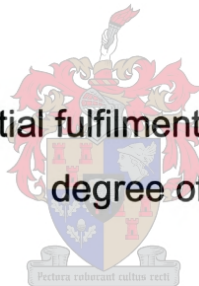


# **ESSENE SECTARIANISM AS A JUDAIC ALTERNATIVE TO PHARISAISM AND SADDUCEANISM**

BY

**P.D. BOTHA**

Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of



**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY  
(Ancient Near Eastern Studies)**

at the  
University of Stellenbosch

**Supervisor: Prof. Johann Cook**

January 2003

## **DECLARATION**

I, the undersigned, Pieter Daniël Botha, Student Number 13463446, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.



## SUMMARY

Essenism is, according to the data being discussed in this thesis, closely associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls material and had alienated itself from Second Temple Judaism as manifested through both Pharisaism and Sadduceanism. The problem that presents itself is the fact that Essenism is sometimes seen, with Pharisaism and Sadduceanism, as one of the three major trends within Second Temple Judaism, albeit schismatic in origin and nature.

With Sadduceanism deriving its authority from the Temple and written Torah, and with Pharisaism its authority from both the written Torah as well as the oral tradition of the Sages, this thesis attempts to determine the criteria to be applied to cults of the Second Temple period in order for them to be classified as being Judaic. This is done in order to be able to establish what, in their own minds, set the Essenes apart from the other two prominent groups. That their motivation for exclusiveness must have been very strong becomes clear through the fact that, in their writings, the Essenes did not see themselves as just another group within Judaism, but as the only true and legitimate group.

The ultimate aims of this thesis therefore are, firstly to find out exactly what constituted mainstream Second Temple Judaism according to certain historical and religious factors as well as Judaic *halachic* interpretation. Secondly, the thesis attempts to ascertain if Essenism met the determined criteria to be regarded as part of mainstream Judaism, and if not, if it can be regarded as sectarian Judaism, or as a separate religion altogether.

In view of all the abovementioned criteria discussed, the probable conclusion would be that the sectarians from Qumran never thought of themselves as anything other than Jews within the *halachic* tradition, even though it may have been a *halacha* that may in certain respects have radically deviated from that of their fellow Jews. They can therefore rightly be regarded as part of the Judaic tradition of the Second Temple period.



## OPSOMMING

Essenisme is, volgens die data bespreek in hierdie tesis, nou geassosieër met die materiaal van die Dooie See Rolle, en die eksponente daarvan het hulself vervreem van Tweede Tempel Judaïsme soos gemanifesteer deur beide Fariseïsme en Sadduseïsme. Die probleem wat homself voordoet, is dat Essenisme, saam met Fariseïsme en Sadduseïsme, somtyds gesien word as een van die drie hoofstrominge binne Tweede Tempel Judaïsme, alhoewel skismaties van aard.

Met Sadduseïsme wat sy outoriteit aan die Tempel en geskrewe Tora ontleen, en Fariseïsme sy gesag van beide die geskrewe Tora en die mondelinge tradisie van die Wysies, probeer hierdie tesis die kriteria bepaal wat toegepas kan word op kultusse van die Tweede Tempel tydperk, om sodoende as Judaïsties geklassifiseer te kan word, al dan nie. Dit word gedoen om vas te stel wat, in hul eie oë, die Esseners onderskei het van die ander twee prominente groepe. Uit hul geskrifte kan 'n mens aflei dat die Esseners se dryfveer vir eksklusiwiteit baie sterk moes gewees het, aangesien hulle hulself nie net as nog 'n verdere groep binne die Judaïsme gesien het nie, maar in der waarheid as die enigste ware en legitieme groep.

Die uiteindelijke doel van hierdie tesis is dus eerstens, om vas te stel presies wat verstaan kan word as Tweede Tempel Judaïsme, aan die hand van sekere historiese en religieuse faktore, asook *halachiese* interpretasie. Tweedens, probeer dit vasstel of Essenisme aan die vasgestelde kriteria voldoen het om as deel van die hoofstroom Judaïsme gesien te kan word, en indien nie, of dit gesien kan word as sektariese Judaïsme, of as 'n heeltemal aparte godsdienst.

In die lig van al die bogemelde bespreekte kriteria, sal die waarskynlike gevolgtrekking wees dat die sektelede van Qumran hulself nooit gesien het as enigiets anders as Jode binne die *halachiese* tradisie nie, alhoewel dit 'n *halacha* was wat in sekere opsigte radikaal verskil het van die van hul mede-Jode. Hulle kan gevolglik met reg gesien word as deel van die Judaïstiese tradisie van die Tweede Tempel tydperk.

## **DEDICATION**

To my late father, Jacobus François Botha (09-05-1918 to 04-07-1997), whose own archaeological pursuits in Egypt kindled my interest in Ancient Near Eastern history and culture.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

To Professor Johann Cook, my supervisor, for his valuable guidance and endless patience.

To my bursars, the US Bursary Fund and the National Research Foundation, which made this thesis possible.

To my mother, Aletha, for her continued assistance and encouragement.

Finally, to my wonderful wife, Janet, who always believed in my abilities and continues to support me through thick and thin. I will always be grateful to you.



# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	1
1.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH .....	3
<b>CHAPTER 2 - HISTORICAL ORIENTATION.....</b>	<b>6</b>
2.1 THE BABYLONIAN EXILE AND RETURN.....	6
2.1.1 <i>Babylonia</i> .....	6
2.1.2 <i>Egypt</i> .....	9
2.1.3 <i>Yehud, the Fifth Satrapy</i> .....	10
2.1.4 <i>The Second Temple</i> .....	11
2.1.5 <i>Early schismatic evidence</i> .....	12
2.2 THE HELLENISTIC ERA.....	13
2.2.1 <i>Alexander the Great</i> .....	13
2.2.2 <i>Ptolemies and Seleucids</i> .....	15
2.2.3 <i>Antiochus IV</i> .....	16
2.3 THE HASMONEANS .....	22
2.4 THE HERODIANS .....	29
<b>CHAPTER 3 - SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM .....</b>	<b>33</b>
3.1 DIVERGENT PATHS WITHIN JUDAISM .....	33
3.1.1 <i>The Pharisees</i> .....	37
3.1.2 <i>The Sadducees</i> .....	40
3.1.3 <i>The Samaritans</i> .....	43
3.2 SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM OR SCHISM?.....	51
3.2.1 <i>The Priesthood</i> .....	51
3.2.2 <i>The Temple</i> .....	52
3.2.3 <i>The Torah</i> .....	52
3.2.4 <i>Other factors</i> .....	53
<b>CHAPTER 4 - THE ESSENES .....</b>	<b>54</b>
4.1 HISTORY OF THE ESSENE MOVEMENT .....	54
4.1.1 <i>The nature and origins of the Qumran sect</i> .....	54
4.1.2 <i>The Qumran sect as part of the Essene movement</i> .....	58
4.1.3 <i>Qumran and the land of Damascus</i> .....	63
4.2 THE TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS .....	66
4.2.1 <i>Zadok in Qumranic and Biblical sources</i> .....	66
4.2.2 <i>Zadok in Talmudic and Karaite writings</i> .....	71
4.2.3 <i>Chronology of the Qumran sect</i> .....	77
4.2.3.1 <i>Founding of the sect</i> .....	77
4.2.3.2 <i>The first twenty years of the sect</i> .....	83
4.3 THE SECTARIAN TORAH .....	85
4.3.1 <i>"I", "Thou" and "They"</i> .....	90
4.3.2 <i>Divine Torah, not commentary</i> .....	96
4.4 JERUSALEM AND THE TEMPLE.....	99
4.4.1 <i>The Book of Enoch</i> .....	103
4.4.2 <i>The Book of Jubilees</i> .....	109
4.4.3 <i>Eupolemus</i> .....	113
<b>CHAPTER FIVE - CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>125</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>135</b>



# **CHAPTER 1 - INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1 THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

It will be assumed that Essenism in general and the Qumran community in particular, were two manifestations of one and the same group within early Judaism. According to Geza Vermes (1997:47) the common opinion identifying or closely associating the Qumran sectaries with the Essenes is based on three principal considerations:

1. There is no better site than Qumran to correspond to Pliny's settlement between Jericho and Engedi.
2. Chronologically, Essene activity placed by Josephus in the period between Jonathan Maccabeus (c. 150 BCE) and the first Jewish war (66-70 CE) and the sectarian occupation of the Qumran site coincide perfectly.
3. The similarities of common life, organisation and customs are so fundamental as to render the identification of the two bodies extremely probable as long as some obvious differences can be explained.

It will therefore be assumed that they were, according to data to be discussed, closely associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls material and had alienated themselves from Second Temple Judaism as manifested through both Pharisaism and Sadduceanism.

The problem that presents itself is the fact that Essenism is sometimes seen as one of three major trends within Second Temple Judaism, albeit schismatic in origin and nature. (Rosenberg 1991:60) This viewpoint, I believe, is sometimes erroneously brought about by the way that Essenism is viewed and classified by the Jewish historian, Flavius Josephus (37 - 100 CE), who seems to elevate Essenism to a position of importance not necessarily borne out by present data available. Common language, a shared historical and geographical milieu, and ostensibly a shared theological background can be deceiving. The most important criterion in assessing the role and classification of Essenism would be to let it speak for itself, mainly through evidence gathered from the ruins and caves at Khirbet Qumran.

With Sadduceanism deriving its authority from the Temple and written Torah, and with Pharisaism its authority from both the written Torah as well as the oral tradition of the Sages, one would have to establish what, in their own minds, set the Essenes apart from the aforementioned two groups. That their motivation for exclusiveness must have been very strong becomes clear through the fact that, in their writings, the Essenes did not see themselves as just another group within Judaism, but as the only true and legitimate group (Vermes 1997:69). This motivation for exclusiveness was so strong, in fact, that it prompted them to retreat from mainstream society altogether.

Sadduceanism was closely interrelated with both the political structures of the day, as well as with the Temple. The demise of the Sadducees after the breakdown of these political structures as well as the destruction of the Temple at the hand of the Romans in 70 CE was therefore inevitable. (Cook 1998:239) Pharisaism on the other hand braved the onslaught and went on to become the dominant group within Judaism after the destruction of the Temple by the Romans, if not the only form of Judaism itself. (Cook 1998:239-40) Essenism, even though not directly linked to the Temple, completely disappeared from Judaism until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947. They therefore played no discernible part in the future development of Judaism. (Cook



1998:241) It can therefore be argued that Essenism was a phenomenon of the time, existing side-by-side with Pharisaism and Sadduceanism, but with crucial differences which completely ruled out its survival after the First Jewish War. Although Essenism could be regarded as a major religious grouping during the inter-testamental period, it did not survive because the nature of the movement, its relatively small numbers, and the isolation and massacre of the Qumran community led to its demise.

The ultimate aims of this thesis would therefore be:

- To determine what constituted mainstream Judaism. Although the Samaritan cult also traced its origins back to Moses' experiences on Mount Sinai and Israel's acceptance of the Law, it was nevertheless not seen as part of mainstream Judaism because of certain historical and religious factors as well as Judaic *halachic* interpretation.
- To ascertain if Essenism met the determined criteria to be regarded as part of mainstream Judaism, and if not, if it can be regarded as sectarian Judaism, or as a separate religion altogether.

## 1.2 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

In discussing the above mentioned hypotheses due consideration will be given to the shared historical backgrounds of Pharisaism, Sadduceanism and Essenism. All three groups traced their common origins back to Israel's exodus from Egypt, its sojourn in the wilderness and ultimately the most important event in their history, namely Moses' experiences on Mount Sinai and Israel's acceptance of the Law.

Cognisance will be taken of diverging experiences during the Babylonian captivity, but most importantly of the Second Temple Period, which were crucial

to the development of the three groups. In particular, attention will be given to the four crucial stages in this period, namely:

- The return from exile and Zerubbabel's Temple.
- The Ptolemaic and Hellenistic periods.
- The Hasmonean period.
- The Herodian period.

In view of the above, the hypothesis will be put forward that, irrespective of a common historical background, Essenism saw itself as a restored religion purged from all external influences of the Second Temple Period, superseding both Pharisaism and Sadduceanism.

In discussing the above hypothesis the sources will be the literature of Second Temple Judaism, both Biblical and extra-Biblical, as well as that of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Attention will also be given to external sources which may have influenced the development of Essenism, but which had limited impact on the development of Pharisaism and Sadduceanism. In particular, attention will be given to:

- The history of the Jewish nation from the time of the Babylonian captivity to the Second Temple Period as described by the canonical Hebrew texts, by the Maccabean authors and by Flavius Josephus and others.
- A comparison between the Mosaic Torah and certain Qumran texts, such as the Temple Scroll (Sectarian Torah) and the Damascus Document.



