a motif widely found in ancient anti-Semitic writing, according to which the Jewish people were descendants of Egyptian lepers who had been expelled from the country in a drive to cleanse the land.³⁷ This canard is first found in Manetho (*ca.* 280), and

34. For the texts, see B. Porten & A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, Jerusalem 1989, vol. 2, *contracts*.

35. The striking similarity between Judith and the Elephantine papyri has been observed by Bons, “Witwe”, p. 202.

36. The widow’s inheriting is mentioned also in the Greek version of Sir. 22:4.

37. Grintz, *Sepher Yehudit*, p. 118.

went on to become very popular. It is extensively combated by Flavius Josephus.

The Book of Judith also has something to say on this point. In fact, its defence is skilfully presented ahead of the accusation and put upon the lips of a stranger. Indeed, as was mentioned already, Achior dwells at length on Israel's origins in Chaldea, their stay in Mesopotamia and their occupation of the land of Canaan before their descent to Egypt. They were chased away because the Egyptian king saw them as a military menace. Achior's speech "objectively" establishes that the Israelites were not Egyptians by race, and that they were not expelled because of leprosy.

The notion of the Jews' Egyptian origin was widespread in Antiquity. It is from Egypt, however, that come the most acrimonious echoes. An Egyptian origin of Judith would explain the presence of counterarguments in this book.

The Canonicity of Judith

A final question that must be broached is that of Judith's place in the history of the canon. As was mentioned, not a scrap of the book has turned up in Qumran. Judith is never mentioned in any of the ancient rabbinic discussions having to do, in one way or another, with the notion of canon. The Medieval Hebrew texts have no canonical pretensions whatsoever. The absence of Judith from the Hebrew canon is absolute.³⁸ In the Septuagint tradition, however, Judith is very much present, figuring in all the main codices and in many ecclesiastical lists.³⁹

Now, the differences between the Hebrew and Greek canons are the subject of much debate. Some have argued that the Septuagint represents an Alexandrian canon rooted in the pre-Christian era.⁴⁰ According to this view, the early church took over the scriptures of the synagogue of the Diaspora more or less wholesale. Others have argued that the differences reflect distinct notions of the canon within Palestinian Judaism before the

38. Judith appears to be unknown to Josephus.

39. See H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, revised edition by R. R. Ottley, Cambridge 1914, pp. 197–214 (and see the judgment expressed on p. 224).

40. Swete, *Introduction*, pp. 214–230.

destruction of the temple. Still others hold that when Christianity and Judaism parted ways, the canon was still open, and different choices were made by the two communities. Deciding between these approaches is difficult. Perhaps there is some truth in all of them.

The case of Judith, however, is manifestly more amenable to the first hypothesis. The book appears to have been unknown in Palestine. Moreover, in spite of the story's later popularity, it is hard to see why the early Christian movement should have selected this book to be part of its scriptures. Judith is never quoted in the NT, and the message of the book is not particularly consonant with Christian doctrine. It is far more likely that the church "inherited" the book as part of the Bible read by Diaspora Jews. Judith's place in the Septuagint canon could be a reflection of the book's origins in Alexandrian Judaism.

Conclusion

While the case for an original composition of Judith in Greek is rather solid, some of the further arguments proposed in this paper are admittedly more tentative. In a way, the second part of the present study is no more than a thought experiment. If Judith were the work of a Hellenized Jew in Alexandria, how would this affect the interpretation of the book? Further study and discussion are needed to test the answers proposed above. Some of the arguments essayed may turn out to lack probative force. Perhaps in the end the whole hypothesis will come to be regarded as lacking a proper foundation. The book of Judith will retreat into its habitual shroud of mysteries. The majority view, holding that Judith was written in Hebrew by a Palestinian Jew during the period of the Maccabean struggles, rests on no secure basis.

I am honored to offer these reflections on Judith to Devorah Dimant. In the difficult field of Jewish literature from the Hellenistic period, her work, exemplifying the methodical progression from the observation of philological details to larger questions of interpretation and cultural background, stands as a model to the standards of which all researchers should aspire. Feeling closer affinity with Achior than with Holofernes, I treasure her friendship without fearing to lose my head.

Une amulette judéo-palestinienne bilingue en argent

Émile Puech*

Il y a bien des années, me fut présentée une amulette en argent déjà déroulée. A l'ouverture du rouleau, une partie avait dû se détacher et se briser mais tous les morceaux ne furent pas, hélas, sauvegardés. Toutefois, il me fut aisé de remettre en place ceux qui me furent montrés. L'amulette avait primitivement été roulée avec la partie droite ou le début à l'intérieur en neuf enroulements, encore repérables après que les fragments détachés et conservés furent remis en place. Les dimensions préservées sont les suivantes: longueur maximale de 14,1 cm, hauteur maximale de 5,2 cm, et épaisseur de 0,1 mm. Un texte a été faiblement mais très régulièrement incisé à l'aide d'une pointe très fine, avec une marge à droite de 0,6 dans la partie supérieure et de 1 cm vers le centre et dans la partie inférieure. La marge supérieure est de 0,5 à 0,6 cm dans les parties conservées, les lignes allant en descendant légèrement vers la gauche. La marge inférieure est partiellement préservée à droite, de 0,9 cm à l'extrême droite mais, tout comme le long de la marge supérieure, la bordure originelle a disparu et en conséquence, la partie inférieure des lettres dans la moitié gauche; cela est dû à des plis qui n'ont pas résisté lors du déroulement de la lamelle. Puisqu'il n'y a aucune trace de lettres sur la partie inférieure droite et qu'il ne manque rien dans la partie supérieure, le nombre originel des lignes est complet. En revanche, à gauche, il manque une partie du texte que la restauration permet d'estimer à environ 2,5 cm hors d'une éventuelle marge, soit un dixième enroulement ou un peu plus, ce qui est compréhensible avec ce genre d'objet généralement emboîté dans un étui en métal. La longueur totale

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est estimée à 16,5 – 17 cm. La provenance de l'amulette est totalement inconnue mais son origine palestinienne (une tombe?) paraît très vraisemblable, ce que confirme aussi le contenu.

La première partie, soit les trois premières lignes, sont en langue araméenne et la deuxième partie, soit les lignes 4 à 7, sont en hébreu.

Transcription (voir figure 1 et photographie 1):

- 1 קמיע לקאימה ברה דתידרה משבע אננה [על כל רוח(א)יה]
- 2 ושדאיה דפאגעין בקאימה ברה דתא[ו/י]דרה [כדי לא/בדיל דלא]
- 3 דמתה מילאיה וכל דאימר שמאיה על גברא [קר(א)ית(ה)]
- 4 שמע ישראל ייִי אלוהינו אדני איחד [va]cat
- 5 ואהבתה את אדני אלוהיכה בכל לבבאך [ו]בכל נפש(א)ך ובכל
- 6 מאודך ואהיו הדבראים האלה אשר אנ[וכי] מ[צו(א)ך/כה]
- 7 היום על לבבאך ושננתם לבניכ[ה ו]דברת[ה כם/בהמה vacat]

Traduction:

- 1 Amulette pour Qayé/ama, le fils de Théodorah. Je conjure[*tous* (?) *les esprits*]
- 2 et les démons qui affligent Qayé/ama, le fils de Théodorah[. *Puisque*(?)] tu [n]es
- 3 [*pas*] réduit au silence, les paroles et tout ce qu'a commandé le Ciel à l'homme[*tu réciteras*:]
- 4 "Écoute, Israël, YYYY notre Dieu, le Seigneur (est) Unique. *vac[at]*]
- 5 Et tu aimeras le Seigneur, ton Dieu, de tout ton cœur, et de toute[ton âme et de toute].
- 6 ta force. Et que ces paroles que j[te] te comman] de aujourd'hui
- 7 restent sur ton cœur et tu les enseigneras à tes fils[et]tu [(les) leur]diras[. *vacat*]

Commentaire

Ligne 1: Le premier mot *qmy*‘ précise d'emblée qu'on a bien affaire à une amulette. Celle-ci est destinée à *Qymh*, à lire sans doute Qayé/ama, nom personnel sur la forme participiale de *qwm*, à comparer aux différentes formes de cette racine attestées dans les anthroponymes araméens, tels

qymw, *qymy*, Καίαμος, Καίουμας, Καίαμης, Καίαμας, Καέ(ι)μας, ...,¹ et le samaritain *qymy*.² Le destinataire de l'amulette est dit fils de *Tydrh*, très probablement Théodorah, la mère, et non Théodoros, le père. Bien que les terminaisons grecques -ος, -ας, -ς soient rendues par -*yh*, -*ws*, -*s* en translittération sémitique, le -*h* de *Tydrh* devrait ici être compris comme celui du féminin -*ah*. En effet, même si le patronyme est généralement le seul employé pour les filiations dans la sphère sémitique, il est courant de trouver le nom de la mère dans les amulettes, spécialement lorsqu'il s'agit d'un enfant probablement en bas âge, mais pas exclusivement.³ Le nom est fort bien connu dans sa forme grecque au féminin et surtout au masculin, traduction grecque de *Mtnyh*, *Mttyh*.⁴ La translittération peut

1. Voir J. K. Stark, *Personal Names in Palmyrene Inscriptions*, Oxford 1971, p. 48, J. Cantineau, *Le nabatéen*, II, Paris, 1932, p. 142; H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930, p. 61, 163–164; J. B. Frey, *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum, II Asie–Afrique*, Città del Vaticano 1952, n° 1419, mais pour le n° 1222, voir E. Puech, “Inscriptions funéraires palestiniennes: tombeau de Jason et ossuaires”, *RB* 90 (1983), 506–508, n° 12, lire sans doute *t[y]my*.
2. Voir T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity, I Palestine 330 BCE – 200 CE*, TSAJ 91, Tübingen 2002, p. 407.
3. Voir par exemple Amulette 3,5: Rabbi Eléazar fils de Esther (*brh d'styr*), 14,1: Siméon fils de Shapphira (*bn špyr*), 16,10: José fils de Zénobie (*brh dzybyh*), 19,5–6: Simon fils de Kattia (*brh dqṭtyh*), 22,4: Théodoso/us fils de Théodorah (*tydwsws brh dytydwr*), 24,11: Qadumah fils de Kyrilla (*bn qyrl*), 26,4–5: Habîbî fils de Hé/artah (*brh dhṛth*), Cassianus fils de Domitia (*br dmtṭy*). Les numéros des amulettes et bols renvoient à J. Naveh & Sh. Shaked, *Amulets and Magic Bowls. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem–Leiden 1985, et *idem*, *Magic Spells and Formulae. Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity*, Jerusalem 1993. Voir aussi *br Qywmṭ*?, Bol 15 8 dans Ch. D. Isbel, *Corpus of the Aramaic Incantation Bowls*, SBL Dissertation Series 17, Missoula 1975, p. 52. Et de son côté, le talmud *Babli*, *Yoma* 84a, demande de rédiger ces textes ainsi: “X, fils de Y (Nom féminin)”.
 4. Voir M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der Gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart 1928, p. 170. Pour le nom, voir Ilan, *op. cit.*, p. 191 ss, 286–287 et 319, Amulette 22,4 (*tydwr*), Frey, *op. cit.*, n° 1464 pour le féminin et 818, 879, 922, 979 (*tdṛw*), 1027–1028 (*tdṛš*), 1237, pour le masculin, J. B. Frey, *Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum, I Europe*, Città del Vaticano 1936, n° 30 et 709 pour le féminin, 31, 722 et 723 pour le masculin, Stark, *op. cit.*, p. 53–54, *tdṛš*, *tydwr*?, *tydws*, voir encore *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave*

varier, le plus souvent avec *taw* et plus rarement avec *ʔet*, puis *yod* ou rien, ou comme ici à la ligne 2 avec *ʔalef* [et *yod* ou *waw*?], et en finale soit la terminaison grecque *-ws* ou *-ʔ* ou encore *-h* sans doute plus normale pour le féminin.

Vient ensuite la formule habituelle de la conjuration en construction nominale *mšbʿ ʔ[h]* [qu'on peut restaurer pour l'espace attendu en *kl rwhʿ(ʔ)yh*] de préférence à *rwhʿ(ʔ)yh bʿyšyh*, en coordination avec la suite (voir ligne 2). Pour la formule *mšbʿ ʔh ʿl*, voir A 8 3–4; 9 4; 19 10.30.34; ou *mšbyʿ ʔy ʿl* en A 4 28.31–32; 26 1, comparer *mšbʿ ʔh ʿl* en A 1 21; B 19 5 6,8; 12a viii ou *šb]ʿt ʿlyk rwhʿ* en A 12 9.