- A comparison between the Temple Scroll (Sectarian Torah) and the Damascus Document and other secondary sources, such as the works of Eupolemus (First century BCE), certain Talmudic texts, the writings of Al-Qirqisani (Tenth-century CE) and other Karaite works.
- A comparison between the Qumranic material and other extra-canonical works such as the Books of Jubilees and Enoch.
- Archaeological evidence in support of conclusions drawn by the above hypotheses.

I have as extensively as possible within a thesis of this scope discussed various current hypotheses relevant to the subject, in particular those which may be reconciled with the very plausible Groningen hypothesis, as forwarded by F. García Martínez in 1989. In addition, I have relied extensively on the work done by Ben Zion Wacholder. Although his work on the subject already appeared twenty years ago, I do not believe that any of his hypotheses have so far been successfully disproved.



## **CHAPTER 2 - HISTORICAL ORIENTATION**

### **2.1 THE BABYLONIAN EXILE AND RETURN**

Just as Israel's exodus from Egypt, its sojourn in the wilderness and the introduction of the Torah on Mount Sinai can be regarded as the foundation of the Israelite religion, the Babylonian exile may be seen as the catalyst for the diverging paths of post-exilic Judaism.

After the assassination of Gedaliah, the governor of Judah, in 587 BCE, Judah ceased to exist as a separate territory. Most of it was incorporated into the province of Samaria. The Hebron hill country to the south of Jerusalem was gradually occupied by Edomites from the adjacent desert areas, and later became known as Idumea. The cities of Judah had been destroyed. War, starvation, executions, deportations and the exodus of refugees had drained the population. Only a remnant was left, subsisting from the soil. Unlike the Assyrians after the destruction of the kingdom of Israel a century and a half earlier, the Babylonians did not introduce new settlers into Judah from other parts of the empire. (Van Zyl 1979:193)

#### **2.1.1 Babylonia**

The actual deportations to Babylonia were not as sweeping and general as is often suggested. They were deliberately selective, with the object of removing all the elements of the population that possessed official, religious, intellectual and property status. That left behind an amorphous and leaderless mass, incapable of organising resistance. The quality of the deportees, rather than their numbers, made it easier for them to remain a cohesive and distinctive group after they were transplanted. Moreover, they seemed to have been



settled in one area. Allusions in the Books of Jeremiah and Ezra indicate that this area was a group of towns or villages along the Chebar canal near the city of Nippur, south east of Babylon. (Comay 1978:184)

Cyrus, king of Persia, is presented by Second Isaiah as God's instrument for the restoration. (Isa. 44:28) According to Anderson (1984:442) Cyrus is hailed as Yahweh's shepherd who will soon decree the rebuilding of the Temple and Jerusalem, and he is called Yahweh's messiah, or the one who is anointed to fulfil Yahweh's divine purpose. The reference was related to developments that completely altered the map of the Near East. In the middle of the sixth century BCE Cyrus successfully revolted against his overlords, the neighbouring kingdom of Medes, which lay between the Persian Gulf and the Black Sea. In 550 BCE Cyrus captured the Medean capital of Ecbatana and brought Media under his control. A series of brilliant campaigns extended the sway of Persia over one Near Eastern country after another. In 539 BCE Babylon fell to Cyrus. When his son and successor Cambyses II conquered Egypt, Persia ruled over the greatest empire the world had seen until then, spreading from Asia Minor to the borders of India. The empire was divided into a number of satrapies (provinces) each under a governor. Judah became the district of Yehud in the Fifth Satrapy, known as Beyond the River - that is, west of the Euphrates. (Van Zyl 1979:205-6)

Cyrus was an exceptionally enlightened ruler. Where the preceding empires of Assyria and Babylonia had repressed and partially displaced conquered peoples, Cyrus encouraged them to foster their own cultures and creeds. When he conquered Babylonia he behaved as the liberator of its people from their oppressive rulers. His troops were ordered to ensure that no harm should come to the Babylonian cities and their religion. Cyrus even made the gesture of attending worship in the temple of the chief Babylonian deity Marduk. (Van Zyl 1979:200) His policy was to win the allegiance of his new subjects by benevolence towards them. Within this broad context, the community of Jewish exiles in Babylonia was given the chance to return to Jerusalem and rebuild



their sacred Temple. However, only a minority of the exiles responded to the call. In the half century since the fall of Jerusalem many of the community had taken root and prospered in the Babylonian Diaspora, and the tolerance of the new Persian regime made them even less inclined to move again. Thus, however important the Babylonian exile may have been in the future shaping of especially Pharisaic Judaism, the fact remains that it was only a small number of people taken away into captivity, and an even smaller number that eventually returned. The only part that the majority of exiles in Babylonia played in the Return was to provide financial support for those who did, in the form of money, supplies and pack animals. However, Yahwism itself was exposed to other religious ideas from especially Persian culture, and absorbed a whole plethora of new concepts which enriched its own scope of reference. Persian language and legal procedure penetrated deeply into Judea during the two centuries of Achaemenid rule. The Persian dualism in its godhead found its way into Judaism, as well as the dualistic concept of good and evil. The figure of Satan made its debut. Nowhere in Second Temple Judaism is this concept of dualism more clearly defined than in the Essene cosmic struggle between the "Sons of Light" and the "Sons of Darkness."

In the meanwhile, Sheshbazzar, a prince of the exiled royal house of Judah, was appointed leader of the returning group. Cyrus ordered the royal treasurer to hand over to him the collection of gold and silver Temple vessels that the Babylonian army had carried away from Jerusalem. Since, after this, there is no further mention of Sheshbazzar, it is possible that this may have been another name for Zerubbabel. (Comay 1978:187)

The first period after their arrival was spent on the practical arrangements for life under difficult circumstances. The returnees were organised according to their family clans, some of them going back to the towns and localities from which they had come originally. The Temple site was cleared, an altar constructed and regular prayers and sacrifices started.

### 2.1.2 Egypt

At the time of the Babylonian conquest, nine hundred years have elapsed since the Israelites' exodus from Egypt under the leadership of Moses the Lawgiver. In the meantime, the Israelite slaves had become kings, gave rise to two kingdoms (united under David and Solomon), and have entered into numerous treaties as well as dynastic and political marriages with their former masters from Egypt. Egyptian art and symbolism featured strongly in Israelite Temple worship, as manifested by Ezekiel's vision in Ezekiel 8. Immediately prior to the conquest, in 589 BCE, Zedekiah, in league with Egypt and Tyre, went into open revolt against Nebuchadnezzar. This was the catalyst that eventually led to the Babylonian captivity.

After the defeat of Judah a group of Judean military chiefs fled to safety with their allies in Egypt, taking with them the prophet Jeremiah and his scribe, Baruch. There they reverted to worship of the Queen of Heaven, Ishtar. When rebuked by the prophet, they replied:

"We have no intention of listening to the word you have just spoken to us in Yahweh's name, but intend to go on doing all we have vowed to do: offering incense to the Queen of Heaven and pouring libations in her honour, as we used to do ... in the towns of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem." (Jer. 44; 17,18)

From this it is clear that the worship of Egyptian deities was still commonplace in Judah at the time just prior to Nebuchadnezzar's conquest, that is nine hundred years after the exodus.



Unlike the exiles taken to Babylonia, the exiles in Egypt seemed to have settled in a wide area, incorporating the towns of Migdol, Tahpanhes, Noph (Memphis) and the border area of Pathros (Upper Egypt). According to Bernhard Anderson (1984:400) we know from papyri discovered in the twentieth century that some of the descendants of these exiles were settled at the first cataract of the Nile on the island of Elephantine (modern Aswan). In this Jewish colony there was a temple where Yahweh apparently was worshipped along with a goddess, Anath. These Jews nevertheless still recognised their allegiance to the Temple in Jerusalem, which at that time had been rebuilt by Zerubbabel.

### **2.1.3 Yehud, the Fifth Satrapy**

After their secession in 922 BCE the people of the northern kingdom of Israel continued to regard Yahweh as their God, though they were told by Jeroboam, their first king, that they should cease to venerate Jerusalem. Instead, Jeroboam established temples near the southern boundary of the kingdom and in the north. No royal dynasty was ever able to establish itself for any extended period of time, since many of the kings, who were basically military leaders, were murdered and usurpers seized the throne. The kingdom of Israel came to an end in 721 BCE, when the Assyrians conquered it and exiled its people far to the north. The exiles ceased to retain their identity or religion and are remembered in tradition as the "ten lost tribes of Israel." The Bible relates that the Assyrians brought foreign peoples to settle the land. These mingled with the few Israelites who had not gone into exile and adopted the worship of Yahweh. They were referred to as the Samaritans, after Samaria, the capital city of Israel. The Samaritans practised a simple form of Mosaic faith.

### **2.1.4 The Second Temple**

After the return of the exiles from Babylon, two men exercised authority: Zerubbabel as the lay leader and Jeshua the high priest. In the seventh month



all the able bodied men were called together to start work on the Temple site, including those who had set up their homes in places other than Jerusalem. When the foundations were laid, there was a moving service of thanksgiving to the Lord. Everyone shouted for joy, except for a few old men who wept with emotion as they remembered the splendour of the first Temple.

When the news reached the Samaritans that the foundations had been laid for a new Temple in Jerusalem, a group of their leaders came to demand a share in the work. Zerubbabel and Jeshua bluntly refused. Antagonised at this rebuff, the Samaritans turned hostile and tried to block the project. They harassed the builders on the spot and bribed Persian officials to create difficulties. As a result of these obstructive tactics the work on the Temple was delayed, but intervention by King Darius I led to the completion of the Temple in 515 BCE.

Nehemiah 8 describes how Ezra convoked a great assembly of all the Jews and read to them "...the Book of the Law of Moses which Yahweh had prescribed for Israel". (Neh.8:1) Anderson (1984:95-6) agrees that this event describes the promulgation of the Torah in the form that it exists in the present day. Although Jewish tradition insists that the Torah dates from the time of Moses, the fact that the people wept in agitation upon hearing Ezra read about certain ritual requirements indicates that at least some portions of the text were new. Other evidence that the Torah as such dates from the time of Ezra is provided by the Samaritan version of the Torah, which made its appearance at about the same time. If the Torah had actually been produced by Moses and known to all Israel for over seven hundred years, the Samaritans would not have been able to present an alternative version and claim that it, and not the Israelite one, was genuine.

The major difference between the Samaritan text and the Israelite one is that the former stipulates that the central sanctuary of God is to be located not in Jerusalem, but on Mount Gerizim, the sacred mountain near the Samaritan



city of Shechem. The Israelite text does not mention Jerusalem. It merely says: "To a place chosen by Yahweh your God as a home for his name, to that place you must bring all the things that I am laying down for you". (Deut. 12:11)

### 2.1.5 Early schismatic evidence

It is thus clear that even at this early stage there were already signs of schismatic factors within the early Israelite religion.

- The nation had been artificially divided by the earlier split of the two kingdoms, with the northern kingdom seemingly more susceptible to syncretistic practices introduced as a result of other surrounding pagan religions.
- The later destruction of the Northern Kingdom and the introduction of the *Kûtîm*, descendants of the colonists who had been settled in northern Palestine by the Assyrians in the late eighth century BCE. (Purvis 1989:591-2) The Pharisees, and hence Josephus, called them *Kûtîm* after *Kûtâh*, one of the five Mesopotamian cities from which the colonists were said to have been brought. (Montgomery 1907:167) This led to a population in the area, which, although they embraced Yahwism, was not considered as Israelite.
- The Babylonian exile removed the *intelligentsia* of the Southern Kingdom, which led to a development of Judaic thought away from the country and Temple.
- The Israelites who fled to Egypt during the Babylonian exile evidently already practised a syncretistic form of Yahwism and continued doing so away from the country and Temple.
- The strict laws introduced by the Babylonian returnees ostracised many of the local population.

- The treatment of the Samaritans by the Jewish leaders led to the rift which caused the birth of the Samaritan cult.
- The Babylonian returnees introduced Babylonian influences into Yahwism. It is possible, however, that some Egyptian influences also found its way back into Yahwism, which may have caused disagreement between the Babylonian and Egyptian returnees.

## **2.2 THE HELLENISTIC ERA**

### **2.2.1 Alexander the Great**

The Hellenistic period in Near Eastern history came as the direct result of the achievements and conquests of Alexander the Great of Macedonia (356 – 323 BCE). His military genius led to the vast expansion of his empire, as well as the concerted efforts to spread Greek or Hellenistic culture throughout the entire area under his control. Alexander's father, King Philip II, had earlier conquered Greece and adopted the Greek language and culture in his realm. When Alexander came to the throne as a young man he carried on in his father's footsteps, and first defeated the Persian monarch Darius III. As a result he became master of a vast empire which included all of the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia as far as the border of India. As the First Book of Maccabees puts it: "He undertook many campaigns, gained possession of many fortresses, and put the local kings to death. So he advanced to the ends of the earth, plundering nation after nation; the earth grew silent before him, and his ambitious heart swelled with pride." (1 Macc. 1:2 & 3)

Alexander himself, although Macedonian by birth, was Greek by education, a student of the great Greek philosopher Aristotle and a staunch torchbearer for Hellenism. Alexander himself aspired to a universal empire based on a uniform Greek way of life. Under the two successor regimes in the Near East, the Ptolemaic and the Seleucid, Hellenistic rule was accompanied by Hellenistic culture. Groups of colonists from the mother country established



new Greek cities and towns – some thirty of them in and around Judea alone. Greek was the accepted language of administration, of upper-class society, and of literature. Greek-style public buildings, schools, theatres and sports gymnasia were erected everywhere. It became fashionable to take Greek names, wear Greek clothes, and adopt Greek manners.

Even though the Maccabean historian himself seemed to have been somewhat non-committal about Alexander's conquests, Judaism in general did not see Alexander as a serious threat to their religion, as he himself seemed to have been fairly tolerant towards foreign cultures and religion notwithstanding his predisposition towards Hellenism. If anything, at the time of his conquests the Jews were already fairly used to life under a seemingly never-ending succession of foreign rulers, and seemed to have recognised the benefits to be gained by being part of a religiously and culturally tolerant empire. According to Josephus, Jewish and Samaritan auxiliaries served with Alexander's armies in both Egypt and Babylonia. According to Martin Hengel there were already Jewish colonies in Egypt, which may have simply been taken over by the Macedonians. He mentions that, "(t)he Papyrus Cowley 81 in Aramaic, from around 310 BCE, mentions ten places between Migdal on the north-eastern frontiers of Egypt and Syene in the south in which Jews have settled. The papyrus throws light on the complex commercial activities of a Jewish large-scale merchant, Abihai, and includes numerous Jewish as well as Greek names, which indicates contact between the two groups of people." (1989b:187) Ptolemy I Soter also took a great number of Jewish captives to Egypt, and is said to have used no less than 30 000 of the Jewish elite soldiers to settle them in colonies as cleruchs. Undoubtedly, a large number of Jews were also enslaved by their Macedonian, Ptolemaic and Seleucid masters, but even then their masters seemed to have been fairly tolerant, especially in Ptolemaic Egypt, where we find the example of one Jewish slave who was employed as an overseer over the brickmakers, but was excused from work on the Sabbath. (Finkelstein 1989:191) According to Bernhard Anderson, Ptolemy III (246 – 221



BCE), on a visit to Jerusalem, deferred to Jewish custom and presented a thank-offering at the Temple. ( 1984:572)

### **2.2.2 Ptolemies and Seleucids**

Alexander died of illness in Babylon in 323 BCE. As he had no designated successor, his top generals fought each other over the disposal of the vast territory he occupied. Seleucus became the ruler of Persia, Babylonia, Syria and Asia Minor, while Ptolemy established himself on the throne of Egypt. The Near East was thereby divided between these two Hellenistic kingdoms, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. Judea lay somewhere in the borderland between them, therefore often ending up in the fray when it came to regional power struggles between the two rival powers. For a century it came under the Ptolemaic dynasty of Egypt. In 198 BCE the Seleucid ruler Antiochus III the Great (223 – 187 BCE) routed an Egyptian army at Panias, at the foot of Mount Hermon near the sources of the Jordan River. As a result, Judea became part of the Seleucid Empire. (Hengel 1989a:52-63)

Where local traditions were strong, as in Judea, the process was to some extent resisted. However, the Jewish Diaspora communities that sprang up in the Hellenistic world maintained their own identity, but were Greek speaking. The largest and most important of these communities was in Alexandria. Founded by Alexander and named after him, it became the leading business and cultural centre in the eastern Mediterranean. In the third century BCE, the sacred Hebrew scriptures were translated into Greek for the use of the Alexandrine community, according to the Aristeas letter. (Cook 1996:19) This letter tells the legendary history of the librarian of Alexandria, Demetrius of Phaleron, who pointed out that the library did not have any authoritative Greek translation of Jewish law. Thereupon seventy-two scribes were sent to Egypt with the commission to translate the Pentateuch into Greek. This was the origin of the Greek Bible known as the Septuagint.



Although, to a large extent, the Jews in Egypt retained their Jewish identity, the majority of them remained in the lower and middle classes of society. As elsewhere, it seems that the Jews that proved to be a headache to Jewish religious authorities were Jews in the upper echelons of society. In the Third Book of the Maccabees we read of one Dositheus, son of Drimylus, who saved the life of King Ptolemy Philopator at the Battle of Raphia in 217 BCE. Dositheus was a Jew, and rose to the position of one of the two heads of the royal secretariat. However, his role in 3 Maccabees is not to be that of a hero, but rather that of a villain because of his apostasy from Judaism. (Stone 1984:80-1)

### **2.2.3 Antiochus IV**

Up to the reign of Antiochus IV, the absorption of Hellenistic culture was spontaneous and to a very large extent unplanned. While Judea was under Egyptian rule, the Ptolemaic dynasty made no attempt to interfere with the religious practices or internal affairs of the Jews. When Antiochus III brought the country into Seleucid rule with the help of the Jews of Jerusalem, he guaranteed them freedom of worship. These tolerant official attitudes changed dramatically under his son Antiochus IV, who made it a matter of state policy to force the Hellenistic way of life upon the natives within the Seleucid realm. His own inherent megalomania led him to adopt the grandiose title of *Epiphanes* ('god-manifest'), which his enemies suggested should have been *Epimanes* ('the madman'). Born and raised in Athens, he was an intense admirer of all things Greek. His overriding ambition was to conquer Egypt, become sole ruler of the whole Near East, and make it exclusively Hellenistic in language, culture and creed. He was intolerant and suspicious of peoples, like the Jews in Judea, who clung to their own traditions and ways. To him, these were manifestations of separatism that weakened his empire from within. (Swanepoel 1979:228-231)

In Jerusalem Antiochus found a natural ally in an influential minority of Jewish Hellenists. They were a group of assimilated families with wealth and



social position, who constantly sought favour with the regime. As against that, the traditional elements included most of the ordinary people in the cities, and practically the entire Judean rural population. The tension between the two camps focussed on control of the highest office in the nation, that of the high priest in Jerusalem. He was not only the top religious dignitary but also exercised considerable secular authority. When Antiochus came to the throne, the high priest was the aged Onias III, who was greatly respected in most circles for his orthodoxy and erudition. Because of the fact that the office of high priest was now subject to approval from the Seleucid authorities, he was basically forced to act as their agent. In spite of the immense power the high priest now exercised, he nevertheless was being put in a situation which could spell only conflict, as he had to pacify both his Seleucid masters as well as the Jewish people. This was not entirely impossible as long as the Seleucids allowed him a certain amount of leeway concerning the preservation and practise of Jewish Law and customs. If power became the overriding driving force, however, the one and only master was the Seleucid ruler. (Mørkholm 1989:278-9)

The two main groups within the Jewish aristocracy were the Tobiad and Oniad clans. One of the main driving forces behind the Hellenization of Palestine was certain elements within the Tobiad clan. Josephus in his *History of the Jews*, Book XII, V:240, mentions that the Tobiad clan preferred a Hellenized way of life and legal system above that of Judaism. The Oniad clan, however, was directly descended from the line of Zadok, High Priest in the times of kings David and Solomon and therefore historically Sadducean.

Onias therefore fell victim to certain Jewish leaders, both Hellenistic as well as Orthodox, who persuaded the new ruler that Onias was disloyal to him and had retained contacts with the Ptolemaic throne in Egypt. The king thereupon deposed him, and his brother Jason (*Hebr. Joshua*) was appointed in his place. Onias was given sanctuary by the Jewish community in Antioch. According to Swanepoel (1979:229) the main source of conflict between Onias



and Jason was that Onias was a strictly orthodox Jew and pro-Egyptian, whereas Jason was a strongly Hellenistic person, and thus between the pro-Egyptian and pro-Syrian elements.

Jason was much less observant than his brother, and more amenable to Hellenistic influence. He served Antiochus as a docile vassal, regularly provided the required tribute, and was permissive about the growth of the Greek institutions in the capital. All these developments led to growing discontent among the Jewish population. According to Swanepoel (1979:228) it was at this time that a new group in the life of the Jews, namely the *Ḥasidim* or pious ones, who adhered strictly to the traditions and in particular the ancient form of religion of orthodox Jewry came to the fore. According to Anderson (1984:573) the *Ḥasidim* were the forerunners of the Pharisees. Although the Hellenizers tended to be found among the Jewish upper classes, the *Ḥasidim* in many (but certainly not all) instances came from a rural background. This view, however, seems to be very simplistic, as Pharisaism seems to precede this period, and had both urban and rural followers.

Jason was nevertheless still acceptable to a large percentage of the population, as he was a member of the family who had always held the office of high priest. During his tenure there was no direct attempt to interfere with religious practices, and the Temple functioned normally. But after three years he, too, was ousted in favour of Menelaus, a lay leader of the Hellenists. Some commentators on the Dead Sea Scrolls, e.g. Edmund Wilson (1978:178), were initially of the opinion that Menelaus is the strongest contender for the Wicked Priest of the Qumran Scrolls, although most scholars nowadays are of the opinion that this dubious honour belongs to either Jonathan or Simon Maccabeus. Menelaus persuaded the king to appoint him, undertaking to provide greatly increased revenue from Judea for the Royal treasury in Antioch, depleted by military campaigns in the East. Jason fled across the Jordan River, and Menelaus was installed under the protection of a Seleucid garrison stationed in Jerusalem.



In these years a number of observant Jews started to leave Jerusalem, seeking a less disturbed life in the rural areas. It is possible that some of these Jews were part of the Jews mentioned as the *Ḥasidim*, or that they may have had close connections with the Pharisees. They were not one and the same group, however. According to Solomon Zeitlin (1974:98), "The urban dwellers, who were scrupulous in their observance of the laws of purity and also in connection with the laws of agriculture, organised themselves as a group known as *Ḥaberim*. They suspected the *Ame ha'aretz*, the farmers, of not observing the laws of purity and impurity, and also the laws in relation to agriculture. ... Hence they did not associate with the *Ame ha'aretz* nor did they partake of meals with them." But Bruce Metzger (1965:46) makes a clearer distinction between the rural *Ame ha'aretz* and the *Ḥasidim*. The *Ame ha'aretz* (common people) were somewhere between the twofold struggle of religious and political motives. The Pharisees embodied the principal of rigid observance of the Mosaic Law with its overgrowth of rabbinical traditions, and the *Ḥasidim* outdid the Pharisees by withdrawing into small communities. Metzger does not seem to make a clear distinction between Essenism and *Ḥasidism*, however, and it is today generally accepted that there may have been a fairly large incidence of co-operation between the three groups. What all three groups seemed to have in common was widespread support from the masses, with themselves being from the middle and priestly classes. (Depoix 1999:22) Distinctions became somewhat blurred, so there may have been *Ame ha'aretz* with very strong Pharisaic tendencies among both the Essenes and *Ḥasidim*, if they were not even, in fact, one and the same group. (Otzen 1989:31) Among these Jews who left Jerusalem was a certain priest Mattathias who, with his family, returned to his native village of Modein, west of Jerusalem. With his five sons, Mattathias would later prove to be an instigator or spark that ignited the region into the Maccabean revolt.



In his second year as high priest Menelaus found himself unable to pay the heavy tribute he had promised, and was summoned to Antioch to explain the default. He left his brother Lysimachus in charge and departed for the Seleucid capital, taking with him some of the golden vessels from the Temple. Finding that the king was away, dealing with an uprising elsewhere, Menelaus handed the vessels to the king's deputy in discharge of his debt. As the deposed Onias III was still in exile with the Jewish community in Antioch, Menelaus now had him lured out of hiding and had him killed.

To the majority of observant Jews the deposed Onias had remained the only legitimate high priest, since it was normally a hereditary office and not one dependant on royal appointment. When it became known in Jerusalem that the Temple had been robbed by the high priest himself, and that the revered Onias had been murdered, there were angry demonstrations. In trying to quell them with the help of the Seleucid troops in the garrison Lysimachus, Menelaus' brother was killed in a clash.