Ligne 2: Dans les amulettes et les textes magiques, le substantif *wšydʿyh* est le plus souvent en coordination avec *rwhʿ* en première position, par exemple en A 6: *rwhh bysth w... wšydh...* et 12: *rwhh bysth wšydh*, A 13 7: [*mn*] *rwh mn šyd*, A 21 4–5 (gauche): *mn rwh wmn šd*, A 24 20: *mn rwh rʿh wšyd*, A 29 7: *wrwʿh wšyd*, Bol 15 4: *wkl rwhyn byšyn wšydyn*, B 16 7: *rwhʿ byšʿ dšryʿ wšydʿ*, B 25 3: *wmn rwh nydʿ w... wmn šydʿ*, B 27 7–8: *wmn rwhʿ byštʿ mn šydʿ* mais avec l'ordre inverse en B 20 8–9: *mn kl šydʿ wdywʿ wrwʿh*. Le scribe use de l'orthographe pleine en *šydʿyh*, d'où la restauration probable *rwhʿyh* à la ligne précédente. Ce même *ʔalef* se retrouve en *dpʿgʿyn* pour le participe présent et dans l'orthographe des anthroponymes *qʿymh* et *tʿ[w/y]drh*. Dans ce dernier cas le *ʔalef* est pour le son /é/ suivi probablement dans la lacune de *waw* de préférence à *yod* qui ferait alors un double emploi.

Ligne 3: La lecture *dmth* paraît bien préférable à *dmtt*, bien que le ductus du *he* diffère quelque peu de celui des autres dans le jambage gauche qui touche le trait horizontal, mais celui du *taw* en différerait encore davantage. On devrait alors lire le parfait, deuxième personne du masculin singulier *peʿal* de *dmm* “être réduit au silence”. Dans ce cas on proposerait de comprendre à la fin de la ligne 2: [*kdy lʿ* ou *bdy lʿ*] *dmth* “Puisque] tu [nʿ]es [pas] réduit au silence...”. La suite de la ligne atteste l'orthographe pleine dans *mylʿyh*, *ʿymr* et *šmʿyh*, mais curieusement pas dans *kl*. Noter aussi le substitut araméen *šmʿyh* “les Cieux” pour le

of Letters. Greek Papyri, by N. Lewis, *Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions* by Y. Yadin and J. C. Greenfield, Jerusalem 1989, 11,37: Théodoros fils Matthias.

tétragramme, tout comme déjà dans le Nouveau Testament, par exemple dans l'expression bien connue "le Royaume des Cieux" pour "le Royaume de Dieu", et déjà en Dn 4,23. A la fin de la ligne, restaurer sans doute [qr'yth] ["tu diras/réciteras"] comme verbe de l'apodose introduisant la suite en langue hébraïque, comparer le livre de recettes magiques de la Guéniza 25 [1] 3: qryt šm' zz "tu diras le Shéma' sept fois...".⁵ Mais ce dernier mot est en orthographe pleine. Enfin, il ne devait pas y avoir d'espace pour un *vacat* en fin de ligne, ou tout au plus à peine marqué. Ligne 4: Cette courte ligne qui finit par un *vacat*, porte de fait la première phrase du *Shéma'* avec la particularité du premier tétragramme réduit à quatre *yod* enserrés par un trait et celle du substitut 'dny pour le suivant. Si le substitut est en orthographe défective, probablement pour en rester à quatre consonnes, en revanche les deux mots de part et d'autre, 'lwhynw et 'yhd, sont, eux, en orthographe pleine.⁶ L'usage des quatre *yod* pour le tétragramme est connu sur d'autres amulettes mais pas enserrés d'un trait comme ici.⁷

Ligne 5: La copie du *Shéma'* continue dans cette ligne avec une orthographe pleine en w'hbth,⁸ 'lwhykh, llbb'k mais défective en 'dny et bkl (deux fois) comme dans la partie araméenne pour ce dernier mot. Le redoublement du *lamed* en llbb'k devrait s'expliquer par le mot précédent finissant par *lamed*. Les formes longues du verbe w'hbth et du suffixe -kah de 'lwhykh reprennent une orthographe bien connue des manuscrits de la mer Morte, mais le scribe est quelque peu inconsistant ensuite dans llbb'k, sans doute cette fois sous une influence du suffixe de forme araméenne -āk. En conséquence, en fin de ligne on pourrait ou devrait (?) restaurer [w]bkl[nps'k w bkl], mais voir ligne 6 qui emploie l'orthographe défective, que ce soit de forme hébraïque ou araméenne.

5. Voir Naveh & Shaked, *Magic Spells...*, *op. cit.*, p. 227, et la prière juive *Qri'at Shéma' al ha-miṭṭah*.
6. Comparer l'inscription amuletique sur un linteau de porte de Palmyre du III^e siècle (antérieure à la destruction de la ville en 273), Frey, *op. cit.* II, 1952, n° 821, p. 68–70: šm' ysr'l '[dwny] 'lwynw 'dwny 'hd qui a les deux substituts en orthographe pleine mais les deux autres mots en orthographe défective.
7. Amulettes: A 1 5.5.6.12, A 24 6.16, A 27 17, A 28 15.24.33, A 30 4; Bol 9 7.8.9.11.12, et le bol Isbel n° 35 1–3 (x 8), *op. cit.*, p. 89, citant lui aussi le *Shéma'*.
8. Même orthographe sur le linteau de Palmyre.

Ligne 6: Le scribe écrit *mʷwdk* en orthographe pleine mais avec le suffixe court de forme hébraïque en orthographe déficiente cette fois comme les manuscrits hébreux 167, 673 et 676,⁹ à moins d'avoir affaire à une orthographe araméenne déficiente elle-aussi. La forme *wʰhyw* est une variante plus inattendue, soit un imparfait avec *ʰalef* pour *wyhyw* ou même une anticipation du /a/ de *wehayû* pour *wahayû*. De même est inattendu le *ʰalef* en *hdbrʰym*, influence de pluriel emphatique araméen? Ensuite, si la restauration *ʰn[w]ky* en orthographe pleine est assurée, celle de *m[šwk]* est imprévisible ici, *m[šwwk(h)]* ou *m[šwwʰk]*?

Ligne 7: On retrouve la même orthographe qu'à la ligne 5 pour *ʰl llbbʰk*, redoublement de *lamed* après un mot finissant par *lamed* et le suffixe en orthographe pleine de type araméen, mais le même suffixe long de type hébreu en *lbnyk[h]* qu'à *ʰlwhykh*. Enfin, on doit restaurer *w]dbr[h]* comme en *wʰhbth*, ligne 5, et *bm* ou le suffixe long *bhmh*. La citation du *Shéma*^c (Dt 6,4–9) s'arrête là avec le verset 7a et un court *vacat*.

Si l'usage du *Shéma*^c dans le genre littéraire des amulettes et des bols magiques n'est pas courant, il est cependant bien attesté, bien que très rarement dans sa totalité. Le seul cas connu jusque là est le linteau de porte de Palmyre, déjà signalé, qui devait avoir une fonction amuletique, prophylactique et apotropaïque en accord avec l'inscription sur la face interne du montant gauche soutenant le linteau qui cite Dt 7,[?]15 [...et le Seigneur éloignera de toi] toute maladie; il ne t'affligera d'aucune de ces mauvaises plaies d'Égypte que tu connais; il ne te les infligera pas, mais il les enverra à tous ceux qui te haïssent", et en accord avec celle du montant droit portant gravé Dt 7,14 "Tu seras béni plus que tous les peuples. Nul chez toi, ni homme ni femme, ne sera stérile, et de même pour ton bétail".¹⁰ La première phrase du *Shéma*^c est utilisée dans sa totalité dans deux bols magiques juifs.¹¹ Cette même phrase est entrecoupée avec les mots du premier verset du Psaume 91 sur le bol 11 6–7: *šmʰ ywšb yysrʰl*

9. Voir B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, I Oxonii 1776, p. 377, et le manuscrit 676 lit aussi *npšyk*.
10. Voir Frey, II *op. cit.*, n^{os} 822 et 823; or Dt 6,8–9 demande de graver ces paroles sur ton bras et sur ton front (= les *tefillin*) et sur les poteaux et les portes de ta maison.
11. Ch. D. Isbell, "Two New Aramaic Incantation Bowls", *BASOR* 223 (1976)

bstr yhw h 'lywn 'lhynw bsl yhw h šdy 'hd ytlwnn 'mn 'mn slh, Psaume lui aussi utilisé dans l'usage exorcistique, comme en témoigne déjà le rouleau rituel d'exorcismes de la grotte 11, 11Q11 (*Psaumes apocryphes*) VI 3–4.¹² Cet entremêlement de mots se retrouve ailleurs dans ce genre de textes.¹³ Les deux derniers mots de Dt 6,4 *yhw h 'hd* – ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ se retrouvent souvent dans les amulettes et inscriptions samaritaines.¹⁴ La finale du *Shéma'* (Dt 6,9) *wktbtm 'l mzwzwt bytk wbs'ryk* est gravée comme inscription samaritaine sur un linteau de porte retrouvé à Gaza.¹⁵

Toutefois les textes d'incantations juives n'en sont pas dépourvus bien avant la gravure du linteau de Palmyre, comme l'atteste déjà le papyrus Nash, lignes 23–25[26s?], daté de la première moitié du deuxième siècle avant J.-C, où le *Shéma'* suit le Décalogue, Dt 5,6–21.¹⁶ Ce papyrus qui a

15–23, p. 18 Part III (3) sans variante, et du même, *op. cit.*, bol 35 1: *šm'ysr'l yyy y 'lhynw yyy 'hd* (le tétragramme est substitué par quatre *yod*).

12. Voir É. Puech, “Les Psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme (11Q11)”, *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998*, published in Memory of Maurice Baillet, D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez, E. M. Schuller (eds), *STDJ XXXV*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2000, 160–181, p. 161. J'en profite pour corriger et compléter une restauration à la colonne II 4–5: lire *'lh[hš]dym bš[r hms']mh 5[wml'k hws'k 'šr[ywrydw]'l thw[m hws']k* “ceux-ci [sont les dé]mons avec le prin[ce de l'hostili]té 5[et l'ange de ténèbres q]ui[fait descendre]à l'Ab[me ténéb]reux”. Par ailleurs, on a retrouvé des restes d'un livret magique dans la grotte 4, 4Q560 (*Livret magique araméen*), voir É. Puech, *DJD* 37 (à paraître).
13. Voir M. Schwab, “Coupes à inscriptions magiques”, *Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, Juin 1891, 583–595, p. 592, Bol O; C. H. Gordon, “Two Aramaic incantations”, *Biblical and Near Eastern Studies. Essays in Honor of W.S. LaSor*, G. A. Tuttle (ed.), Grand Rapids 1978, 231–244, p. 233, et le document de la Geniza T-S K 1.95. Voir aussi Naveh & Shaked, *Magic Spells*, *op. cit.*, p. 25, pour d'autres entremêlements avec Pss 91,1; 90,17 et 121,1aβ.
14. Voir par exemple Frey, II *op. cit.*, p. 217–218, n° 1168 et la bibliographie, et É. Puech, “Une nouvelle amulette samaritaine”, *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Ancient Israel in Honour of Moshe Dothan*, M. Heltzer, A. Segal, D. Kaufman (eds), Haifa 1993, 153–162 (avec bibliographie), p. 159.
15. Voir I. Ben-Zvi, *Sepher ha-Shomerônîm*, Jerusalem, 1976, (en 'ivrit) pl. 13.
16. Voir S. A. Cook, “A pre-massoretic biblical papyrus”, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 26, 1903, 34–56; W. F. Albright, “A biblical fragment of the Maccabean age. The Nash papyrus”, *JBL* 56 (1937) 145–176.

pu être utilisé comme amulette, porte une variante intéressante à la fin du premier verset du *Shéma* : *šm[^c yśr²]l yhw^h ʾlhynw yhw^h ʾhd hw² w²[hbt ʾt yhw^h ʾl][hyk bkl lbbk w²bkl npšk w²bkl m²dk..?*, faisant clairement de Dt 6,4b une phrase nominale “Écou[te, Israël], Yahvé notre Dieu, Yahvé est unique”. Le deuxième feuillet d’un des *tefillin* de Qumrân porte Dt 6,1–4, encadré par Dt 5,22–33 (lignes 1–22) et Dt 5,1–21 (feuillet 3) dans l’esprit même du passage biblique.¹⁷ Un autre phylactère qumranien n’a conservé que Dt 5,22–33 + 6,1–5 au recto et Ex 13,14–16 au verso (mais le texte devait être complet), à l’orthographe assez proche du texte massorétique, 4QPhyl^d,¹⁸ et celui de la grotte 1, 1Q13 (*Phylactère*), n’a gardé que des traces du *Shéma*^c après le Décalogue.¹⁹ Le texte du phylactère de Murabbaʿât est de type strictement massorétique.²⁰