A deputation of reputable citizens from Jerusalem was now sent to King Antiochus to petition for the removal of Menelaus, but the king was easily persuaded that the high priest's detractors were subversives. Menelaus' appointment was reconfirmed, and the process of Hellenization continued. As a mark of favour a new Greek quarter in the western part of Jerusalem was named Antiochia.

In 169 BCE Antiochus invaded Egypt, occupied most of the delta region, had himself crowned in the ancient capital of Memphis, appointed a governor and returned to Syria. The following year he resumed the campaign and laid siege to Alexandria. At the time, however, Rome was already the dominant power in the Mediterranean world, and had taken the weak Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt under its wing. According to Michael Grant (1978:121) the Romans, with regard to the East, still refrained from straightforward annexations, because they lacked the administrative machinery needed to impose their provincial



system, still preferring for the time being to act as patrons to client states which remained technically free. The Roman Senate therefore dispatched a high-level delegation bearing an ultimatum to Antiochus, headed by the no-nonsense legate Caius Popilius Laenas. The delegation publicly humiliated Antiochus at his camp outside Alexandria by refusing to shake his hand until the decree of the Senate had been read out. The document ordered Antiochus to abandon his campaign and withdraw his troops from Egypt. When he asked for time to consider the message and consult with his advisers, Popilius drew a circle around his feet with a stick, and demanded that he remained in the circle until he had made up his mind. Unwilling to face a confrontation with Rome, the humiliated Antiochus agreed to comply, and he left Egypt within the stated time limit.

In the meantime, false reports of Antiochus' death have reached Judea. The former high priest thereupon mustered a force, crossed the Jordan River and advanced on Jerusalem, where he was welcomed and supported by most of the populace. Menelaus was forced into hiding with the garrison in Jerusalem, from where he sent out urgent appeals for help. On receiving news of the revolt, Antiochus swiftly diverted one of his top commanders, Apollonius, to Jerusalem. The Seleucid force entered the city on the Sabbath, when religious Jews are not permitted to take up arms, slaughtered a number of the inhabitants, took others captive and razed parts of the city. They thereupon broke into the Temple and carried off the contents of the treasury, together with the bulk of the holy vessels and furnishings. Menelaus was once again installed as high priest, and a new citadel, called the Acra, was built on the high ground to the west of the Temple Mount, and occupied by a reinforced garrison. Its commanding officer, Philip, was appointed governor of the city.



## 2.3 THE HASMONEANS

The initial excitement following the triumphant campaigns of Judas Maccabeus and his brothers seemed to have been short-lived. Not all parties within Judea were equally satisfied with the Hasmoneans, and the rulers themselves did not follow a consistent policy concerning religion, with some being closer to the Sadducees, and others closer to the Pharisees.

According to Jonathan Goldstein (1989:293) the Jews, because of their religion, were in actual fact in pre-Hasmonean times model subjects to their foreign masters. In general they were extremely loyal to the extent that their pagan masters often preferred them as mercenary soldiers, particularly in troubled areas. This was largely due to the fact that according to Jewish belief their pagan masters were in actual fact instruments of God used to punish the Jewish people for their own misdeeds, and although the kingdom would eventually be restored, it would not have been through rebellion, but through the "spirit of the Lord" (Zech. 4:6). Even the persecutions by Antiochus IV came about as a result of the rebellious High Priest Jason. The Jews, therefore, did not come to rebel against the rulers, but started fighting amongst themselves, as for instance in the uprising against the corrupt High Priest Menelaus and his followers.

With the increased severity of the persecutions by Antiochus Epiphanes, the Jews were suddenly faced with the very real prospect of having the pious wiped out, and only the apostates surviving. The Torah speaks frequently of the rewards and punishments that will be meted out by God: The righteous will enjoy health, long life, many children, and fertile crops and flocks, while the wicked will be afflicted with disease, death, exile, and the like. In the days of Antiochus, however, the opposite was true: It was the righteous who suffered



barbaric torture and death for the sake of their faithfulness to the covenant of God. Accordingly, the promises of the Torah had to be reinterpreted, and a belief in reward and punishment that would take place after death took hold among many Jews. (Goldstein 1989:293-4)

The book of Daniel, probably written during the period of the persecutions, spoke of the resurrection of the dead at the end of days. Although, according to the age-old belief of all the Semitic peoples, both righteous and wicked were equal in death, this book asserted that the soul would be restored to bodies when history reaches its consummation and all would rise from their graves for the final judgement. The righteous would live forever in a perfected world, and the wicked will remain forever in a state of torment. Both teachings, that of the resurrection of the dead at the end of days and that of the eternal life of the soul after death, became part of Pharisaic and Essene Judaism, and thus the ideal of a just God was promulgated. (Goldstein 1989:293-4)

With this prospect in mind, it is possible to see some Jews deciding rather to die as pious martyrs than to face the extinction of their faith altogether, even to the extent of committing suicide for their faith, as was the case with the Zealots during the Jewish War. Certain factions of the pious, namely the so-called *Ḥasidim*, were the first to rise in rebellion. They only had limited success, however, as the Seleucid troops soon resorted to focussing their campaigns on the Sabbath day, as the *Ḥasidim* were not allowed to fight on the Sabbath. It was the ageing Mattathias, patriarch of the Maccabees, who convinced the fledgling resistance movement rather to fight on the Sabbath, than to face total extinction. (Goldstein 1989:294-6) According to Eisenman (1983:12) Mattathias can therefore be regarded as the first "Zealot", with regard to the later Zealot movement.

According to the author of I Maccabees, Mattathias and his sons could find no true prophets who have predicted the persecution they were subjected to.



However, examples like Phineas, whose deeds were justified by his zeal, were to become the role models for the Maccabean revolt, and for the rule of the Hasmonean dynasty afterwards. Judas Maccabeus obviously was a born leader. His untimely death (161 BCE) unfortunately resulted in the creation of a dynasty that continued with his brother, Jonathan, and as with all dynasties, not all the inheritors of the leadership were equally suited to reign. (Goldstein 1989:294-6)

The start of the Hasmonean dynasty also coincided with yet another schism within the ranks of Judaism. Onias IV, son of the deposed and assassinated pro-Egyptian high priest Onias III, assumed that the victory of the Maccabees and the resultant reconsecration of the Temple would lead to his succession as high priest. When, on Menelaus' death the succession fell instead on Alcimus, Onias IV withdrew to Egypt, where he set up a schismatic Temple and priesthood at Leontopolis. (Hegermann 1989:141)

After a brief period of conflict with the Seleucid general Bacchides, Jonathan had a few years of relative peace. In 152 BCE, exploiting internal unrest in the Seleucid empire, he proceeded to reorganise the administration of Judea and expand its military forces. For the next few years he used the continuing struggle for the Seleucid throne for his own gain, and was finally confirmed as high priest by King Demetrius II. Renewal of political alliances with Rome followed, followed by extensive building projects in Jerusalem. Finally, the Seleucid general Tryphon executed him in 142 BCE after a rule of nearly twenty years.

As the only remaining Maccabean brother, Simon took over from Jonathan as high priest and commander. Under his rule (142-134 BCE) the Seleucid yoke was finally thrown off. As a result of this, Simon's status, and the succession to it, were given a constitutional basis in a popular mandate, thereby effectively creating a new Jewish monarchic dynasty.



In 1 Maccabees 14:28 - 49 we read that in 172 BCE in Asaramel, the Grand Assembly of priests and people, of princes of the nation and of elders of the country ratified Simon's, and thereby the Hasmoneans', appointment as high priest and etnarch. According to the New Jerusalem Bible (1985:713) "Asamarel' is the transcription of an expression meaning 'The Court of the People of God'." The question that immediately arises is exactly who constituted this "Court of the People of God", and from whom they got the authority to replace an ancient high-priestly dynasty of Zadok with another, on the sole basis that the Hasmoneans won Judea's independence from the Syrians?

The Assembly that replaced the Zadokite dynasty with that of the Hasmonean dynasty saw itself as having the same authority as that which rededicated Judaism to the observance of the Covenant made in the time of the rededication of the Second Temple. It also seems to be more than mere coincidence that most of the laws that were singled out by the Great Synagogue at the time of Nehemiah's reforms, were exactly those which the Zadokite priestly line, and the Temple just prior to the time of the Maccabean Revolt were guilty of transgressing. By ousting the Zadokites in favour of the Hasmoneans the religious leaders not only got rid of a dynasty that eventually became corrupt and negotiated their power and dignity away. It can also be seen as a triumph for Pharisaic Judaism. According to Finkelstein (1989:260), the Pharisaism of the Maccabees cannot be doubted. As an example he points to the fact that Jonathan the Maccabee (161-142 BCE) prayed for the souls of the dead (1 Macc. 12:43 ff.), apparently believing in the future world, and like the later Shammaites holding that the dead were in need of forgiveness for their sins. John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE) is described in the Talmud, even by his detractors, as having been a Pharisee almost all his life. When insulted at a public banquet, he turned the question of the punishment to be meted out to the guilty person over to a tribunal of Pharisees. (*Ant.* XIII.288) Alexander Janneus (103-76 BCE) performed the ceremony of the water-pouring during the festival of *Sukkoth*. According to Finkelstein (1989:260) the commentators on this passage of Josephus, and even historians, assume, because of the outbreak of



the riot when the priest was believed to have performed the rite improperly, that Alexander Janneus was a Sadducee. But had he been a Sadducee, why did he perform the ceremony in the first place? It is apparent that he was performing the Pharisaic ritual. Because of the distance between the altar and the mass of people crowding into the Temple courts, it was possible for evil-minded persons to spread the rumour, while he was performing the ritual, that he was pouring the water on his feet instead of on the altar. A riot ensued. One may presume that the persons initiating the rumour were enemies of the Hasmonean dynasty, possibly members of the former priestly dynasty of the Sadducees.

Certain groups within Judea continued to regard the Hasmoneans as illegitimate usurpers of the throne, especially certain groups within Pharisaism, as well as some Sadducees, who held that the office of high priest should remain within the immediate dynastic line of the Davidic Zadok. According to this reasoning, the only legitimate high priestly line still resided with Onias IV in self-imposed exile in Egypt. Certain modern scholars have even suggested that the later Hasmoneans were so unpopular that later Judaism has shown its displeasure with their rule by removing all books written about the Hasmonean area from the canon of scripture. This seems to be a somewhat radical approach, as there is ample evidence that even within Pharisaism in the centuries to come the importance of the Hasmoneans' struggle for independence was acknowledged. Alon (1977:3-8) forwards several examples where well deserved due is given to the Hasmoneans. In spite of misrule by certain of the Hasmoneans, like John Hyrcanus, their dynasty was not entirely corrupt. Queen Salome Alexandra (76-67 BCE) were supported and aided by the Pharisees during her entire reign, even to the extent of controlling the government. According to Josephus (*Ant.*, xiii, 16,1) Jannai, on his deathbed, reassured her not to fear the Pharisees. According to the Baraita (*Qiddushin* 66a) it states that King Jannai "went to Koḥalith in the wilderness and conquered sixty cities there, and on his return rejoiced exceedingly". (Alon 1977:6,7) The implication here is that the Pharisaic sages also shared in his joy and did not condemn him on account of his bloodshed.



In the last years of the reign of Queen Salome Alexandra, Aristobulus II (67-63 BCE) seemed to have favoured the Sadducees above the Pharisees, the queen's closest allies. Alon (1977:7) points out that this was probably no proof of his religious views, but rather because of political motives. There is also no indication, after he ascended the throne, that the Pharisees sided with his rival, Hyrcanus (63-40 BCE). They seemed to have been equally opposed to both brothers' tyranny and harsh rule.

Put into perspective, after the defilement of the Temple by Antiochus Epiphanes and the Hellenist, Menelaus, it was the Hasmoneans who rededicated the Temple, celebrated to this day in the Jewish festival of Hanukkah. The Hasmoneans established this festival as an eight-day period of rejoicing on the analogy of the eight-day Feast of Tabernacles when, according to the Book of Kings, Solomon's Temple had been dedicated. The Hasmoneans established for a while an independent Jewish state, reserving for themselves both the high priestly role and, eventually, the title of king as well. They struck coins with the inscription "priest to God Most High", which indicates that they considered themselves to be the successors to Melchizedek, the pre-Israelite priest-king of Jerusalem in the days of Abraham, who had combined the two offices in his own person. They established an alliance with Rome, providing that each would come to the aid of the other in time of need, and thereby served notice upon the Seleucids that any attempt to reabsorb Judea would be very costly. John Hyrcanus conquered the Idumeans (Edomites, traditionally the descendants of Esau, Jacob's brother) and forcibly converted them to Judaism. These converted Idumeans came to haunt them in the form of the Herodians, the dynasty that later supplanted the Hasmoneans themselves as the new rulers of Judea.