Cette amulette bilingue a tout son intérêt en ce qu’elle est, sans aucun doute, une amulette juive qui cite une bonne partie du *Shéma*^c comme texte d’appui pour son efficacité, tout comme c’est le cas sur le linteau de porte de maison à Palmyre, rejoignant par ce subterfuge celles qui mentionnent plus simplement la formule liturgico-magique multiséculaire de base *bšm yhw^h...* bien connue des exorcismes, formule sensée elle aussi assurer leur efficacité. Mais cette amulette ne confirme ni n’infirmes l’interdiction rabbinique d’exclure le Décalogue du passage deutéronomique cité dans les amulettes en Palestine même (*Yerushalmi, Bérakhot* 1 8 3a).²¹ En effet, il est difficile de savoir jusqu’à quel point le

17. Voir Y. Yadin, *Tefillin from Qumran (XQPhyl 1–4)*, Jerusalem 1969, p. 26–35.
18. Voir K. G. Kuhn, *Phylakterien aus Höhle 4 von Qumran*, Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 1, Heidelberg 1957, p. 16–20. 4QPhyl^b devait aussi avoir contenu le *Shéma*^c.
19. Voir D. Barthélemy, *Qumran Cave I*, by D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, DJD 1, Oxford 1955, p. 72–76, p. 74 (frg. 19), le *Shéma*^c non conservé viendrait après le Décalogue sans coupure de texte.
20. *Les grottes de Murabbaʿât*, par P. Benoit, J. T. Milik et R. de Vaux, DJD 2, Oxford 1960, n° 4, p. 80–85, frg. 2 pour le *Shéma*^c en entier.
21. Voir Y. Yadin, *op. cit.*, p. 34, suivi par Naveh & Shaked, *Magic spells, op. cit.*, p. 29: “As for the Decalogue, it is, as mentioned above, frequently used in Samaritan, but never in Jewish, liturgy and magic... From some date later on we have an explicit rabbinic decision to exclude the decalogue from the liturgy. This is expressed in Yerushalmi Berakhot I 8, 3c...”. Voir aussi E. E. Urbach, “The Role of the Ten Commandments in Jewish Worship”, *The Ten Commandments in*

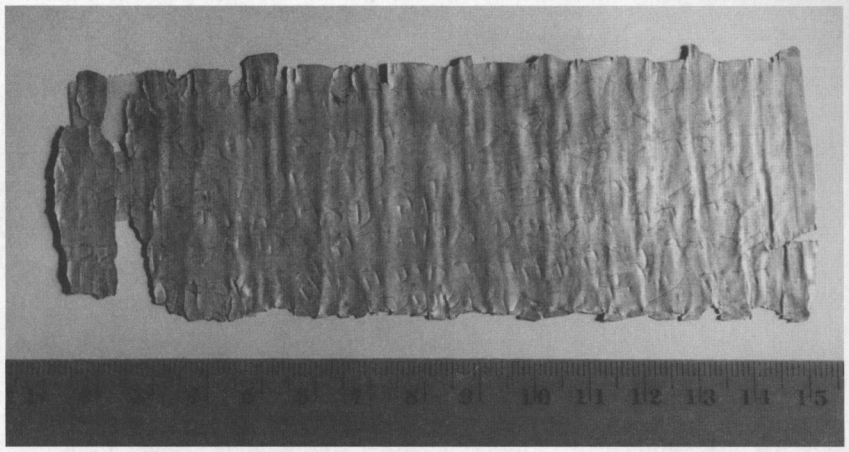
Shéma^ϕ peut être totalement distingué du Décalogue, puisque l'unicité divine et les "Paroles" en question renvoient, on ne peut plus clairement, au Décalogue qui précède dans le Deutéronome. Or les *tefillin* ou *phylactères*, du grec φυλακτήριον qui signifie "amulette, talisman", portent le Décalogue ainsi que le *Shéma*^ϕ et, tout comme la *mézouza*, ils ne se distinguent pas fondamentalement des amulettes de types plus ordinaires. En ce sens, cet usage, qui rejoint bel et bien la coutume samaritaine,²² devait continuer une pratique juive fort ancienne, puisqu'elle était largement partagée.

La datation de cette amulette palestinienne reste délicate et difficile. Toutefois pouvant se situer entre le III^e et le VII^e siècle, elle est contemporaine de la plupart des autres amulettes palestiniennes et des bols magiques juifs de Mésopotamie, attestant un même usage du *Shéma*^ϕ. Mais, s'il est vrai que la frontière entre magie et prière pour guérir ou prévenir contre la maladie est difficilement saisissable dans ce genre de texte, cette lamelle relève manifestement du genre de la magie.²³ Quoi qu'il en soit, cette amulette permet au moins de reposer la question de l'usage du *Shéma*^ϕ dans ce contexte à l'époque talmudique même.

Il m'est agréable d'offrir la publication de ce modeste *rouleau* bilingue dans un volume de la série *Méguiloth*, en hommage à notre collègue Devorah Dimant qui a tant fait pour l'étude de *rouleaux* anciens.

History and Tradition, ed. by B.-Z. Segal, English version ed. by G. Levi, Jerusalem 1990, 161–189, spéc. p. 168–169: "It was set aside because of the arguments of the Minim", 179. Il est désormais nécessaire de mieux cerner les raisons qui ont amené des rabbins palestiniens à prendre de telles décisions et de mieux préciser qui sont les *minim* visés, puisque Juifs et Samaritains ont continué une même pratique, et qu'on peut difficilement y voir une allusion aux Sadducéens et aux Boéthusiens.

22. On ne voit aucune différence entre l'usage samaritain et juif de ces objets, malgré Naveh & Shaked, *Magic Spells*, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
23. Y. Harari, "What is a Magical Text? Methodological Reflections Aimed at Redefining Early Jewish Magic", *Officina Magica. Essays on the Practice of Magic in Antiquity*, ed. by Sh. Shaked, IJS Studies in Judaica. Conference Proceedings of the Institute of Jewish Studies, University College London, Vol. 4, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005, 91–124. Même si religion et magie sont souvent inséparables, cette amulette a toutes les caractéristiques des textes magiques d'adjuration, selon les critères définis par l'auteur, (p. 129s).



Photographie de l'amulette judéo-palestinienne bilingue



Figure 1: Dessin de l'amulette judéo-palestinienne bilingue

Notes on 4Q206/206a, 4Q203–4Q204, and Two Unpublished Fragments (4Q59?)

Eibert Tigchelaar

According to Milik's editio princeps of the Books of Enoch, 4Q206 (4QEn^c) contained fragments of the Book of Watchers (frags. 1a–g), the Book of Dreams (frags. 4a–f), and two fragments (frags. 2 and 3) of “a different Enochic writing, probably the Book of Giants”.¹ On the final photographs and the present plates there are two small (non-Enochic) fragments that will be published below in preliminary form for the first time.² Milik's suggestion that frags. 2 and 3 belong to the Book of Giants is of some importance: the identification of fragments from the Book of Giants in a manuscript that also contains other Enochic booklets would provide physical support for his hypothesis that the Book of Giants once was part of a so-called Enochic Pentateuch.³ Or, stated more cautiously: it would confirm that a text that probably belonged to the Book of Giants was copied in at least one manuscript with other Enochic writings,

1. J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4*, Oxford 1976, pp. 225–244, esp. p. 227.
2. The two most recent photographs of 4Q206 in the PAM series are PAM 43.204 and 43.205. The first shows 4Q206 frags. 1a–g, 2, 3, 4a, 4c, as well as the two unpublished fragments, while PAM 43.205 displays 4Q206 4b, 4d, 4e, 4f. At present IAA 386 reflects PAM 43.205, and contains 4Q206 4b, 4d, 4e, 4f. The fragments of PAM 43.204 are now divided over three IAA Museum plates: 358, 359 and 359A. IAA 359 contains 4Q206 1a, 1c, 1e–g, 2, 3, 4a and 4c, and the two unpublished fragments, whereas 4Q206 1d is now in IAA 358, and 4Q206 1b in IAA 359A.
3. Many scholars have criticized elements of the hypothesis of the Enochic Pentateuch. One of the most balanced criticisms, based on the assessment of the Aramaic materials, was given by Devorah Dimant in the first part of “The Biography of Enoch and the Books of Enoch”, *VT* 33 (1983), pp. 14–29. When I recently reread the article, I was struck by its measured arguments.

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possibly being the second part of a tetralogy (Book of Watchers; Book of Giants; Book of Dreams; Epistle of Enoch). In fact, the identification of 4Q206 2–3 as part of the Book of Giants would strengthen Milik's suggestion that the fragments of 4Q203 (4QEnGiants^a) and 4Q204 (4QEn^c) also belonged to one and the same scroll. In other words: Milik's literary and historical claim that the Book of Giants once was part of a collection of Enochic booklets, would seem to be confirmed by two manuscripts: 4Q203 + 4Q204,⁴ and 4Q206. The primary aim of this article is to reevaluate the physical evidence of 4Q206, and to comment on the codicology of 4Q203 + 4Q204.

4Q206 2 and 3 / 4Q206a 2 and 1

Milik's tentative identification of the fragments as part of the Book of Giants was based on the possible overlap of frag. 3 i 19–20 with a fragment that he referred to as 4QEnGiants^c (4Q533 frag. 4),⁵ even though he previously had suggested an alternative placing of frags. 2 and 3 in the first Dream of Enoch (cf. 1 En. 83–84), if one supposed a different, longer recension of that dream.⁶ In subsequent scholarship two different questions have been posed. First, should frags. 2 and 3 really be

4. Other cases where multiple sigla are used for one scroll are the following: 1QS, 1QSa and 1QSB (referring to three literary parts of one and the same scroll); 1Q19 + 19bis; 1Q34 + 34bis; 4Q223–224; 4Q259 + 4Q319; 4Q392 + 4Q393; 11Q12 + XQ5a; 11Q16 + XQ5b.
5. L. T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran. Text, Translation and Commentary*, Tübingen 1997, pp. 189–190, 192–193, 195, referred to the fragment as 4Q556 6, but É. Puech published it in *DJD* 31, pp. 110–111 as 4Q533 frg. 4. G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, Minneapolis 2001, pp. 10–11, may have been confused by the data, since he refers first to “a fragment of the Book of Giants” and later to “[T]hree small fragments”.
6. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 238; cf. J. T. Milik, “Problèmes de la littérature Hénochique à la lumière des fragments araméens de Qumrân”, *Harvard Theological Review* 64 (1971), pp. 333–378, at pp. 337 and 354. Note that in “Problèmes de la littérature Hénochique”, pp. 337 and 354, Milik suggests that 4QEn^c (4Q204) frags. 2–3 correspond to 1 En. 84:2–6, whereas in *The Books of Enoch*, pp. 204 and 316–317, he attributes those fragments to the Book of Giants.

attributed to the Book of Giants? Second, should frags. 2 and 3 be classified as fragments of 4Q206?

Recently, Stuckenbruck and Puech discussed these issues in the *DJD* editions of respectively 4Q206 2–3 and 4Q533 4.⁷ Stuckenbruck adopts Milik's identification of the overlap between 4Q206 3 and the fragment now known as 4Q533 4, and argues that "[s]ince 4Q206 2 and 3 preserve an Enochic tradition that relates to the antediluvian giants while, at the same time, the fragments do not correspond to anything in 1 Enoch, it is possible, and even likely, that they are from the Book of Giants".⁸ Puech argues that the textual overlap is impossible, but thinks that the fragments preserved different parts from the same section of the Book of Giants. Also, both scholars change Milik's order of the fragments, and place 4Q206 frag. 2 after frag. 3. In short, whereas previously scholars argued that the evidence was too limited to positively identify 4Q206 2 and 3 as belonging to the Book of Giants,⁹ both Stuckenbruck and Puech regard the identification as likely or even certain.¹⁰

Both scholars call attention to the fact that the letter forms of 4Q206 2–3 differ from the other fragments.¹¹ Stuckenbruck describes the differences extensively, but concludes that there are not "enough examples of the various letters to make a proper comparison".¹² Puech briefly states that palaeographically there are no grounds to attribute frags. 2 and 3 to the scribe who copied frags. 1 and 4. In fact, the scribal hand of 4Q206 2–3 may well be half a century later than those of 4Q206. He therefore suggests to attribute 4Q206 2 and 3 to a different manuscript, 4Q206a.¹³ How should one evaluate these different opinions?

7. L. T. Stuckenbruck, "206 2–3. 4QEnochGiants^f ar", *DJD* 36, pp. 42–48; Puech, *DJD* 31, pp. 110–113.
8. Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36, p. 48.
9. Dimant, "The Biography of Enoch", p. 17 n. 9; F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, Leiden 1992, pp. 102 (n. 14), 105.
10. Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36, p. 48; Puech, *DJD* 31, p. 11.
11. The quality of the photograph in *DJD* 36, Plate II, is much better than that in Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, Plate XIX.
12. Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36, pp. 42–43.
13. Puech, *DJD* 31, pp. 12 (n. 14), 16, 111–112. Puech rennumbers 4Q206 3 to 4Q206a 1, and 4Q206 2 to 4Q206a 2.