In 63 BCE Judea was occupied by Pompey's Roman legions, which brought the Seleucid Empire to an end. Hyrcanus remained the nominal leader, but was deprived of the title of king. A shrunken Judea now became a Roman



protectorate. There was a last flicker of independence under Mattathias Antigonus (40-37 BCE), who was supported by Parthia against Rome. Then the Hasmonean Dynasty was swept aside by Herod the Great, who was of Idumean stock.

Ironically, although the Hasmoneans had assumed power as representatives of a purified Judaism, loyal to the responsibilities imposed by the sacred covenant with God, the dynasty came to be identified with cruelty and oppression. Even within the once proud and pious family itself, one hatched plots against another as each sought power. Parties within Judaism itself started questioning the legitimacy of Hasmonean rule. At first the Hasmonean right to the high priesthood was questioned, as, though they were a priestly family, theirs was not the line from which the former high priests had come. Later, some insisted that the Hasmoneans did not deserve the kingship, since it was only from the family of David that the true kings of the Jews could come. This gave rise to Messianic hopes and revolutionary expectations among those opposed to Hasmonean rule, especially amongst the Essenes, who regarded themselves as the true inheritors of the legitimate priestly line through Zadok, disciple of Antigonus of Socho. (Wacholder 1983:114)

Put into perspective, the most prevailing result of the Hasmonean state was to transform the Jewish nation from a loyal and passive nation of subjects of a foreign power to that of a restored and independent monarchy. They have rewritten history, and although they were unpopular in most circles, re-established Jewish pride, something that could not be destroyed within the course of only a few generations. The further humiliation of being ruled by the conquered Idumeans, namely the Herodians, just added fuel to the fire. The Jewish nation once again longed for independence, and Messianic fervour became a stronger force than ever before.



## 2.4 THE HERODIANS

The Herodians' rise to power, ironically, came about by their defeat at the hand of John Hyrcanus, who forced them to convert to Judaism. Alexander Janneus took this one step further by incorporating the Idumeans into Judea. Antipater, an Idumean and son of the governor of Idumea appointed by Alexander Janneus, decided to enter the political fray on the side of Hyrcanus, who at that point in time was involved in a power struggle with his brother, Aristobulus. Antipater also brought about an alliance between Hyrcanus and Aretas of Arabia. (Metzger 1965:22-4)

At this point in time the Roman general, Pompey, became concerned about the internal political unrest in Judea. During the dispute between Aristobulus and Hyrcanus the mediation of Rome was requested, as Rome was a fraternal ally of Judea, linked by treaty for a century. After an uprising by Aristobulus Pompey laid siege to the Temple, defeated Aristobulus, and banned him to Rome. Pompey also appointed Hyrcanus as high priest and etnarch of Judea. (Metzger 1965:22-4) Interestingly, during the period of the siege when the inhabitants of the countryside about Jerusalem had to bring the Paschal lamb but could not enter the city, they went to offer this sacrifice in the Temple of Onias IV in Egypt. (Bader 1988:81) It is thus clear that at least some of the Jewish population around Jerusalem still recognised the legitimacy of the Temple and priesthood at Leontopolis.

Rome could see that there was no further viability in the Hasmonean dynasty and chose instead to absorb Judea into their empire in 63 BCE. Rome therefore incorporated Judea into the province of Syria. After his escape from Rome and a further uprising by Aristobulus, during which he once again was defeated, the opportunistic Antipater was appointed as procurator of Judea. Some years thereafter Antipater appointed his son, Herod, as governor of



Galilee. Shortly thereafter Rome appointed Herod, the grandson of a defeated Edomite (Idumean), as king of the Jews. (Metzger 1965:22-4)

Herod must have been very confident about his own position of power. Le Roux (1979:267) mentions the time, shortly after being appointed governor of Galilee, when Herod eliminated a band of robbers. Hyrcanus, the High Priest, summoned him to appear in front of the Sanhedrin on charges of trying to usurp the powers of the Sanhedrin. Herod treated the Sanhedrin with utter contempt, and refused to be sentenced by it. He also wanted to take violent revenge against the Sanhedrin, but was dissuaded by his father, Antipater, to do so.

Herod immediately sought to obtain legitimacy in the eyes of the people through marriage to a daughter of the Hasmoneans. On the insistence of Hyrcanus he married Mariamne, a granddaughter of Aristobulus, daughter of Alexander. However, his cruelty to members of his own family, as well as to anyone who opposed him among the people at large, made it impossible for him to win any degree of affection or loyalty. Yet, because he was a very capable administrator, and because he managed to remain in favour with the authorities in Rome, Herod reigned for nearly forty years in spite of the fact that he was widely despised. He accumulated immense wealth and power, which earned him the name Herod the Great. (Le Roux 1979:267)

Whether to win favour from the Jews, but more likely because of his own sense of grandeur, Herod was responsible for a number of building projects, the most famous of which was the complete reconstruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. Herod's Temple was said to be one of the most magnificent buildings of the ancient world. Contrary to popular belief, however, Herod never built a Temple replacing the one built by Zerubbabel, but merely added on to it, sparing no expense when it came to lavish decorations. Johann Maier (1985:89-90) is of the opinion that that prescriptions in the Qumranic Temple Scroll may have served as a basis for Herod's renovation of Zerubbabel's structure. It is true that, according to Josephus (*Ant.* XV:373-8), Herod held the



Essenes in an estimation much higher than that afforded to the Pharisees and Sadducees because an Essene prophet, Menahem, foretold that Herod would rule over the Jews. Herod showed his gratitude to him by dispensing the Essenes, who were opposed to all oaths except their own oath of the Covenant, from taking the vow of loyalty imposed on all his Jewish subjects. However, Maier's theory that Herod was influenced by the Temple Scroll does not seem to hold water as the nature and dimensions of his renovations do not correspond with that of the Temple Scroll prescriptions. (Wacholder 1983:23) For himself, Herod built a nearly impregnable fortress at Masada, which was later used as a fortress by the Zealots as a last stand against the Roman legions during the Jewish War.

Upon Herod's death, the territory of the Jews was divided among his three sons for administrative purposes. Archelaus was appointed ethnarch by the Emperor Augustus, and inherited the southern part of Palestine, which included Judea, Samaria and Idumea. Jerusalem and its environs were usually also under a procurator, an official sent directly from Rome. Shortly after Archelaus came to power, a rebellion broke out in Jerusalem, which he quelled by force, killing more than three thousand people. According to Metzger (1965:24-5) this was the main reason for his unpopularity, as some innocent pilgrims to Jerusalem were also killed in the process. In the ninth year of his reign (6 CE) Rome, at the insistence of the people, deposed Archelaus, who was banished to Vienne, in Gaul. This turn of events roughly confirmed the prophecy of another Essene prophet, Simon, that Archelaus would rule for ten years. (*Ant.* XVII, 345-8)

Pharisaic opposition against the Herodians could have been minimal as long as the Herodians stuck to administration, and recognised the authority of the Sanhedrin in legal and religious matters. But, as we have already seen, Herod already started off on the wrong track when he humiliated the Sanhedrin by rejecting their authority when he was summoned before them when still governor of Galilee. Shortly thereafter, when his rule was established, Herod



also killed forty-five men of the Sanhedrin, among whom there were undoubtedly also some Pharisees. (*Ant.* xiv, 9, 4) According to Talmudic tradition, Herod killed all the Pharisaic Sages. (Alon 1977:38) However, the clearest example of the widespread Pharisaic opposition to his rule was the fact that six thousand Pharisees refused to take the oath of allegiance to Herod and Rome. Pharisaic displeasure was also not only focussed on Herod himself, as is clearly illustrated by the fact that the Jews had Archelaus banished by Rome. (*Ant.* xvii, *Wars* ii, 6, 2)

According to Alon (1977:38-40) the main Pharisaic opposition to Herod's rule was because of the following factors:

- He was not of Jewish descent.
- He completely suppressed, even abolished, the Sanhedrin.
- He deprived the high priesthood of its glory and authority by alternatively appointing and removing the high priests.
- He imposed Greek culture upon Jerusalem and Judea by his establishment of stadia, theatres, hippodromes and the like.
- He strengthened the alien Hellenistic settlement in his kingdom to the detriment of the Jews.

We have already discussed the Pharisees' viewpoint, and that of the Jews in general, towards Archelaus. With regard to Herod Agrippa I, however, the Pharisees were in general more positive and accepted him and his sovereignty. According to Alon (1977:40-1) the main reason for this was because of the following factors:

- Agrippa was descended on his mother's side from the Hasmoneans, and was therefore *halachically* a Jew.
- From both religious and political viewpoints he acted as a Jew, preferring the Jews to the large gentile population in his kingdom.
- To a large extent he sought to pursue an independent policy and was not completely subject to the Romans like his grandfather Herod the Great.



## **CHAPTER 3 - SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM**

### **3.1 DIVERGENT PATHS WITHIN JUDAISM**

In assessing the major causes for the outbreak of the Maccabean War, commentators usually take the very simplistic approach of blaming everything on the preceding century and a half of Hellenistic rule. Although this in itself is not necessary incorrect, the internal, political and especially religious conflicts within Palestine, and even the Jewish world outside Palestine had a much greater impact on the Maccabean War, and later even the Jewish War, than generally acknowledged. As a matter of fact, it would not be far from the truth to say that both the Hellenists and the Kittim (Romans) served only as the final catalysts for the outbreak of the two wars. One can almost say that certain parties fuelled the fires of dissent to start the war. The wars themselves were to a very large extent fought as a culmination of internal scores to be settled, and religious differences of opinion within post-exilic Judaism itself.

As sources are scarce and unreliable, it is not certain what the exact scope of control of the Temple authorities was during the periods of either the united monarchy, or during the two kingdoms. It is clear, however, that distinctions became somewhat blurred during and after the Babylonian exile and return. Temple Judaism was suddenly confronted with the rapid rise of Pharisaic Judaism, with both schools of thought trying to establish itself as the final authority with all matters pertaining to true and correct interpretation of the Law. From the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah it is clear that the exiles, on their return to Jerusalem, found the commitment of those who still lived in Judea rather lacking. Cultic practices had to be re-established to a very large extent, and even then those in charge were often guilty of selling favours for political gain, as when Nehemiah found on his second return from Babylon that the high priest, Eliashib, had installed his old arch-enemy, Tobiah of Gilead, in a room within the Temple precincts. It is not that the priesthood in its entirety became corrupt during the exile, but more a case of a priesthood that became aimless



after the destruction of the Temple. The priesthood had to dance to the tune of whoever held power in the area for its own survival. Because of this, the dynastic priesthood and the Pharisaic laymen eventually came to see one another as an enemy to be destroyed at all cost for the sake of their own survival.

During the Second Temple period the priesthood was once again restored in its own right, but never again to its former glory like before the destruction of the Temple. It still had to pacify whoever was in power. Up until the Hasmonean dynasty the Temple priesthood never again had the political security of operating within the confines and protection of an independent Jewish state, and more importantly, under a fiercely religious Jewish monarchy. Pharisaic Judaism, on the other hand, had greater freedom to develop and establish itself as pious observers and interpreters of the Law. It was being afforded the luxury of operating within a milieu where it could be seen as the fiercely observant group within Judaism, and therefore untainted exegetes of the Law. When the opportunity therefore arose, during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, the time was ripe, not only to overthrow foreign rule, but also for the overthrow of unpopular elements within the Temple priesthood.

According to Finkelstein (1989:229) the prevailing rabbinical view, based on *Mishnah Aboth* 1.1, is that a supreme tribunal, the Men of the Great Synagogue, flourished between the time of the prophets and that of Simeon the Righteous, the high priest, who was a contemporary of Antiochus III of Syria. Simeon the Righteous himself is described as "one of the last of the Men of the Great Synagogue" (But not necessarily the very last). According to the Pharisaic interpretation of Deut. 17:8-13, the Great Synagogue was a supreme Pharisaic court to which issues of the Law held in doubt by local courts were referred to. It was the Supreme Court in Jerusalem, and its members were chosen for their piety and learning rather than for social status. This was in complete contrast with the largely dynastic *Gerousia* of the Hellenistic period, which consisted of the leaders of the land, the high priests and their families, as well as their allies,



the leaders of the lay clans. In short, the *Gerousia* constituted the later aristocracy of the commonwealth. The Great Synagogue, on the other hand, originally were socially obscure scholars who worked as farmers or labourers, but had risen to a high status of scholarly esteem on their exegesis of the Law. (Finkelstein 1989:229-31)

It must immediately be pointed out that even though certain legal issues may have overlapped, it was never intended to be that way. Drawing the tradition back to the time of the reforms of Jehoshaphat, we read in 2 Chronicles 19:5ff that he appointed judges in rural areas to handle matters of a local nature, whereas in Jerusalem he appointed courts consisting of Levites, priests and heads of prominent families to settle disputes. Even here he made a distinction between cases, appointing the high priest Amariah as president in religious cases, and Zebadiah, leader of the house of Judah, as president in civil cases, with Levites acting as messengers of the court. Thus the central tribunal, to which all other courts had to turn when in doubt regarding the Law, was not the Temple court, but one that also included laymen who resided in Jerusalem. The only time the high priest could render authoritative decisions regarding cases before the central tribunal was in ritual matters. In time, however, the body of lay leaders and aristocratic families in Jerusalem developed into a combined tribunal closely associated with the Temple, and made decisions permitting practices such as enslavement of children for the debt of their parents, and allowing the sale of wares at the Temple, even on the Sabbath. It was with the power and authority of this combined court in mind that the Great Synagogue was established. (Finkelstein 1989:236-40)

The exact date of the establishment of the Great Synagogue is unclear, but according to scripture it can be traced to the time of Nehemiah's reforms, when the entire nation recommitted themselves to God. For the purpose of this thesis it is also of utmost importance that the preamble of the document from the establishment of the Great Synagogue in the time of Nehemiah be compared with that of the document ratifying the Hasmonean priestly dynasty.



Nehemiah 10:1: "In view of all this we make a firm agreement, in writing. Our princes, our Levites, our priests and the rest of the people have put their names to the document under seal."

1 Maccabees 14:28: "In Asaramel, in the Grand Assembly of priests and people, of princes of the nation and of elders of the country: ...".

### 3.1.1 The Pharisees

According to Bruce Metzger (1965:41), "Pharisaism is the final result of that conception of religion which makes religion consist in conformity to the Law, and promises God's grace only to the doers of the Law. It was the scrupulous adherence to legalistic traditions that created the Pharisaic ethos. In most religions there is an ever-present tendency to regard outward formalism as more important than inward disposition of the heart, and in Pharisaism this natural tendency became so strong as to give rise to the modern use of the name Pharisee to describe a self-righteous formalist or hypocrite." It is exactly this ignorant attitude on the part of most (Christian) readers of scripture, as reflected in this quote, that have made the Pharisees probably the most vilified and misunderstood of all the major role players in Judaism of the Second Temple period.

The exact origins of the Pharisees, in Hebrew *perushim* ('dissenters'), is unclear, but according to tradition it can also be linked to the establishment of the Great Synagogue at the time of Nehemiah's reforms. According to Louis Finkelstein (1989:245) most modern discussions regarding the Pharisees and Pharisaism are based on the premise that there existed only one form of Pharisaism, whereas, in fact, there were two distinct forms of Pharisaism – The Hillelites and the Shammaites. Between these two groups there existed in number more points of difference than between the Pharisees and Sadducees.



(More than three hundred issues are recorded which divided the Hillelites and Shammaites). However, even though they differed on various issues concerning ritual, laws of marriage and both civil and criminal law, each group recognised the legitimacy of the other group's views. Both traditions were considered authentic, each binding on its followers. The two schools combined were headed by two scholars, the *nasi* ('president') and an *ab bet din* ('head of the court'). The *nasi* was the head of the national Sanhedrin, sitting in the Chamber of Hewn Stone in the Temple. (Finkelstein 1989:245-250)

If one takes into account the conformity of the doctrines of the later Hillelites with those of the aforementioned Great Tribunal, and the apparent disagreement of the Shammaites with them, it seems that the Hillelite tradition is the older of the two. The Shammaites also seem to have ignored the role of the Great Tribunal as the body through which the Mosaic interpretation of the Law was transmitted, giving further credence to Finkelstein's theory that the Hillelite tradition is older than that of the Shammaites. Furthermore, the Shammaites, including Shammai himself, often appealed to the authority of Haggai the prophet as the source of their tradition, and not the Great Tribunal. (Finkelstein 1989:248)

Benedikt Otzen (1989:116-8) is of the opinion that Pharisaism may be more or less identified with the *Hasidic* movement which formed the popular background of the Maccabean revolt. He sees early Pharisaism as a revival and penitential movement. Its members intended to call the Jewish people to renewed awareness of their religious inheritance, to make them grasp the dangers to their religion which were inherent in Hellenistic culture, and to attempt to adhere to what the membership regarded as the central line in Jewish religion: the Law as the norm for every detail of individual life. According to Otzen the Pharisees went beyond the general requirements of the Law and demanded the exceptional, requiring that the purity regulations which had ordinarily to be observed only by priests in the course of their performance of



their sacred duties in the temple should further apply to ordinary Jews in their everyday walks of life, enacting the idea of the 'universal priesthood'.

Most scholars make the mistake of viewing Pharisaism, whether Hillelite or Shammaite, as a purely religious movement. However, their objections against some of the Hasmoneans, like Aristobulus, and in favour of some of the other Hasmoneans, like Hyrcanus and Queen Salome Alexandra, seemed to have been largely political. According to Gedalyahu Alon (1:21), "(t)he Halakha of the Pharisees (was) directed to the *welfare and improvement of society*, involving at times the *suppression of the Torah*, and embraces, as we know, besides religious precepts, basic principles in the sphere of law – both civil and criminal – and even communal and state legislation, including ordinances affecting the monarchy". The suggestion is thus that Pharisaism in essence touched every facet of everyday life, whether religious, sociological or political. If this, in fact, was the case, have we got any indication as to the political views and motives of the Pharisees towards the rulers immediately prior to the reintroduction of Roman procuratorship, the Herodians?

The main reason for the Pharisees' criticism against Hasmonean rule from time to time seemed to have been because of their perception that the Hasmoneans not only (illegitimately) usurped the position of High Priest, but also showed no respect or consideration for the Sanhedrin. If this was the reason, Pharisaic opposition against the Herodians could have been minimal as long as the Herodians stuck to administration, and recognised the authority of the Sanhedrin in legal and religious matters. But, as we have already seen, Herod already started off on the wrong track when he humiliated the Sanhedrin by rejecting their authority when he was summoned before them when still governor of Galilee.

According to Otzen (1989:121-2) the generations of rabbis were of vast importance for the subsequent development of Judaism because of their introduction of interpretative principles so that the formulation of new rules on



the basis of the Pentateuch remained within a strict set of guidelines. They were instrumental in the composition of a running commentary on the books of the Law, namely the *midrash*. They also established *halacha* (literally a rule to guide one's wandering), and the Mishnah and Talmud contain thousands of them.

Agreeing with Alon (1:21), Otzen (1989:124) also sees Pharisaism not only as a religious phenomenon, but one which is also to be seen from a sociological and political point of view. When the Pharisees eventually turned against the Hasmonean priest-kings, they also came into conflict with the aristocratic groups and the Sadducean party, who supported the Hasmoneans. This viewpoint is, as far as I am concerned, a rather simplistic one. While it is true that Pharisaism were also a socio-political movement it has already been pointed out that the Pharisees were not against the Hasmoneans *en bloc*, and not all Hasmoneans embraced Sadduceanism. I would rather venture to put forth the opinion that Pharisaism was within itself divided as to the legitimacy of Hasmonean rule, a factor which also influenced their relationship with the Herodians. Although they were cruelly persecuted by the illegitimate Herod the Great, there was nevertheless considerable support among their ranks for Herod Agrippa because he was within their interpretation of *halacha* a Jew.

Put into perspective, Pharisaism became a socio-political movement for its own survival. *Mishnah* and *halacha* assisted them to interpret all socio-political events within a religious context based on the Torah. In doing so they strayed outside the confines of a temple cult, a factor which assisted their survival after the destruction of the Temple by the Romans. This factor also set them apart from Sadduceanism and Essenism, who both maintained that the true religion of the Jews was synonymous with the Temple cult, albeit an eschatological Temple in the case of the Essenes. I will even venture to suggest that the main downfall of Essenism was their inability to realise the establishment of their Temple.



### 3.1.2 The Sadducees

The Sadducees, in Hebrew *zadukim*, took their name from Zadok, high priest during the reign of Kings David and Solomon. According to Benedikt Otzen (1989:111-2) "some" held Zadok to have been a Pharisee of the second century BCE who left the Pharisees and founded his own party. Otzen (1989:112), however, sees this "story of Zadok (as) highly legendary." Although the Sadducees in all probability did derive their name from David's high priest, there is ample proof that the story of the breakaway group founded by a teacher called Zadok is by no means legendary. The "Sons of Zadok" who migrated to Qumran are in turn identified by Otzen as a Sadducean splinter group who felt that the Hasmoneans illegitimately usurped their leadership of the priesthood. This is also improbable, as there appear to be simply too many discrepancies between the beliefs of the Qumran group and that of the Sadducees. According to Josephus' discussion of the three principal parties within Judaism, namely the Sadducees, Pharisees and Essenes ('Sons of Zadok'), the Sadducees and Essenes were doctrinally exact opposites. (*War* II, 119-61; *Ant.* XVIII, 18-22) And according to reasons that will be discussed later in this work the grievances of the "Sons of Zadok" in all probability arose prior to the period of the Hasmonean priest-kings.

The members of the Sadducean party represented the priesthood and an upper class elite, loyal to the throne and conservative in Temple worship. (The Pharisees were closer to the common people and critical of the establishment.) According to Josephus (*Ant.* XVII, 1, 4) they were mostly educated men, mostly of prominent positions, and therefore exercised widespread influence in politics and religion. Sociologically, the Sadducees represented the sophisticated, urban class that was centred in Jerusalem. Many of them were wealthy landholders.

Because of the continued Pharisaic tradition after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, which spelt the end for the largely Sadducean priesthood, we



know a lot more today about Pharisaic Judaism of the period than about the other two political groups, namely the Sadducees and the Essenes. What we do know about the Sadducees we know mainly from the works of Josephus, and from Pharisaic works, discussing differences of opinion and doctrine between the two groups. The main difference between the Sadducees and Pharisees was basically that whereas the Pharisees accepted the validity of both the Torah as well as oral Law, the Sadducees totally rejected oral Law, accepting only the Torah as binding. For this very reason they rejected the doctrine of the resurrection, as they could not find any support for it in the Torah. (Anderson 1984:592) Their differences were thus political and social as well as theological. Minor points of difference, according to Louis Finkelstein (4:262-6) were:

- The Pharisees held that the granddaughter by a son received the whole property, whereas the Sadducees held that it had to be divided equally.
- The Sadducees held the master responsible for the depredations by his slave, the Pharisees did not.
- The Sadducees forbade the use of fire or artificial light on the Sabbath, the Pharisees argued that to do so was to destroy the enjoyment of the day.
- Various differences regarding ritual purity existed between the Pharisees and Sadducees, but then it was also true between the Hillelites and Shammaites.
- The Pharisees were united by their acceptance of the Pharisaic Great Tribunal in the interpretation of the Law, whereas the Sadducees regarded the Temple court as the final arbiter in all interpretations of the Torah. From the point of view of all Pharisees,



the rejection of the Great Tribunal marked the Sadducees as heretics.

- According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIII, 173), the Sadducees did not believe in fate, thereby implying that they did not believe in the concept of predestination, which was a central thought within Pharisaism.

During the time of the Herodians there was a tendency among the Sadducees towards supporting the Herodian monarchs, undoubtedly as they enjoyed an easy and comfortable life of prestige and privilege and exercised a lucrative monopoly over the Temple and anything associated with the Temple. For economical reasons, the Sadducees were thus loyal to whatever authority was in power, whether it was Herodians or Romans. This state of affairs unfortunately often led to corruption.

With regimes changing from Seleucid to Hasmonean, Herodian and eventually Roman, the Sadducees used their aristocratic priesthood and wealth to manipulate political changes to their advantage. Unlike the Pharisees who enjoyed the support of the masses because of their unique *halachic* interpretation of all events, the Sadducean rigidity with regard to the written Torah as well as their dependence on political power left them vulnerable when the political power slipped after the Second Jewish War and the destruction of the Temple. As their political power and literal interpretation of the Torah were inherently intertwined with the Temple cult centred in Jerusalem, their entire reason for existence disappeared, and so did they.