The question must be raised on what grounds one should classify fragments as part of one manuscript, or, on the contrary, as belonging to separate manuscripts. Many different aspects are involved, such as contents, scribal hand, physical features of the leather, or scribal habits, and classifications should be based upon combinations of such features. Modern editors have often reclassified fragments on the basis of accumulative evidence,¹⁴ but sometimes have also been found to separate fragments from a manuscript on little grounds.¹⁵ The most drastic reclassification of fragments was made by Devorah Dimant with regard to 4Q385–4Q388 on the basis of both content analysis, scribal aspects, and in some cases scribal hand.¹⁶ A dissociation of fragments on the basis of minimal palaeographical differences or of content only is problematic, since the writing of one and the same scribe may be subject to some variation, and because it is the scholar who judges, correctly or incorrectly, whether or not the contents of a certain fragment fit the composition he or she claims it should be attributed to. There are no absolute guidelines, but I would suggest the following rules of thumb.

Even though we know that quite a number of individual scrolls were written in clearly different hands,¹⁷ from a practical point of view we must proceed from the assumption that different hands indicate different scrolls, unless there is ample evidence to the contrary. One of the most difficult things is to determine vis-à-vis “different” hands is whether we are dealing with varieties in the hand of one and the same scribe, or with different scribes. Here it may prove helpful to proceed from the

14. E.g., note the distinction between 4Q38 and 4Q38a on the basis of the different size of the letters and the different ways of writing the tetragrammaton.
15. In some cases, I question the editors’ decisions, e.g., with regard to the distinction between 4Q214a and 4Q214b on the basis of a purported overlap, or the separation of 4Q418b from 4Q418 on lexical grounds.
16. D. Dimant, *DJD* 30. cf., e.g., pp. 7, 71, 129–130 with regard to 4Q385, 4Q385a, and 4Q385b.
17. Many of the “large” scrolls we have were clearly written in different hands. This goes for three of the seven scrolls from Cave 1 1QIsa^a, 1QpHab, 1QH^a, where one scribal hand suddenly is succeeded by another one. A different case is 4Q216 (4QJub^a) and 11QT^a, where the first sheet may have been a repair sheet written by a later scribe. Cf. more examples in E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, Leiden 2004, pp. 21–22.

assumption that Beit-Arié's description of the medieval scribe applies equally to the Early Jewish one: a scribe may modify his script, but will not change certain of his scribal practices.¹⁸ Unfortunately, these scribal practices are unlikely to turn up in each and every surviving fragment. More useful then, is the following rule: even though no two sheets are fully identical, scrolls as a rule consist of sheets that to a large extent are similar materially. Many of the differences in appearance we find today between fragments are due to changes brought about by two thousand years of deterioration, but other aspects, such as quality or thickness of skin reflect the original materials. Whereas fragments that are physically identical need not stem from the same scroll, there is seldom room for doubt in the opposite case: fragments that are strongly diverging with regard to skin, most probably do not stem from the same scroll.

The latter means that one should not only take palaeography, but also the physical aspects of the fragments into account. If we turn again to 4Q206 frags. 2 and 3, one should first of all observe that neither Stuckenbruck nor Puech compares the hand of 4Q206 2 to that of 4Q206 3. It is noteworthy that of the five differences Stuckenbruck mentions vis-à-vis the other fragments, four pertain to frag. 3 and only one to frag. 2.¹⁹ Also, the general impression of the letter forms of frag. 3 (thick, spacious) shows little correspondence with that of frag. 2, except perhaps for line 3 רב. What then connects frags. 2 and 3? First of all, their physical appearance: both are considerably thicker than the other 4Q206 fragments,²⁰ and have suffered a different kind of deterioration.²¹

18. Cf. M. Beit-Arié, "Stereotype and Individuality in the Handwriting of Medieval Scribes", in idem, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book. Studies in Palaeography and Codicology*, Jerusalem 1993, pp. 77–92.
19. Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36, p. 42, nn. 3–7. One might even add the difference between the *šin* in frag. 3 vis-à-vis those in 4Q206. Neither Milik nor Stuckenbruck nor Puech comments on the hand of the two last words of 4Q206 3 i l מן באשח (certain reading; not מחעשח) which are not only smaller and have been added on (thus Puech), but also seem to have been written with a different pen and by a different hand.
20. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 225: frags. 1a, 2, and 3 "are a litter thicker and stiffer than the others".
21. The loss of surface skin in frag. 2 at the right is comparable to the much more extensive loss of skin in frag. 3, and not to the abrasure found in frag. 1b.

Second, their contents: here we have two Aramaic fragments, physically rather comparable, that mention Enoch (frag. 2) and describe a situation that would fit the ante-diluvian period.

What does this amount to? First, both frag. 2 and frag. 3 differ palaeographically and physically from the other 4Q206 fragments to such an extent that one wonders why Milik insisted on classifying them as 4Q206 fragments.²² In other words: I agree with Puech that they should no longer be referred to as 4Q206. Moreover, I am not entirely convinced that frags. 2 and 3 actually belonged to the same manuscript. In short, 4Q206, one of the two scrolls presumably preserving both the Book of Watchers and the Book of Giants, cannot be used as supporting the hypothesis of the Enochic tetralogy.

4Q206 frag. 1a

The thickness of frag. 1a resembles that of frags. 2 and 3, which may explain why frag. 1a was placed next to frags. 2 and 3 in PAM 42.232 and 43.204. Its color is duller than that of the other fragments of 4Q206. Also in other respects, frag. 1a differs from frags. 1b–g and 4a–f. Milik states about 4Q206 that “[g]uide-lines are almost invisible or have disappeared”.²³ Yet, 4Q206 frag. 1a has very clear and broad guidelines, comparable to those of 4Q205 (in other respects there is no correspondence). Also – though here again the samples are very small – the letters seem to be different. A case in point is the *samek*, which lacks a basestroke and tends to resemble a triangle because of its diagonal stroke, unlike the rest of 4Q206 whose few *sameks* are almost quadrangular.²⁴

22. Note that frags. 2 and 3 were placed on one plate with some other 4Q206 fragments at the first recorded stage of collecting 4Q206 fragments (cf. PAM 41.362), long before Milik suggested that they were Book of Giants fragments, and that this plate also contained other fragments not directly related to Enoch. PAM 41.362 contains part of 4Q206 1b, three different, not yet joined parts of 4Q206 1d, part of 4Q206 4b, 4Q206 1e, 1f, 2, 3 and 4e, but also 4Q213a 5 and 4Q282q.
23. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 225.
24. Compare the *samek* of frag. 1a 1 סחרין with those of frag. 1b ii 4 סלק frag. 1d bottom line פרדס, frag. 4c line 3 ספי, or frag. 4b line 6 כסית. Compare also the

One may add that the suggested identification of the fragment with 1 En. 18:15 is quite uncertain: the only complete word סחרין does not correspond to the Greek or the Ethiopic, unless one emends the Greek (κυκλώμενοι for κυλιόμενοι [ms. κοιλιόμενοι]).²⁵ In short, in palaeographical, physical, or textual terms, there is little ground to assign this fragment to 4Q206. The textual remains are in fact too minimal to help determine the nature of the composition it belongs to (besides being Aramaic),²⁶ and an alternative identification will have to rely on its palaeographical and physical features.

The Codicology of 4Q203 and 4Q204

Presently the siglum 4Q203 designates a series of Book of Giants fragments (4QEnGiants^a) and 4Q204 (4QEn^c) designates fragments corresponding to parts of the Book of Watchers, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch.²⁷ The hand of the fragments is very much alike, and no one has contested Milik's statement that the same scribe was responsible for writing both manuscripts. The physical appearance of the

difference between the lameds, though in view of the variety of lameds in 4Q206 this difference is less telling.

25. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 228. Alternatively Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* 1, p. 289, mentions the possibility that κυλιόμενοι could be a textual corruption for καίόμενοι, but concludes that the parallelism of the verse with 19:1, which mentions that the angels stand, indicates that the verb is correct.
26. Line 1 reads (רן)לה סחרין, "going round it/them". The verb is common and is used in different Aramaic compositions, such as Tobit (4Q197 4 i 14 = Tob. 6:8), the Book of Watchers (4Q204 1 vi 22 = 1 En. 14:9), the Astronomical Book (4Q209 23 6 and 4Q210 1 ii 17 = 1 En. 77:3), the Book of Giants (4Q531 37 2 and 38 2), and as a technical term in the New Jerusalem (5Q15 1 ii 3–5; 11Q18 11 2, 6).
27. The references to the Museum plates are partly missing and in *DJD* 36 the plates IAA 189 and 906 are sometimes confused. I therefore give here the location of the 4Q203 and 4Q204 fragments as I found them in August 2005 (with the exception of 4Q203 1 which I did not find in the following plates): IAA 188: 4Q203 9, 10; 4Q204 4, 5i a, 5i–ii b; IAA 189 (left to right, top): 4Q203 8a, 4Q204 1k, 1l, 5f, 1j, 5e; (bottom) 4Q204 5i, unpubl.A, 4Q203 6, unpubl.B, 4Q204 5g, 5h; (cf. PAM 43.201); IAA 191: 4Q204 1n; IAA 199: 4Q204 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d and 5d; IAA 200: 4Q204 1e, 1f, 1g, 1h, 1i + 3 minute frags. (broken off from 1i?); IAA 906 (left to right, top to bottom): 4Q203 2, 3, 13, 8 (without 8a), 7 ii, 12, 11, 7 i, 4, 5.

fragments and the scribal layout of the writing are also very similar. In other words, the only criterion to distinguish the manuscripts is their contents. Milik suggested that the fragments stem from one and the same manuscript which contained, in that order, the Book of Watchers, the Book of Giants, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch. Many, but not all scholars, have adopted Milik's suggestion.²⁸ How is one to judge whether we are dealing with one or more manuscripts?

Stuckenbruck has called attention to the different spacing used in 4Q203 and 4Q204. He claims that in 4Q204 new sections are marked by indenture, by blank spaces at the end of lines, or by a vacat inserted between words on the same line, while in 4Q203 more often entire lines are left uninscribed.²⁹ However, the evidence for this difference in 4Q203 is difficult to judge, and even if it were unambiguous, what would it say about the question of manuscripts? Two other issues are likely to be of greater interest. Stuckenbruck calls attention to the fact that whereas vertical guidelines are clearly visible in 4Q204, there is no evidence for them in 4Q203.³⁰ This might suggest that even though they share the same scribal hand, we are dealing with different manuscripts. Another

28. Dimant, "The Biography of Enoch", p. 16, n. 8, is hesitant, and phrases carefully: "On literary grounds it seems to me unlikely that BG was included in an Enochic corpus such as the Ethiopic one"; García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, p. 98 n. 3, adopts Milik's conclusions "without reserve". Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants*, p. 67, concludes that "unless further evidence to the contrary is produced, the extant materials all point in the direction of Milik's thesis"; however, in *DJD* 36, p. 10, he concludes, somewhat vaguely: "[s]ince the features of 4Q204 cannot simply be extended to 4Q203, the codicological association of their respective fragments should not be assumed"; Puech, *DJD* 31, pp. 16, 112, cautions that even though the same scribe wrote the Enoch and the Giants fragments, this does not necessarily imply they were part of the same manuscript.
29. Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 6, p. 9. Note, however, that we cannot judge whether the uninscribed area in 4Q203 2 3; 4 2 and 12 2 represents an entirely blank line, or a large blank indenture as in 4Q204 frg. 1g. Also, the uninscribed end in 4Q203 7 i 2 may be merely the end of the line and therefore left blank. In short, we have only two conclusive cases of entirely blank lines in 4Q203, in frag. 7a 4 and in 8 2 against one such case in 4Q204 5 i. In 4Q203 8 2 and 4Q204 5 i the blank line indicates a major structural break in the text, whereas this might also be the case in 4Q203 7a 4.
30. Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36, p. 9.

feature of 4Q204 Milik discusses is its tendency to align the left side of the column, by leaving, where necessary, some space before the last word of a line.³¹ In 4Q203 only one fragment, 7b i, preserves the left side of the column, but here there is no such alignment. However, 4Q204 1 xii equally shows that the alignment was not always perfect, and the three lines in 4Q203 may be too little to build an argument upon.

Here I want to mention some aspects that might be of use in a physical approach as to whether 4Q203 and 4Q204 formed one or more manuscripts. According to Milik's thesis the manuscript consisted of the following sections: Book of Watchers, Book of Giants, Book of Dreams, and Epistle of Enoch. We know the scope of the Book of Watchers, the Book of Dreams, and the Epistle of Enoch in the Ethiopic tradition, but it is uncertain whether the Qumran Aramaic texts of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch had the same scope. We have no evidence from Qumran for the first dream vision (1 En. 83–84), and we cannot be sure whether for 4Q203 and 4Q204 we should assume the entire Epistle of Enoch or only the so-called proto-Epistle.

One of the few physical clues with regard to the 4Q204 scroll is the vertical damaged stroke on 4Q204 frag. 1n, at the left margin of col. i (4Q204 1 xii). This kind of damage is typically caused by pressure of the stitching in the next layer, that is, one revolution towards the left provided the scroll was rolled beginning with its end. If we assume the latter (i.e. the scroll bring rolled in the usual fashion) on the basis of 4Q205 frag. 5b (see below), then 1 xiii would have been the last column of a sheet. Milik's reconstruction of the text in 4Q204 1 xii 25 and 27 indicates that the width of the written section of the column should have been approximately 10.5 to 11 cm. One should add ca. 1 cm for the end of the sheet, and 1 cm for the margin between col. xii and xiii, which indicates that the revolution of the scroll at this point would have been ca. 12.5–13 cm (or slightly more if the left margin of the sheet was broader). This way gives us some indication of the length of the remained inner part of the scroll. If we assume a normal thickness for the leather of 0.25 cm,³² we

31. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 179, all eight examples.

32. Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36, p. 9 for 4Q203: 0.2–0.3 cm. A thickness of 0.2 cm is average for the scrolls. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, p. 178 merely states "thick and stiff in places".

may compare it, for example, with the slightly thinner 11Q10 (11QtgJob; thickness 0.2 cm), where in the last (most inward) column of the scroll the width of a revolution rapidly increases from about 3 to 4.3 cm, but later on increases with 0.2 cm per revolution (with an additional 0.2 cm per stitching).³³ The evidence of 4Q204 5 ii is not entirely clear, but since the text corresponds to the end of 1 Enoch (1 En 106:13 – 107:2), one may assume that it belonged to the end of the scroll, in which case the vertical tears and folds may be interpreted as suggesting a revolution of 6 cm at the right side of the fragment.³⁴ If we assume an average increase per revolution of 0.25 cm, then the revolution would be 13 cm after another 270 cm. The partially reconstructed writing blocks of 4Q204 vary from 10.5/11 cm (4Q204 1 xiii) to 14 cm (4Q204 1 vi) to which one should add 1 cm for the margins, resulting in an average column width of 13.5 cm. This would suggest 20 columns between 4Q204 1 xiii and 4Q204 5 ii. How does this relate to the Ethiopic text of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch?

The Ethiopic Book of Watchers consists of 3,714 words,³⁵ corresponding to what Milik plausibly calculated to be thirteen columns of 4Q204.³⁶ As for the Ethiopic text of the Book of Dreams and the Epistle of Enoch (1 Enoch 83–108), the total amount of words is 6,456, but here we are interested in the amount of words that make up the text before 4Q204 5 ii, that is up to 4Q204 5 i line 30, corresponding to 1 En. 106:2, i.e., 5,894 words. If we assume the same average of Ethiopic

33. *DJD* 23, p. 85.

34. This would seem to confirm that the order of the Enochic books in 4Q204 was the same as in the Ethiopic: BW – BD – EE. Cf. Dimant, *The Biography of Enoch*, p. 17, who rightly poses the question whether the order in the manuscripts should of necessity have been the same as in the Ethiopic.

35. Counts are based on the electronic text edited in 1999 by Michal Jerabek, Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Charles University, Prague, Czech Republic. My statistical analysis is not affected by the few errors and inaccuracies this edition contains.

36. This would mean that, on average, a 4Q204 column corresponds to 286 Ethiopic words (3,714 divided by 13). In reality, Milik's 4Q204 1 i corresponds to 256 Ethiopic words; 1 ii to 243 Ethiopic words; 1 v to 334 Ethiopic words, 1 vi to 306 words, and 1 vii–viii to 600 words.

words corresponding to a 4Q204 column, we arrive at 20–21 columns.³⁷ In view of the space of 20 available columns I suggested above, one might conclude that the inner part of the scroll (i.e., everything after 4Q204 1 xiii) would allow for the Book of Dreams and the entire Epistle of Enoch, but no another large composition such as the Book of Giants.³⁸

However, we may hypothesize a Book of Dreams without 1 En. 83–84 (356 Ethiopic words), and without the proto-Epistle (i.e., without 1 En. 94:6 – 104:6, i.e., without 1,819 Ethiopic words).³⁹ This would result in 7 to 8 columns less. Unfortunately, none of these calculations allow us to conclude that we have enough concrete data to either refute or corroborate Milik's hypothesis on the basis of the physical reconstruction of 4Q204. The presently available data give us no physical grounds to exclude the possibility that the fragments of 4Q203 stood in between 4Q204 1 xiii and 4Q204 4.

Summing up, the fragments of 4Q203 and 4Q204 were written by the same scribe, using very similar material. They are highly likely to belong to the same manuscript: there are at present no codicological reasons to argue for two manuscripts instead of one. This does not, however, confirm Milik's hypothesis of a tetralogy, or of an Enochic pentateuchal corpus. As Devorah Dimant stated long ago, 4Q204 is "a manuscript which present[s] the exception rather than the rule". We must observe that we have nine certain, and possibly even more, copies of the Book of

37. That is 5,894 (Ethiopic words from 1 En. 83:1 – 106:2) divided by 286.

38. The variables I have used are a revolution of the scroll in 4Q204 1 xiii of 13 cm, a revolution of the scroll in 4Q204 5 ii of 6 cm, and an increase of the width of a revolution of 0.25 cm (including stitches). If one allows for a larger left margin, the first variable might increase up to 14 cm; the second variable is uncertain, but unlikely to be very different from 6 cm, whereas the third variable would more likely be smaller. If we change the variables from 13, 6, and 2.5 to 14, 6, and 2.3, we arrive at 355 cm instead of 270 cm between 1 xiii and 5 ii, allowing for six to seven additional columns!

39. No fragments of these sections have been found amongst the Dead Sea Scrolls fragments, and G. Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*, Grand Rapids 1998, p. 132 suggested the hypothesis that 1 En 94:6 – 104:6 was an interpolation in an older document.

Giants,⁴⁰ but only one of these, 4Q203, can with certainty be associated with one of the seven Enochic manuscripts.

Appendix:

Unpublished fragments in IAA Museum Plate 359

PAM 43.204 and IAA 359 display two unpublished fragments, at the top left of the plate, and in the bottom row, in between 4Q206 frags. 1e and 1g.

The bottom fragment can easily be identified on the basis of the preserved reading in line 2]שלכת מקברך[as Isa. 14:19 השלכת מקברך. Only a few letters and traces remain in lines 1 and 3, but the fragment may be transcribed as follows, corresponding to parts of Isa 14:17–20:

1. ה[רס אס]יריו
2. ה[שלכת מקברך]
3.]ל[א תחד א[תם]

The hand and the physical appearance of the fragment correspond to 4Q59 (4QIsa^c).⁴¹ One may therefore place the fragment after 4Q59 20–22 (Isa. 41:1–13) and before 4Q59 18 ii, 23–24 (Isa. 14:20–24), to be reconstructed as follows:

[מרגיז הארץ מרעיש ממלכות שם תבל כמדבר ועריו ה[רס אס]יריו לא פתח
 [ביתה]
 [כל מלכי גוים כלם שכבו בכבוד איש בביתו ואתה ה[שלכת מקברך] כנצר
 [נחשב]
 [לבוש הרגים מטעני חרב יורדי אל אבני בור כפגר מובס]ל[א תחד א[תם]
 [בקבורה]

It must be noted, though, that the length of these lines is 65 character-spaces, which is less than the average of 70 character-spaces of 4Q59 18 ii,

40. Cf. Puech, *DJD* 31, p. 11 who regards as certain 1Q23, 2Q26, 4Q203, 4Q206a, 4Q530, 4Q531, 4Q532, 4Q533, and 6Q8, and as possible 1Q24 and 6Q14.

41. The color and structure of the skin are the same, but none of the 4Q59 fragments (IAA 262) have suffered from the kind of surface abrasure which this fragment shows at the top right.

23–24,⁴² and considerably less than the average of 75 character-spaces in the lines in 4Q59 20–22,⁴³ which, according to the editors, belongs to the same column (4Q59 col. VIII).⁴⁴

The unpublished fragment at the top of PAM 43.204 and IAA 359 reads:

1. [ל העמינ]
2. [וא מלך]
3. [שמ]
4.]

Probably read כל העמים in line 1 and either מלך הוא or מלך יבוא in line 2. This sequence of words is not attested in the Hebrew Bible, nor in any of the non-biblical Qumran texts.

42. Resp. 72, 70, 67 and 72 for the first four lines.

43. Resp. 76, 77, 68, 70, 76, 76, and 80 for lines 1, 3–8.

44. P. Skehan and E. Ulrich, *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, DJD 15, Oxford 1997, p. 90.

Identification of a Scribe Active at Qumran: 1QPs^b–4QIsa^c–11QM

Eugene Ulrich

Of the many, highly valuable contributions that Devorah Dimant has made to Qumran studies,¹ one of the most important has been her comprehensive description of the collection of manuscripts – the “library” – found at Qumran.² This present study hopes to add minor confirmation to her major insight regarding the “fundamental homogeneity of all the manuscript caves [at Qumran]... both in their contents and in their configuration”³ of biblical, general Jewish, and sectarian MSS. It attempts to identify a single scribe who copied both biblical MSS and a sectarian MS which were located in three widely separated caves at Qumran.

In 1989–1990 the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University offered some of “the second generation” of Qumran editors the freedom and the possibility to study and gain an overview of the collections of MSS assigned to them for publication. Building on the overviews by scholars of “the first generation”, Josef T. Milik⁴ and Frank

1. See especially D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*, DJD 30, Oxford 2000.
2. D. Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance”, in D. Dimant & L. H. Schiffman (eds.), *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, 1989–1990*, STDJ 16, Leiden 1995, pp. 23–58; eadem, “The Library of Qumran: Its Content and Character”, in L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov & J. C. VanderKam (eds.), with G. Marquis, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery*, Jerusalem 2000, pp. 170–176.
3. Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts”, p. 31.
4. J. T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le Désert de Juda*, Paris 1957 = *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, tr. J. Strugnell, London 1959.

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Moore Cross,⁵ plus individual contributions from several other scholars⁶ and her own insightful analysis of the Qumran sectarian literature,⁷ Dimant used the opportunity to systematize and put into perspective the profile of the varied collection of works discovered in the eleven caves. It was to provide a cloud-clearing break-through in Qumran scholarship.

To appreciate fully Dimant's achievement it is important to note that at that time no complete catalogue of the scrolls was available. Each of the original editors had compiled some kind of list of the MSS assigned to him, and these lists were then gradually being joined together. But a complete listing that coordinated the MS name, MS number, museum inventory number, and photograph numbers for all the MSS was not available until the two catalogues by Emanuel Tov and Stephen Pfann in 1993 and Stephen Reed and Marilyn Lundberg in 1994.⁸

One significant result was Dimant's observation that the manuscripts, especially in the richest caves, i.e., Caves 1, 4, and 11, generally display the same distribution profile in roughly the same percentages: scriptural MSS, sectarian MSS, and general Jewish religious literature:

[T]he contents of most of the caves are essentially similar and interlinked. Practically all the caves with significant quantities of manuscripts contain at least one work, and usually more than one, represented by one or several other copies in Cave 4.... This fact suggests that all the caves housed segments of one and the same collection.⁹

That comprehensive yet detailed overview of the Qumran collection helped solidify the view that it was indeed an intentional collection, and

5. F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 1st ed., London 1958; 3rd ed., Sheffield 1995.
6. See Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts", p. 24 n. 4.
7. D. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature", (in M. E. Stone ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, CRINT 2:2; Assen, Philadelphia 1984, pp. 483–550.
8. E. Tov with the collaboration of S. J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche – A Comprehensive Edition of the Texts from the Judaean Desert: Companion Volume*, Leiden 1993 (2d rev. ed. 1995); S. Reed and M. J. Lundberg, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue*, Atlanta 1994.
9. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts", pp. 30–31.

was not, as Norman Golb claimed, the hasty result of stashing MSS from Jerusalem due to fear of the Romans during the First Revolt.¹⁰ The fact, however, that the nearly 900 MSS were copied mostly by different scribes lends credence to the view that the MSS did not originate en masse at Qumran. But perhaps the best explanation is that numerous individuals came from Jerusalem and other places during the century-plus habitation of the site, bringing with them a few MSS that were meaningful to them, and thus the collection grew. In addition, as indicated by the ink wells, a certain amount of copying may well have been done at Qumran. This explanation would gain support by the identification of MSS, especially sectarian MSS, that were copied by one and the same scribe, and even greater support if such MSS were found in separate caves.