### **3.1.3 The Samaritans**

Although not regarded as a legitimate party within Judaism of the Second Temple period, Samaritanism would serve as a perfect example as to what



constituted Judaism within the context of the period and what not. Like Pharisaism and Sadduceanism, the Samaritan religion was Yahwistic, but it deviated from mainstream Judaism in that the centre of its faith was Mount Gerizim in Samaria and not Jerusalem. Although it regarded itself as a legitimate form of Judaism, mainstream Judaism disagreed. To understand why, a careful analysis of the Samaritan faith within its historical and socio-political background would therefore be appropriate.

According to the Samaritans their community had a continuous and unbroken history from the time of the conquest of Canaan to that very day. They also maintained that the true centre of Israelite worship had always been, and should always be, at Mount Gerizim. They therefore regarded the religion of the descendants of the tribe of Judah, which had Jerusalem as its spiritual centre, as an aberration of the classical Yahwistic faith. The Jewish community responded to the Samaritan claim by maintaining that the Samaritans were *ethnically* not Jews, but descendants of the colonists who had been settled in northern Palestine by the Assyrians in the late eighth century BCE. (Purvis 1989:591-2) The Pharisees, and hence Josephus, called them *Kûtîm* after *Kûtâh*, one of the five Mesopotamian cities from which the colonists were said to have been brought. (Montgomery 1907:167)

According to Jewish history (Nehemiah 1-6) the animosity between Jews and Samaritans dates back to the time of the construction of Zerubbabel's Temple, approximately around 520 BCE, when Zerubbabel refused to let the Samaritans participate in the rebuilding of the Jerusalem Temple. Later, Nehemiah, who had been cupbearer to the Persian monarch Artaxerxes I, obtained a royal commission authorising him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem approximately around 445 BCE. In the districts adjacent to Judah were men in official positions who were opposed to restoring the fortifications of the city. They resented the arrival of Nehemiah and did their best to frustrate his plans. The Book of Nehemiah identifies them as Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the Ammonite and Geshem the Arab.



Sanballat was a Samaritan from the town of Beth-horon to the northwest of Jerusalem, on the strategic pass leading down to the vale of Aijalon. He had been appointed governor of the province of Samaria. As such, his authority had extended over Judah and was curtailed by Nehemiah's royal warrant as governor in Jerusalem. In any case, the Samaritans had been hostile to the Babylonian Return ever since Zerubbabel's refusal to let them share in the rebuilding of the Temple. The project Nehemiah had launched thus faced a formidable alliance of adversaries around Judah. They resorted to a succession of manoeuvres to stop him.

Before the work commenced, Sanballat, Tobiah and Geshem appeared together in Jerusalem and derided the whole undertaking, asking whether Nehemiah was making preparations to rebel against the emperor. Nehemiah dismissed them curtly, pointing out that they had no standing in the city and did not share in its traditions. The fact that Sanballat sided with Ammonites and Arabs against Jews was ample proof of it. It is thus clear that even at this early point Nehemiah's main objection to Sanballat the Samaritan was an ethnic one. Sanballat, notwithstanding his Yahwistic religion, was *halachically* not Jewish.

In 433 BCE, after serving twelve years in Jerusalem, Nehemiah returned to Persia and rejoined the service of the emperor Artaxerxes. (Anderson 1984:489) He returned to Jerusalem at a later date for a second term as governor and found that during his absence religious observance had grown slacker, the rate of intermarriage with non-Jewish people in the area had increased, and abuses had appeared in high places. (Anderson 1984:490) Nehemiah took firm hold of affairs and carried out sweeping changes. At the outset, he came into collision with Eliashib, the high priest. Not only did he find that Tobiah, the Ammonite had been given a room in the Temple precincts by Eliashib. Eliashib was also connected with another old adversary, for his grandson was married to the daughter of Sanballat the Horonite, a Samaritan. This was regarded as a mixed marriage, since the Samaritans were not



accepted by orthodox Jews as true followers of the Mosaic faith. (Anderson 1984:491) Nehemiah had the offender exiled from Jerusalem for having degraded the priesthood. The Samaritans therefore started a rival temple of their own on Mount Gerizim. Eliashib's grandson took with him a copy of the Torah, and according to Josephus became high priest at Gerizim. (*Ant.* XI, 8)

The context of this action was Nehemiah's campaign against marrying foreign wives, on the ground that they undermined the religious and cultural identity of the Jewish community. In retrospect, one gets the impression that, as the captives that were taken into exile with the Babylonian conquest were regarded as the *intelligentsia* of the Jewish community, they came to regard themselves in the same light as well. On their return to Jerusalem one detects a certain degree of superiority in their attitude towards the local community. As returnees occupied most of the positions of power, could it be that rival religious groups sprung up as a backlash to, for the lack of a better term, "Babylonian Judaism"? According to James Purvis (1989:595) the rift created by the Babylonian returnees excluded significant elements of the native Palestinian population from participation in the spiritual life of the Second Jewish Commonwealth. Sources do not indicate if courtesies were extended by the returning Jews to Palestinians of native Israelite stock, but it is unlikely, as the leadership of the post-exilic Jewish community seemed to have regarded the people of the land in general as ethnically and religiously suspect. Purvis (1989:595) sees the harassment of the Judeans by their neighbours as a direct backlash of the contempt of the returnees for the native Palestinian population.

The claims by the rival Samaritan faith were not entirely unfounded, as Yahweh had been worshipped at Shechem and Gerizim, as well as at a number of other sanctuaries in Canaan, long before a cultic centre had been established for his worship in Jerusalem. From at least the beginning of the second millennium BCE it was a strategically situated Canaanite city-state, and at the time of the conquest it was the location of Joshua's Tribal Confederacy. (Joshua 24) According to Anderson (1984:126-7), excavations at the site revealed a type



of rampart known to be typical of the Hyksos. This indicates that for a while it was a strong fortress of the Hyksos empire. Evidence of violent destruction in the middle of the second millennium BCE suggests that the city was retaken by the Egyptians when Ahmose I expelled the Hyksos from Egypt and carried his conquests into Palestine. From the Amarna letters we know that the city was lost to Egypt as a result of Lab'ayu's treaty with 'Apiru in the fourteenth century BCE. In the acropolis was built a large temple, called the temple of Baal-Berith (*El-berith*). (Anderson 1984:126-7) It was also the location where Gideon's son, Abim'elech, was made king by the oak of the sacred pillar. (Jud.9:6) During excavations of the *El-berith* temple in 1960 and 1962, the sacred pillar was restored to its original position in front of the temple. (Wright 1965:89)

The Jews maintained that Jerusalem became the chosen holy place to the exclusion of other holy places, a viewpoint rejected by the Samaritans, whose sectarian Torah maintained the primacy of the Gerizim sanctuary. The difference therefore seems to be that whereas the Samaritans insisted on a literal and historical claim to their faith based upon the evidence in their sectarian Torah, the Jews maintained that at no time in their sacred history had the Jewish religion been expressed more faithfully than in the time of the united kingdom, with Jerusalem as its spiritual centre. The Jerusalem mystique became an essential part of the Jewish religious faith, with the understanding that true Israelite religion was inextricably related to the belief that Jerusalem was the spiritual centre. (Purvis 1989:593-4)

According to Josephus (*Ant.* XI.302-25) the building of the rival Samaritan temple on Mount Gerizim took place in the time of Alexander the Great, at around 332 BCE. According to Josephus, the Samaritan governor Sanballat sought permission from Alexander to build a temple for his son-in-law. His son-in-law, Manasseh, brother of the Jerusalem high-priest Jaddua, had been expelled from the city because of his marriage to Sanballat's daughter, Nicaso. As this incident reflects the earlier account of the son-in-law of Sanballat the Horonite in the time of Nehemiah, it may seem that Josephus had been guilty of



an anachronism, as the incident with Sanballat the Horonite dates from the Persian period, and the building of the temple with the permission of Alexander from the Greek period.

Recently discovered papyri from the *Wadi Daliyeh* refer to a certain Sanballat who was the father of Hananiah, governor of Samaria in 354 BCE. As this Sanballat could not have been the Sanballat of either the accounts of Nehemiah or Alexander, this is the first evidence outside Josephus that the name of the Samaritan governor of Nehemiah's time was perpetuated into subsequent generations. (Cross 1963:110-21) According to Purvis (1989:598), these papyri do not give direct evidence of a Sanballat who ruled in Samaria at the time of Alexander's invasion of Palestine, but they do provide evidence that papponymy was practised in that ruling house. They also provide a chronological sequence into which a Sanballat III would fit in Alexander's time.

According to Josephus (*Ant.* XI.302-25) the Persian king, Darius III, appointed Sanballat III as governor in Samaria. Although Josephus states that Sanballat was sent to Samaria, being of the same ethnic background as the people (the *Kûtîm*) he was to govern, it is likely that he was a native-born Samaritan of the ruling family appointed to that position. In order to establish good relations with the south, and perhaps also to promote Samaritan hegemony, Sanballat arranged a marriage between his daughter Nicaso and Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua, the high priest in Jerusalem. The Jerusalem priesthood was, however, disturbed by the marriage, being fearful that this would be a dangerous precedent with regard to intermarriage with non-Jews. They consequently informed Manasseh that he would have to relinquish his priestly prerogatives or divorce his Samaritan wife. Faced with these alternatives, Manasseh informed his father-in-law that he would choose the priesthood. This prompted Sanballat to seek permission from the political authorities to build a temple on Mount Gerizim, it being his intention to provide a sanctuary at which his son-in-law could function as high priest. There is no reason to doubt that this was the precipitating factor in the construction of the



Samaritan temple, but there is also no reason to maintain that this was the only motivation for its erection. It would have been politically advantageous for Sanballat to strengthen the loyalties of his people to the Samaritan region by providing them with their own sanctuary, as the Yahwists in Samaria had become increasingly uncomfortable over the years in their relations with Jerusalem. (Purvis 1989:599-600)

Excavations of a Hadrianic Temple at *Tell er-Ras* on Mount Gerizim indicates that this temple had been built on the foundations of an earlier temple of about twenty metres square and eight metres in height. It is reasonable to assume that this was the temple that served the cultic needs of the Samaritan community at Shechem from the time of Alexander the Great to its destruction by John Hyrcanus in 107 BCE. (Purvis 1989:599) What is interesting about the floorplan of the earlier temple is that its square shape and dimensions are very similar to that of the eschatological Temple described in the sectarian Torah of the Qumran community and not like the Jerusalem Temple, which was rectangular. (Wacholder 1983:30)

At some stage the Samaritans incurred the wrath of Alexander when they burned Andromachus, the prefect he left in charge in Samaria, alive. Alexander's reprisals were so severe that a group of Samaritan noblemen and their families fled and sought refuge in the *Wadi Daliyeh* in the Jordan valley just north of Jericho. They were pursued by the Macedonians, who put all to death. (Purvis 1989:600-1) According to Josephus, some of the remaining Samaritans were deported to Egypt for service in the Thebaid. In 312 BCE, following the victory of Ptolemy I at Gaza, a number of Jews and Samaritans were settled in Egypt. Relations between these two groups were hostile. (*Ant*, XI.345, XII.5-10)

Around 200 BCE, during the reign of Ptolemy V, open hostilities erupted between Jerusalem and Shechem. The Jews were harassed by the Samaritans through the despoiling of Jewish land and the enslavement of Jews. These



hostilities were in the time of Simon II (the Just). The Samaritans sought to despoil the Jerusalem Temple, but were foiled by Simon the Just, who is said to have received the assistance of Antiochus the Great. The 21st of Kislev was declared a festival for Jews, the 'Day of Gerizim', on which mourning was prohibited. These niggling hostilities at the time probably give some insight into Ben Sira's well-known invective against the *gôy nābāl* (foolish people) dwelling in Shechem. (Purvis 1989:603)

In Talmudic circles opinions concerning the Samaritans were not always the same. The great disputes occurred when both Samaritan and Jewish temples existed at the same time. Later, the opinion prevailed that the Samaritans were true converts and according to Rabbi Simeon ben Gamaliel, a Samaritan was the equal of a Jew in every respect. (Bader 1988:41) Sharply opposed to this idea were the opinions of Rabbi Eliezer who said that "one who eats the bread of a Samaritan is like one who eats pork. (Bader 1988:41) Other scholars were milder in their attitude and permitted partaking of Samaritan food. (Bader 1988:41)

According to James Purvis (1989:612) the Samaritan priesthood was a collateral branch of the Zadokite priesthood in Jerusalem. The Zadokite priesthood had failed in Jerusalem and the accession to the high-priestly office by the Hasmoneans was viewed by many Jews as an illegitimate usurpation. The Samaritans could have strengthened their own position by forwarding the claim (which was probably true) that their priesthood was derived from the Zadokites in Jerusalem. It was their own desire, however, to dissociate themselves from Jerusalem, and to maintain that their cult (place and priests) was derived from the old cultus of Shechem.