The Identification of Scribes at Qumran

Since the discovery of the Cave 1 scrolls it has routinely been assumed that the scribe who copied *The Community Rule* (1QS) plus 1QSa and 1QSB was located at Qumran, since the works apparently relate directly to the covenant community considered to be assembled at the site. That assumption could, of course, be true or false; further investigation would be required for confirmation or disproof. But it has also been claimed by numerous scholars that that same scribe was responsible for copying two other MSS, 4QSam^c and 4QTest, as well as for inserting “missing” text into the Great Isaiah Scroll (1QIsa^a),¹¹ and the cumulative detailed

10. For this initially possibly helpful hypothesis, see N. Golb, “The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls”, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124 (1980), pp. 1–24. For his less useful continuation down that path, see idem, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran*, New York 1995.
11. On the basis of (1) the absence of Isa: 40:7aβ–8a both in 1QIsa^a originally and in the OG, (2) the perfect prophetic oracle if 7aβ–8a is not inserted, and (3) nine similar examples in 1QIsa^a–OG–MT, I have argued that Isa. 40:7aβ–8a was not “missing” from (that is, “omitted” by) 1QIsa^a but was secondarily inserted into the developing text of the Book of Isaiah; see E. Ulrich, “The Developmental Composition of the Book of Isaiah: Light from 1QIsa^a on Additions in the MT”, *DSD* 8/3 (2001), pp. 288–305.

evidence appears convincing.¹² In recent years even more MSS have been assigned to that scribe, and other scholars have now identified additional individual scribes responsible for two or more MSS.¹³

I would like to add the identification of yet another scribe copying multiple MSS for whom the claim of location at Qumran seems quite probable. The scribe of 4QIsa^c (4Q57) displays an elegant, careful, distinctive hand (see Plate 1), and that hand is immediately recognizable as the one which also copied 11QSefer ha-Milhamah (11QM = 11Q14; see Plate 3). More difficult to recognize, due to the small size of the few preserved fragments, is that 1QPs^b (1Q11) was copied by the same scribe (see Plate 2).¹⁴

Several general features suggest that the same scribe copied all three MSS. The script is among the most careful, stately, and elegant seen in the Qumran collection; the stance of the letters is more angled than most; the size of the script and physical characteristics (such as the distance between

12. See the detailed discussions in J. C. Trever, "Preliminary Observations on the Jerusalem Scrolls", *BASOR* 111 (1948), pp. 3–16, esp. 9–12; idem, "A Paleographic Study of the Jerusalem Scrolls", *BASOR* 113 (1949), pp. 6–23, esp. pp. 6 and 15; J. M. Allegro, "Further Messianic References in Qumran Literature", *JBL* 75 (1956), pp. 174–87, esp. p. 182; idem, *DJD* 1, p. 107; P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, *STDJ* 1, Grand Rapids 1957, pp. 1–4; F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts", in G. E. Wright (ed.), *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright*, Garden City, NY 1961 pp. 133–202, esp. p. 198 n. 116; N. Avigad, "The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents", *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1965), pp. 56–87, esp. pp. 67 and 71; E. Ulrich, "4QSam^c: A Fragmentary Manuscript of 2 Samuel 14–15 from the Scribe of the *Serek Hay-yahad* (1QS)", *BASOR* 235 (1979), pp. 1–25; idem, "4QSam^c", *DJD* 17, pp. 248–249.
13. See the helpful listing in E. Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, *STDJ* 54, Leiden 2004, pp. 23–24, Table 2.
14. The plates and editions of the three MSS are by: Barthélemy in D. Barthélemy & J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I*, *DJD* 1, Oxford 1955, p. 71 and pl. XIII; by Skehan and Ulrich in E. Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4.X: The Prophets*, *DJD* 15, Oxford 1997, pp. 45–74 and pl. VII–XII, esp. pl. VIII; and F. García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, & A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–30*, *DJD* 23, Oxford 1998, pp. 243–251 and pl. XXVIII. The editors of 11QM note that "the characteristics of some letters of 11Q14 are rather similar to those of 11Q20, but that text has more widely spaced lines", *DJD* 23, p. 243.

the lines) are the same. Moreover, the use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton in the two biblical MSS links 1QPs^b with 4QIsa^c; but since 11QM is not a biblical MS, one would expect אֱ in place of the Tetragrammaton (as is found in 1QS and other contemporary compositions), and indeed אֱ does occur (אֱ עֲלִיךָ, line 7). The claim of identity between the hands is primarily intuitive, but, since scripts can be quite similar without being identical, that intuition needs to be grounded by the support of detailed comparison.¹⁵

Thus, **Table 1** presents a selection of the more distinctive letters of the three MSS. The letters are listed down the page, with the features that are typical of this scribe. The first column (1QPs^b) lists the letters appearing in words from the six fragments preserved from that scroll; the second column (4QIsa^c) lists the letters in words from the largest fragment of that Isaiah scroll (frg. 9 ii); the third column (11QM) lists the letters in words from the only large fragment of 11QM (frg. 1 ii).

The scribe, of course, displays a small, expected range of variation on some letters. When two different forms of a letter occur, the first form described is listed on the first line and the second is listed in the second line. Because of the limited amount of text preserved, especially in 1QPs^b, occasionally a letter or specific form does not occur (marked with ø). It is also necessary to make allowance for the slightly thicker appearance of the penstrokes in 1QPs^b, which may be due either to the pen, to the deterioration of the fragments, or to the photographic process. The important point here is how the letters are formed.

Since both the general features of the three MSS and the distinctive forms of the specific letters show such striking similarity, the claim that they

15. Barthélemy (*DJD* 1, p. 71) notes that, because of the small amount of 1Q11 preserved, it may have originally contained only the Psalms of Ascent. He also suggests that 1Q11 may possibly be linked with 1Q30 (Liturgical Text A?); but it is difficult to know whether his suggestion is primarily palaeographic or due to the occurrence of the divine name in Palaeo-Hebrew, which he states (correctly for 1955) had not yet been attested with certitude for biblical texts. The use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton is now known to occur in a number of biblical MSS; see E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature), Grand Rapids, Leiden 1999, pp. 117–120; E. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, pp. 238–246, esp. 243.

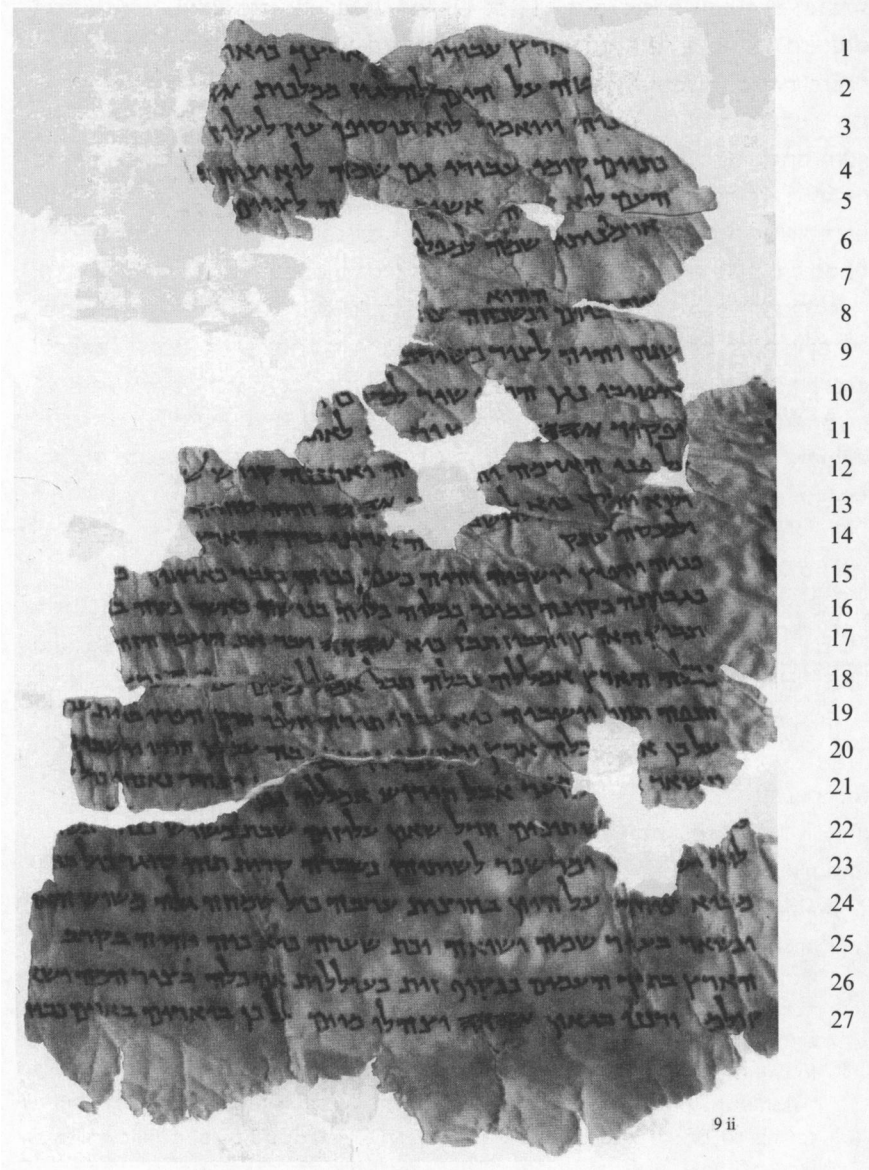


Plate 1. 4QIsa^c

Courtesy Oxford University Press and Israel Antiquities Authority

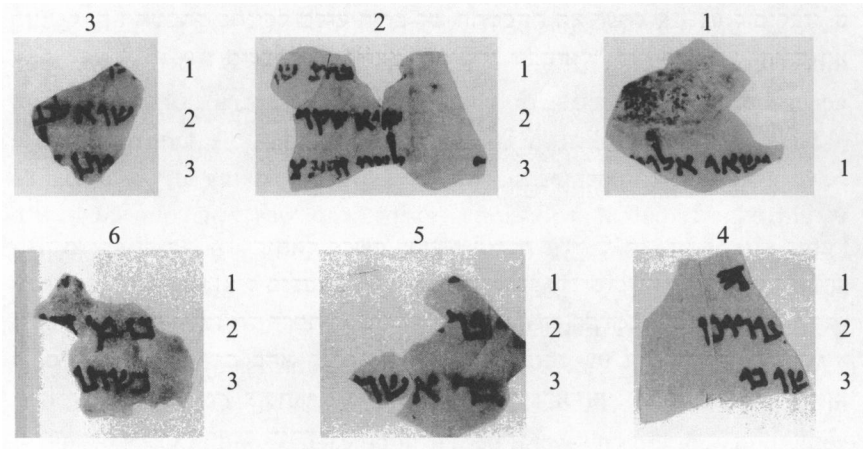


Plate 2. 1QPs^b

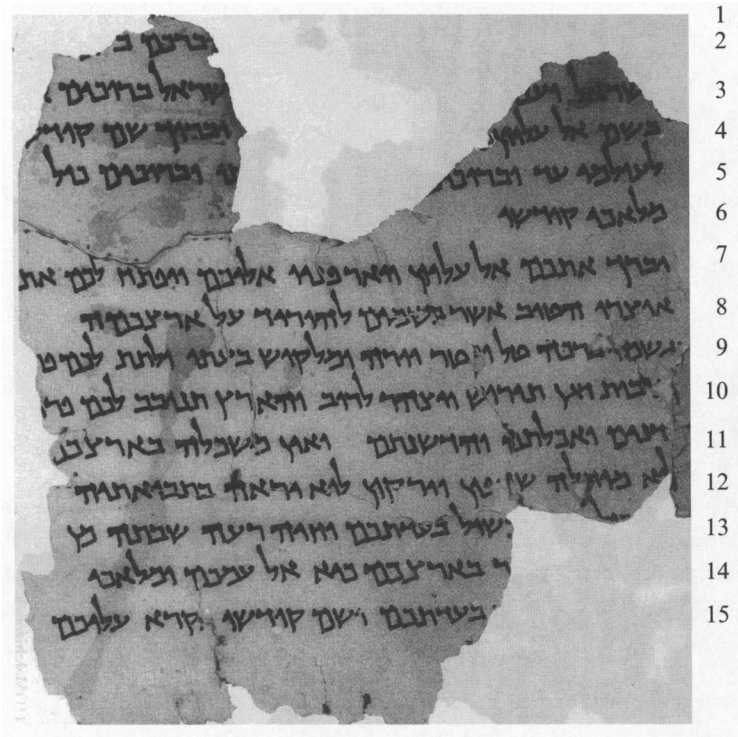


Plate 3. 11QM

Courtesy Oxford University Press and Israel Antiquities Authority

were all copied by the same scribe seems warranted. If the same scribe did indeed copy all three MSS, the next question to ask is whether he was a general professional scribe or whether he worked specifically at Qumran.

The copying of biblical MSS and sectarian literature, but not general Jewish literature, indicates that the scribe was working at Qumran. We would expect that a professional scribe who was not connected with Qumran but was working, for example, in Jerusalem would rather copy either biblical MSS or general Jewish literature, or both, but probably would not copy sectarian literature.

When one reflects that the books of Psalms and Isaiah were two of the most numerous attested and quoted works at Qumran; that the community composed several pesharim on each, found in Caves 1 and 4; that 11QM, in its description of the end of the eschatological war, just happens to have a quote from Isa. 10:34 – 11:1,¹⁶ and that this scribe's MSS were found in three different caves at large distances from each other, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this scribe worked at Qumran.

Insofar as this assessment is correct, the scribe would share some, but not all, characteristics with another scribe who also very likely worked at Qumran. The scribe of 1QS, 4QSam^c, and 4QTest similarly copied biblical MSS and sectarian literature but not general Jewish literature, and his MSS were found both in the nearby Cave 4 and the distant Cave 1. In contrast, whereas the scribe of 1QPs^b–4QIsa^c–11QM was careful, stately, and elegant and worked ca. 20–50 CE, the scribe of 1QS–4QSam^c–4QTest was less skilled, irregular, and mistake-prone and worked ca. 100–75 BCE.¹⁷ One could conjecture that this latter scribe held a leadership position in the community for several reasons. (1) He is one of the less skilled scribes seen in the scrolls, and thus it may have been his leadership position rather than his skills as a scribe that determined his scribal activity. (2) He copied the *Community Rule*, which is explicitly “For the Instructor” (למשכיל, III.13; IX.12; [I.1?]) to teach the community members, and this scribe made numerous content corrections in the

16. The Isaiah quote is mostly reconstructed in 11QM, but it is based on the significant overlaps with 4Q285.

17. See the details in E. Ulrich, “4QSam^c,” *DJD* 17, pp. 247–253.

text.¹⁸ (3) He also copied 4QTestimonia, which is a meditation on leadership, good and bad, presumably in the eschatological period. (4) He did not hesitate to correct the Great Isaiah Scroll.

In conclusion, it appears that the scribe of 1QS–4QSam^c–4QTest has perhaps the best claim to be identified as a scribe who copied texts at Qumran. The available indicators also point persuasively toward the identification of the scribe of 1QPs^b–4QIsa^c–11QM as a scribe who copied texts at Qumran. As we saw, he copied biblical and sectarian, but not general Jewish, MSS. Those MSS were especially sought after and used at Qumran. And his works were distributed in the geographically distant Caves 1, 4, and 11, thus again indicating the “fundamental homogeneity” of the manuscript collection at Qumran.¹⁹

Table 1

	1QPs ^b	4QIsa ^c	11QM
א	at times a large <i>keriaia</i> on the top of the right arm, at times small; also on bottom left אשר frg. 5 line 3 1 1 נושאי אלוֹמִי תִי	אשר frg. 9 ii line 5 4 לֹא	אל frg. 1 ii line 14 14 כִּיָּא
ג	sometimes a <i>keriaia</i> to the right at the top, sometimes not כִּפְנִן 6 2 ø	גם 4; 10 נִגְן 16 כִּגְבֻרְתָּהּ	ø 10 דִּגְן; 9 גִּשְׁמִי

18. Ever since it was alleged very early by Pierre Guilbert (“Deux écritures dans les colonnes VII et VIII de la Règle de la Communauté”, *RevQ* 1 [1958], pp. 198–211) and Malachi Martin (*The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* [2 vols.; Louvain 1958], vol. 1, pp. 43–56), the view has been repeated that corrections in 1QS (and 1QSa–1QSB) were made by a second hand (see the helpful note by Tov, *Scribal Practices*, p. 22). The most frequently cited is לו אשר לו in VII.1. But, since for every secondary correction or insertion virtually identical forms of each letter by the original scribe can be found, I suggest – including on the basis of the script of 4QSam^c and 4QTest – that most, if not all, corrections were made by the original scribe. É. Puech (“Remarques sur l’écriture de 1QS VII–VIII”, *RevQ* 10 [1979–1981] pp. 35–43) had already raised palaeographic questions (see esp. pp. 36–37) about that identification, though his main focus was on “l’évolution du texte et des idées” (p. 35).

19. Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts”, pp. 30–31.

1QPs ^b	4QIsa ^c	11QM
ה the top horizontal stroke is doubled, appearing split at the left end, and protrudes at the top and right side		
העצבים 2 3	9 והיה 18	11 והדשנתם
א Palaeo-Hebrew is used for the divine name in the biblical MSS; since 11QM is nonbiblical one would expect אל, as in 1QS, etc.		
אל 4 1	אל 11; 13; 17; 27	אל עליון 7
י/ usually well distinguished, sometimes not		
נושאי אלומן 1 1; יבשו כי 4 3	9 והיה 4; עבדתי 9	8 להוריד 7; פניו
ø	3 ויאמר	9 יורה
כ often not much deeper than <i>bet</i>		
כגפן 4 3; כ 6 2	20 כן 25	10 לכם 5; וברוכים
ל thickened top, slanting at an angle, and curled bottom stroke		
אלומן וחיו 1 1; לחם 2 3	11; לאתננה 21	8 על 5; לעולמי 21
ם final <i>mem</i> is sometimes deep, sometimes less deep		
ø	4 כתיים	14 בארצכם
הנעורים 4 2	22 עלוים 5; העם	15 בעדתכם
ן final <i>nun</i> , without a head, descends, curves right, then descends curving slightly left		
יתן 2 3; כגפן 6 2	24 היין 27	12 וירקון 7; עליון
ע full size; gracefully curved; top left stroke begins with a curl from the right; ligatured to next letter		
הנעורים 4 2	24 ערבה 5; העם	15 בעדתכם
ק protrusion of ink at top left; slight curve of downstroke		
שקד 2 2	4 קומי 11	9 ומלקוש 4; קודש[ו]
ש often the middle stroke does not reach the "V"; pointed bottom often curls left		
נושאי 1 1; יבשו כי 4 3	4, 6; שמה 5	15 ושם 9; גשמי 8; אשר
ת at times a sharply angled bottom left foot, at times slightly curved		
כשתי[לי] 6 3	2 ממלכות	7 אתכם
2 1 בית	6 ארמנ'תיו	13 בעדתכם

English Abstracts

The Desert and the Teacher of Righteousness Motifs in the Messianic Doctrine of the Karaite Mourners of Zion

Yoram Erder

The detailed messianic doctrine of the Karaite Mourners of Zion who lived in Jerusalem – scattered throughout their commentaries to the prophetic books, Psalms, Song of Songs, and Daniel – exhibits considerable influence by the Qumran scrolls, as Naphtali Wieder has shown. This article is devoted to a very important phase in the Karaite salvation doctrine, during which the new Returners of Zion (שבי ציון) were expected to sojourn in the “wilderness of the peoples” (Ezek. 20:35–38) before entering the land of Israel. Thus, they envisioned a new exile – “the exile of the desert” – as preceding the final stage of salvation. According to this doctrine, during their stay in the desert, these exiles will witness the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness, identified by the Karaites as Elijah. Under his guidance, the Jews will return to God after being misled for centuries by the Rabbanite sages. Elijah will also decipher the hidden commandments. Insofar as most of the commandments pertain to the land of Israel, the exiles in the desert will merit their fulfillment only after their entry to the land and the erection of the Temple. The conquest of the land of Israel under the leadership of the Teacher of Righteousness and the leading of the Returners of Zion there fulfills his mission. According to Karaite doctrine, two Messiahs will subsequently lead the nation of Israel in their land: one from the house of David, and the other from the priestly house.

Jubilean Chronology and the 364-Day Year

Jonathan Ben-Dov

The article relates to two traditions of septenary reckoning in Second Temple literature: the calendrical tradition of the 364-day year, on the one hand, and the apocalyptic tradition of long-range Sabbatarian division of world history, on the other. The latter tradition, which appears in different variations in the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, in the book of *Jubilees*, and in Qumran scrolls such as 4Q390 (*Apocryphon of Jeremiah C^e*), counts historical epochs in units of jubilees and weeks of jubilees. It is claimed here that the two traditions are hard to reconcile. The seven-year cycle, a central concept in the latter tradition, is altogether meaningless in the calendrical tradition, which uses three- and six-year cycles. This discrepancy is discussed in relation to several textual sources, notably the historical *Mishmarot* texts (4Q331–333) and 4Q319's *Otot* list. The latter is explained as an attempt to reconcile the divergent numerical templates of the two traditions.

The article highlights three points: (1) Qumran literature does not attest to the use of shemitah cycles as a historical dating device, as opposed to later Jewish literature; (2) the apocalyptic compositions that employ Jubilean chronology do not mention the priestly courses, and do not take the details of the 364-day year into consideration; and (3) Qumran calendars do not relate to the shemitah cycle. 4Q330 (*Mishmarot I*) and 4Q319 (*Otot*), the only scrolls that mention shemitah, do not adhere to the apocalyptic Jubilean tradition.

The Law of the Prophet as Reflected in 4Q375

Liora Goldman

This article reexamines the reconstruction and the contents of 4Q375 (*4QApocryphon of Moses^a*). As presented in the *editio princeps*, this fragment was reconstructed from three pieces. However, one of these has no physical connection to the other two pieces and its suggested

placement by John Strugnell in col. II is doubtful on contextual grounds. Furthermore, whereas Strugnell assumed that 4Q375 alludes to Deut. 13:1–6 and Lev. 16, it is proposed here that this composition rather reworks biblical passages from Deut. 13:1–6, 18:15–20, 17:8–13, 30:2–10; and Lev. 4:13–21. Using a distinctive method of scriptural interpretation, which involves the combination of certain scriptural passages, 4Q375's author offers a new understanding of the biblical laws concerning true and false prophets and suggests a way to identify a true prophet.

The text of 4Q375 indicates that, due to the special role attributed to the prophet in the fulfillment of the Covenant Blessings, the clarification of the status of a true prophet was of great importance. It also suggests that the issue of the false prophet was not a theoretical one. Thus 4Q375 reflects the belief that God's prophets could still arise and that divine revelation through the institution of the prophecy had not yet ceased.

The Price of Mediation: The Role of Priests in Priestly Halakhah

Cana Werman

This paper takes 4Q276–7, a rewriting of Numbers 19 that deals with the preparation and use of the ashes of a red cow for purification from corpse defilement, as its point of departure. Important differences between this halakhic unit and Numbers 19 include: the transformation of an extra-Temple ritual into an intra-Temple one – forbidding a *Tevul-yom* to take part in the ritual and assigning to priests the main roles in both the preparation of the water of lustration and its sprinkling – and differentiation between the process of purification from corpse defilement – achieved by bathing – and the rite of sprinkling. According to 4Q277, the sprinkling of the water of lustration does not belong to the purification process, but rather serves to achieve כפרה.

Consideration of other Qumran purification laws sheds light on the meaning of כפר in 4Q277. The Qumran purification laws assign different

degrees of sanctity to four geographical spheres: outside the cities, the cities, Jerusalem, and the Temple. To the area outside the cities no holiness obtains; the cities of Israel are holy because God resides in the midst of the Israelites; Jerusalem is holier still; and the Temple the holiest sphere. Individuals with severe impurities are sent outside the cities. Upon fulfilling the purification ritual of laundering and bathing at least twice, and counting the required amount of days, they are allowed gradual access to the spheres of holiness: first to the cities with the status of *Tevulyom*; the next day to Jerusalem; and the following day to the Temple. The sacrifices brought at the conclusion of the purification process, as well as the water of lustration sprinkled by the priests, do not belong to the purification ritual, but rather symbolize completion of the return to God's presence. כפר in this context thus denotes restoration by the priests of the human-divine relationship.

כפר appears in two other fields of Qumranic halakhah, purgation offerings and the first-fruit festivals. A closer look reveals that, at Qumran, even though they retain their biblical name, the purging role of the purgation offerings has dissipated. These offerings have become a means of achieving atonement and forgiveness instead. In the context of the first-fruit festivals, the most suitable interpretation for the verb כפר is 'to desanctify', namely, to enable the people to enjoy divine property.

On this basis I conclude that the use of the verb כפר at Qumran indicates that the priests interpreted, and modified, the biblical laws in a fashion that granted the priests a full role as human-divine mediators. The people, however, refused to accept this priestly intercession. This, to my mind, was the core of the struggle between the Pharisees and the priests. The Pharisees looked for opportunities where both men and women could stand face to face with God without priestly assistance. The status afforded to Jerusalem in Pharisaic halakhah became a means of enabling nonpriests to worship God on their own.

The Portrayal of the Restoration Period in 1 Esdras

Sara Japhet

For many years research on 1 Esdras has focused on its literary and textual aspects, paying scant attention to its objectives and historical views. The various definitions of the book, describing it as a “fragment” of a larger literary corpus, a “revision” of an earlier work, or a “compilation” of biblical and nonbiblical excerpts, prevented recognition of its true nature and goals.

This is the purpose of the present article. It regards 1 Esdras as a historical work in its own right, composed in line with the method common in its day: the “rewritten Bible”. The purpose of 1 Esdras is to offer a different picture of the Restoration period than the one provided by Ezra-Nehemiah. Its historical description focuses on three themes and periods: the destruction of the Temple and Jerusalem, the restoration in the time of Zerubbabel, and the spiritual and religious consolidation in the time of Ezra. It thus serves the interests of the author in his day, the third century B.C.E.

Prayers in Eschatological War Literature from Qumran: 4Q491–4Q496, 1QM

Rony Yishay

The six Cave 4 manuscripts (4Q491–4Q496) that describe the eschatological war have been identified by Maurice Baillet as copies of the Cave 1 *War Scroll* (1QM). But a detailed comparison of 1QM and these Cave 4 manuscripts fails to substantiate this identification. In fact, each manuscript deals with a different matter related to the eschatological war, and the only overlap between these texts appears in prayers and war descriptions. The present article compares one set of parallel prayers, namely the prayer to fortify the warriors from 4Q492 1, with two versions of the same prayer found in 1QM XXII, 7–16, and XIX, 1–8. Although

the three share the same basic text, the prayer appearing in 1QM XXII is marked by unique material, small theological additions, and, occasionally, different vocabulary. The analysis shows that two versions of the same prayer are at hand: one appears in 1QM XIX, 1–8 and in 4Q492 1; the other, more expanded version, is incorporated into 1QM XXII, 7–16.

Significantly, these variations appear in a prayer, a type of literary unit which is by nature traditional and thus may have been incorporated into the War literature as an already existing unit. A similar phenomenon is observable in the descriptions of the eschatological war, all of which, both in 1QM and the Cave 4 texts, reveal the same basic pattern. In light of these conclusions the six Cave 4 manuscripts should be considered not copies of 1QM, but a reworking of various sources incorporated in the War literature from Qumran.

Lev. 17:3–4 vs. Deut. 12:15, 20–21: From Qumran to Traditional Jewish Exegesis

Yeshayahu Maori

According to its straightforward meaning, Lev. 17:3–4 forbids the Israelites in the wilderness to slaughter “an ox or sheep or goat”, whether within or without the camp, unless the animal is offered as a *shelamim* sacrifice before the Tent of Meeting. On the other hand, in connection with a commandment mandating that – once across the Jordan – the sacrificial rite is to be concentrated in a divinely chosen place, Deut. 12 appears to permit the slaughter and consumption of nonsacrificial meat. This article compares traditional Jewish exegesis on this matter to that of the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls (the *Temple Scroll* and 4QMMT [*Halakhic Letter*]).

A Comparison of the List of “David’s Compositions” (11QPs^a 27 2–11) to the Characterization of David and Solomon in Kings and Chronicles

Noam Mizrahi

Although previous studies note the similarity between the sum of David’s compositions (4,050 according to 11QPs^a 27 10) and the total number of poetical works attributed to Solomon (4,005 according to MT 1 Kings 5:12), they overlook other significant parallels linking these two texts. An analysis of their similar literary structure reveals that *David’s Compositions* is a sectarian adaptation of the sapiential description of Solomon’s wisdom (1 Kings 5:9–14). Some of the differences between the two texts seem to betray the influence of yet another biblical source, namely, the book of Chronicles. Its possible influence can be detected in various motifs of *David’s Compositions* when compared to the list of Solomon’s sapiential works: (1) the substitution of secular wisdom by matters relating to the Jerusalem Temple; (2) the transfer of characterizations from Solomon to David; (3) David’s prophetic spirit; and (4) the establishment of liturgy as an inseparable part of the Temple cult. In order to identify the provenance and function of *David’s Compositions* these features are analyzed in detail and are placed in their literary, linguistic, and ideological contexts within Second Temple literature in general and the sectarian works from Qumran in particular.

Circumcision in 4Q225? Notes on Sequential and Conceptual Shifts

Ruth Fidler

In distinction to some previous studies devoted to the so-called *4QPseudo-Jubilees*^a text, this contribution takes as its starting point the interpretation of 4Q225 2 i 1–2 as related to the circumcision directive (Gen. 17:14). This means that 4Q225 2 i 1–2 and 3–8a exhibit a

transposition of materials related to the Abrahamic covenants vis-à-vis their biblical antecedents, Gen. 17 and Gen. 15:2–6, respectively. Studied alongside earlier reviews of Abraham's life that give special prominence to the priestly covenant of Gen. 17 (Neh. 9:7–8 and Sir. 44:19–20), and in relation to what seems to be Pauline polemic (Rom. 4:6–10), this transposition may be linked to Jewish particularistic ideology.

The isolation of the promise of descendants (4Q225 2 i 3–8a // Gen. 15:2–6) from the land covenant that follows it in the book of Genesis (15:7–21) has both ideological and exegetical aspects. It is consistent with a tendency discernible in 4Q225 to enhance the impression of Abraham's faith and to present the birth of Isaac as its reward. It could also be an exegetical move, perhaps the first recorded appearance of what was to become a frequently adopted solution to the problems of sequence and coherence in Genesis 15. Finally, due consideration is given to the place of circumcision in a composition that focuses on the lineage from Abraham to Levi and its protection against threats from the angel of Mastema.

Mikra and Aggada in 4Q370 (AdmonFlood)

Ariel Feldman

This paper explores the reworking of the biblical Flood story (Gen 6–9) in 4Q370 i. The discussion analyzes the peculiar biblical exegesis embedded in 4Q370 i, focusing on the abundance of food provided by God to the antediluvians, the nature of their sin, their judgment and punishment in the Flood, and the destiny of the giants. The various techniques employed in reworking the biblical texts are noted and the parallel texts from the contemporary and later Jewish sources are discussed. Since 4Q370's Flood account alludes to the biblical descriptions of the Day of the Lord, I suggest that its author viewed the Flood as a paradigm of the apocalyptic judgment and reworked it with a paraenetic purpose in view.

A Scroll of Samuel or Midrash Samuel? The Transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem according to 4Q51

Alexander Rofé

4Q51, usually designated as 4QSam^a, contains a series of expansions or elaborations over against the Masoretic Text and the Septuagint. Introduced in 1 Sam. 1–3, 1 Sam. 10, and 2 Sam. 24, their aim was to offer a midrashic interpretation of the old stories, particularly when these touched upon cultic matters and described their performance as diverging from the Torah. Accordingly, in a previous article the present writer suggested that 4Q51 be defined as 4QMidrash Samuel.

The recent complete publication of 4Q51 makes it possible to consider the fragments recounting the transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem. It appears that the tentative attempt to reconstruct the scroll at this point according to 2 Sam. 6 (MT and LXX) is gratuitous. The remains of 1 Chron. 15:26 which show up in 4Q51 have a midrashic flavor. Therefore, 4Q51 plausibly contained an expansion here (whose elements crop up in 1 Chron. 15) describing the final stage of the transfer of the Ark according to the priestly law of the Torah. This corroborates 4Q51's midrashic character.

The Penal Code from Qumran and Early Midrash

Aharon Shemesh

This article analyzes the Penal Code of the Qumran sectarians, a list of some thirty sins and their punishments. Found in both the *Rule of the Community* and in the *Damascus Document*, aside from some differences regarding the duration of the period of exclusion associated with certain sins, the two lists are otherwise nearly identical. Their listing of the same sins, in the same order of appearance, suggests that the grouping, and order, of these sins and punishments are not random, and possess an underlying rationale.

I argue that three biblical pericopes dealing with the holiness of the people of Israel and their dwelling place comprise the underlying basis for the Penal Code. Violators of these laws endanger the holiness of the community and must therefore be excluded. In other words, the Penal Code actually manifests the Yahad's self-perception as the Holy Congregation. The idea that the Penal Code's structure is based on readings of three specific biblical units has implications for our understanding of the development of Midrash. This aspect is treated in the article's concluding section.

A Preliminary Report on Seven New Fragments from Qumran

Esther Eshel and Hanan Eshel

Photographs of six fragments from Qumran Caves 4 and 11 appeared in catalogues from three exhibitions held in the United States between 2003 and 2005. A photograph of a seventh fragment appeared in a brochure of the Ashland Theological Seminary. This paper surveys these fragments and identifies them as belonging to six Qumran scrolls. Five fragments were identified as coming from Cave 4: of these four belong to biblical scrolls (4QExod^c [two fragments], 4QDeut^f, and 4QJer^c) and the fifth to 4QInstruction^b (4Q416). The other two fragments belong to 11QPs^c (*Psalms Scroll*^c).

כיניי הצלמים / כיון הצלמים The Expressions

Moshe Bar-Asher

This article discusses the phrase כיניי הצלמים from the *Damascus Document*. CD 7:14–18 reads:

כאשר אמר "והגליתי את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם מאהלי דמשק",
ספרי התורה הם 'סוכת המלך' כאשר אמר "והקימותי את סוכת דוד הנפלת",
המלך הוא הקהל וכיניי הצלמים וכיון הצלמים הם ספרי הנביאים אשר בזה
ישראל את דבריהם.

The article begins by reviewing previous suggestions regarding **וכיני** and its interpretation as **ספרי הנביאים** by the scroll's author. A new explanation is then offered, proposing that the full phrase presents two variants: one referring to the language of the biblical verse (**כיון הצלמים**; Amos 5:26), and the other to a linguistic variant of **כיון** from the vernacular. **וכיני** (which should be read without the second *yod*) is the construct plural of **כִּן** ('the scribe's ruler'). The books were metonymically identified with the scribe's tool ('the ruler'). For the author of the scroll, **כיון** (from **כר"ן**) and **כיני** (from **כנ"ן**) have the same meaning.

Biliteral Exegesis of Hebrew Roots in the Septuagint?

Emanuel Tov

The LXX translators, like other biblical translators in antiquity, often turned to a cluster of two letters as providing sufficient information for the translation process, especially in weak verbal forms. These renderings probably reflect unsystematic, ad hoc exegesis. This article contends that this was an outgrowth, not of any biliteral theory, but of the translators' difficulty in identifying the meaning of these words. The biliteral theory was formulated at a much later date by some medieval Hebrew grammarians, and revived in the scholarly literature from the eighteenth century onwards.

***Duqah* or *Deveqa*: The Unique Term from the Solar Calendar of the "Community of the Renewed Covenant" Reconsidered**

Shemaryahu Talmon

Qumran Hebrew vocabulary is often marked by terms and expressions peculiar to the Yaḥad. This article treats the Hebrew word *duqah* which occurs in two calendrical texts, 4Q321 (*Mishmarot B*) and 4Q321^a

(*Mishmarot C*), a term not found elsewhere in other Qumran documents, nor in the Bible, rabbinic writings, or the Apocrypha.

In the fragments of the two calendrical documents, 4Q321 and 4Q321^a, the term *duqah* appears repeatedly as a technical term referring to a specific day in each lunar month. Scholars have suggested different interpretations of *duqah*, debating whether it signified the beginning of the lunar month or the full moon. In the past, the present author suggested that it signified the beginning of the waning of the moon in the middle of the month. In this paper, the author suggests an understanding of the term *duqah* based on medieval Hebrew calendrical texts, which use the term *debekah* to signify the conjunction of the sun and the moon when the moon's light is totally eclipsed by the sun.

On the Meaning of the Expression תורה ותעודה in *Jubilees*

Michael Segal

The expression תורה ותעודה, which appears numerous times in the narrative frame of *Jubilees* (prologue, chap. 1), and also in two legal passages (2:24, 33; 3:14), has been recognized as one of the keys for understanding this book. Although there is overall scholarly consensus that the first element of this word-pair, תורה, relates to the legal material found throughout the book, numerous suggestions have been put forth for the interpretation of the second, תעודה. Based on two passages in the book (*Jub.* 30:18–23; 31:31–32), this article suggests a new meaning for the word תעודה, translated by the Ethiopic *seme'* (testament), as the equivalent of 'covenant' or 'stipulations of the covenant'. This suggested interpretation is identical to the meaning of its cognate terms in Akkadian and Aramaic. In addition, this sense fits all the appearances of *seme'* throughout the book, regarding both laws and the calendar, which was instituted as part of the covenant in *Jub.* 6.

The expression תורה ותעודה should be understood as a hendiadys (based upon the singular demonstrative pronoun in 2:24), and can thus be translated as 'laws of the covenant'. This notion of covenant is central to *Jubilees'* worldview; in fact, according to *Jubilees*, the election of Israel

extends all the way back to creation, when Israel was chosen from among the nations (*Jub.* 2). The biblical notion of covenant always includes the giving of laws or stipulations, and it is therefore suggested here that Israel's special status as a favored nation from the beginning of time is what led to the insertion of laws into this early period, one of the book's most prominent characteristics. The giving of the laws in the patriarchal period should thus be viewed as a series of covenants, beginning with the Sabbath, the "first תורה ותעודה", at the time of creation, and continuing until the Sinaitic revelation.

English abstracts edited by Dena Ordan

הקובץ הזה
מציג מחקרים על
מגילות מדבר יהודה
בתחומים מגוונים:
מחשבה והיסטוריה,
ספרות ולשון, ההדרת
טקסטים וענייני נוסח.
הסדרה הזאת באה
להציע לקורא העברי
מן הנעשה בתחום
חקר המגילות.

על העטיפה: קטע מעותק החיבור "מקצת מעשי התורה" (4Q396 2 iii-iv)
עיצוב העטיפה: תחיה רוזנטל, ירושלים