According to Purvis (1989:612-3), the Samaritans had come to Shechem as a people of mixed ethnic and religious background. There they developed into a religious community with a very clear self-understanding. During the period of their incumbency at Shechem their relations with the Jewish



community of Jerusalem had deteriorated until it finally became evident that the rupture between them would never be healed. The destruction of their temple by John Hyrcanus in 128 BCE and the ravaging of their city was an indication that their compatriots in Judah would never accept them on their own terms. Yet they steadfastly maintained the legitimacy of their autonomy and the authenticity of their expression of the Israelite religious tradition. They substantiated this claim by:

1. The promulgation of a distinctly sectarian edition of the Pentateuch.
2. They regarded themselves as the only true remnant of the ancient Israelite faith.
3. They regarded the Jews as a deviant and apostate part of the Israelite nation, which had departed from the true faith of which they were the representatives. It was not they who were schismatics from the house of Israel, but the Jews from Jerusalem, the spiritual heirs of the schism which had been initiated in ancient times when Eli had removed the sanctuary from Shechem to Shiloh. The authentic adherents of the Mosaic religion were to be found at Mount Gerizim.

### **3.2 SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM OR SCHISM?**

It seems that finding a single descriptive definition of what could be regarded as Second Temple Judaism and what not would be virtually impossible. Despite considerable differences between Pharisees and Sadducees, as well as Hillelites and Shammaites, all these groups were regarded amongst themselves as operating within the confines of Second Temple Judaism. They agreed, grudgingly, among themselves to disagree as *halachic* Jews. What set the Samaritans apart?



### 3.2.1 The Priesthood

As noted above, Purvis (1989:612) is of the opinion that the Samaritan priesthood were as Zadokite in essence as the Jerusalem priesthood, if not even more so from the time of the Hasmoneans onwards. I do not necessary agree with this viewpoint. From a Jewish viewpoint the legitimacy of the Samaritan priesthood may have started and ended with Sanballat's Zadokite (Jewish) son-in-law, Manasseh. As Manasseh's wife was not Jewish, none of his offspring would have been regarded as such according to *halacha*. Even the Herodians, who never tried to usurp the priesthood, were as converts to Judaism regarded as more Jewish than the Samaritans. It is because of this very reason that Herod the Great married the Hasmonean princess Mariamne in order to marry into a legitimate Jewish royal dynasty. It is therefore understandable that the Samaritan priesthood would not have been recognised by the Jews. However, the legitimacy of the priesthood at the Temple of Onias IV in Leontopolis was never held to be in question because it was obviously *halachically* impeccable. In view of this, what would have been the legitimacy of the priesthood of the self-imposed exilic community at Qumran?

### 3.2.2 The Temple

Ostensibly one of the main reasons why Jew and Samaritan did not get along was because of the insistence of the Samaritans that Mount Gerizim, and not Jerusalem, should be the centre of the Yahwistic religion. The Jews did not recognise this claim, and therefore rejected Samaritanism. Yet from evidence it is clear that temples other than the Jerusalem temple were used by Jews elsewhere, and that at least one of these, namely Onias' temple in Leontopolis (Egypt), at certain periods was seen as just as legitimate as the Jerusalem temple. It therefore seems that the reasons for the rejection of the Samaritan temple could have been twofold. Firstly, the priesthood was seen as illegitimate. Secondly, the sectarian Torah of the Samaritans in effect prohibited them from using the Jerusalem temple. The Jewish Torah, however, does not necessarily



point to Jerusalem as the only legitimate centre for the cult, as it does not mention the city by name. How did the Qumran community view the legitimacy of the Temple and its location as significant to their faith?

### **3.2.3 The Torah**

A (seemingly) important factor which set the Samaritans apart from mainstream Judaism is in their use of a sectarian Torah which deviated from Mosaic Torah of the Jews. But as the Samaritan Torah deviated mainly in its identification of Shechem as the centre of the cult instead of Jerusalem, and as we have already established above that other Jewish temples were seen as just as legitimate as the Jerusalem temple, this factor alone could not be the definitive factor which saw them ostracised by the Jews. In contrast, the sectarian Torah of the Qumran community deviated considerably from the canonical Pentateuch. Did this fact place them outside the realms of Second Temple Judaism, and if so, by whom?

### **3.2.4 Other factors**

What other factors may have influenced the Qumran community to retreat into the wilderness and outside the confines of 'orthodox' Second Temple Judaism?



## **CHAPTER 4 - THE ESSENES**

### **4.1 HISTORY OF THE ESSENE MOVEMENT**

#### **4.1.1 The nature and origins of the Qumran sect**

Until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran, very little was known about this religious group in first century Judaism. According to Edmund Wilson (1978:136) what we have known about this group came primarily from three writers from the first century CE, namely Pliny the Elder, Josephus and Philo. Pliny's description is brief but very important, as it locates the Essene community exactly where the ruins and scrolls were found in 1947, namely on the western shore of the Dead Sea. Pliny went on to describe them as a solitary people, and extraordinary beyond all others in the world. They lived without women, without money or commerce. According to Pliny, a stream of men, refugees from everyday life, constantly swelled their numbers. Because of discrepancies between their descriptions of the cult it is unclear if the ruins and scrolls found at Qumran represent Essenism in its total, or only one of the splinter groupings within a larger cult.

After the discovery of the scrolls in 1947 it took some time before translations of the scrolls started to appear, mainly because of internal disorganisation and tardiness of the international team entrusted with the care and translation of the scrolls. From 1988, however, William Moffett at the Huntington Library of San Marino, California, made the whole photographic archive of the Qumran scrolls available to all qualified scholars, which sped up translation, interpretation and discussion considerably. (Vermes 1997:9) According to Geza Vermes' calculations, the total number of scrolls and fragments so far discovered in the eleven caves adjoining the ruins amounts to 813. These include twelve scrolls: eleven of leather and one of copper, all of which have by now been published. More than half of the fragments have also been translated. (Vermes 1997:619)



At first glance, the group does not seem to be Jewish at all. (Cook 1998:240) From the writings itself a picture emerges of a religious community with their core group at Qumran, but with sister communities scattered all through Judea and Galilee. Although some communities seemed to have been celibate, others definitely were not, as there are numerous references in their rules concerning behaviour of both sexes, and some graves containing the skeletons of women and children were found on the outskirts of Qumran. According to the Community Rule itself, members were permitted to marry at the age of twenty, when they were estimated to have reached adulthood and to know good and evil. (Vermes 1997:35)

John Allegro, a Semitic philologist, is of the opinion that the word 'Qumran' may have been derived from 'Qimron', meaning a vault, arch or doorway. (Knight 1997:274) The word *Khirbet* simply means a 'ruin.' (Wilson 1978:134) So the modern day name of the settlement may have little to do with the Essenes, indicating rather that the place must have been in a ruinous state for time memorial. Knight (1997:273) suggests that the fact that two pillar bases still exist outside the east door of the vestry that leads to what is often referred to as Qumran's 'Holy of Holies' may indicate that there could have been an arched doorway at some stage. He identifies these two pillars as Qumran's own Jachin and Boaz, after the pillars of Solomon's temple, but this is pure speculation. It seems unlikely, as the dimensions of the ruins at Qumran seem minute compared to that of the Temple and city envisaged in IIQ Torah.

As to the origins of the sect, various theories have been put forward. According to their own belief, the sect was founded by an individual referred to as the *Teacher of Righteousness*, a priest of Zadokite affiliation. However, no definite identification as to his identity is given, giving speculations such as Jesus (J.L.Teicher), John the Baptist (Barbara Thiering), and James the Just (R.H. Eisenman). (Vermes 1997:64) Most of these theories can, until more evidence present itself, be regarded as spurious. Moreover, it is not certain if the scrolls refer to only one, or more than one Teacher. Hartmut Stegemann



(1992:61-2) sees him as the High Priest ousted by Jonathan Maccabeus. A very strong argument for the identity of at least one of the *Teachers of Righteousness* was put forward by Ben Zion Wacholder (1983:141-169), identifying him with Zadok, who, according to both Talmudic and Karaite sources, founded a heretical movement during the period of the Second Temple. Zadok, according to Abot de-Rabbi Nathan, studied under the master Antigonus of Socho, himself a disciple of Simon the Just, one of Jerusalem's high priests during the third century BCE. (Wacholder 1983:141)

Doctrinally, according to evidence from the scrolls, the Essenes followed a completely unique and divergent interpretation of Judaism. Consistent with the other groups, like Pharisaism and Sadduceanism, they believed in the authority of the Torah, but, according to Wacholder (1983:31), maintained that their own Covenant, the Sectarian Torah (IIQ Torah) or Temple Scroll, was a new and superior Torah which superseded the old. This new Torah, according to the author, reveals what was still unrecorded in the Mosaic books.

For a future sanctuary the existing Temple, and the city of Jerusalem at the time, were completely inappropriate. A new Temple, which differed completely from the existing Temple in its design and dimensions, had to be built. According to the translations of Vermes (1997:200) and Yadin (1983:89) this Temple would then be destroyed in a last apocalyptic battle led by the Messiah, who would inaugurate a Messianic age, which would include the erection of a new and everlasting Temple. However, according to Wacholder (1983:29,30) only one everlasting Temple would be established to inaugurate the Messianic age. The city Jerusalem itself had to be liberated from all forms of trade and commerce, in other words, it had to be a truly sanctified and priestly eschatological city, fit to house the Temple. (Wacholder 1983:96) In general, the Essenes seemed to have favoured a rural, agrarian society for the entire Jewish nation. (Wacholder 1983:222-5) However, according to Josephus they were not confined to rural settlements, but were found in all towns and cities, where they lived a life of separateness, in common property. (*War II*, 8)



That they were not necessarily pacifists could be borne out by the detailed descriptions of an eschatological War to be fought, as described in their Rule of War. Also, according to Josephus (*War* II, 8), they were very much involved in, and tortured during the First Jewish War. "And as for death, if it will be for their glory, they esteem it better than living always; and indeed our war with the Romans gave abundant evidence what great souls they had in their trials, wherein, although they were tortured and distorted, burnt and torn to pieces, and went through all kinds of instruments of torment, that they might be forced either to blaspheme their legislator, or to eat what was forbidden them, yet could they not be made to do either of them, nor once to flatter their tormentors, or to shed a tear; but they smiled in their very pains, and laughed at those to scorn who inflicted the torments upon them, and resigned up their souls with great alacrity, as expecting to receive them again." (*War* II, 8) There therefore still seems to be heated debate between proponents of the moderate schools of thought, who maintain the pacifism of the Essenes, and those who hold the view that the Essenes may have had closer ties with the more radical Jewish groups in Palestine immediately prior to the First Jewish War.

It therefore seems that unlike the Pharisees, who had serious problems with the Herodians and Romans because they felt that Jewish Law and customs were disregarded, and the role of the Sanhedrin ignored, the Essenes went one step further. They regarded everybody outside their group, whether Jew or gentile, as in breach of the Law, that is, their new Sectarian Torah. They were awaiting an eschatological war, in which the Temple, as well as the city of Jerusalem, out of necessity would have to be destroyed to augur in the new Messianic age.



#### 4.1.2 The Qumran sect as part of the Essene movement

A problem that has been facing scholars of the Dead Sea Scrolls ever since their discovery was whether the settlement at Khirbet Qumran constituted the entire Essene community, or only part of it. Moreover, if the occupants of the settlement were in fact only part of the wider Essene movement, what was their relationship with the rest of the movement? Josephus (*War.* 2:8:4) makes it clear that the Essenes were found in all of the cities, where they nevertheless lived together in communities. Pliny, on the other hand, only mentions a small group situated near the Dead Sea, in about exactly the area of the ruins at Khirbet Qumran. (Boccaccini 1998:22 f.) Ostensibly, the logical conclusion to be drawn from this would be that the group at Qumran may have been more prominent and better known, possibly the leadership of the group, but with the rank-and-file members found scattered in cities throughout the area. However, the simplicity of this conclusion may be deceiving, and it would be sensible in view of the scanty evidence available to look at some of the more plausible hypotheses being forwarded as to the possible prevalence of the sect.

Murphy-O'Connor (1986:142) is of the opinion that the Qumran sect may have been the product of the development of Judaic thought within a gentile environment, possibly in Babylon. This group returned to Judea coinciding with the successes of the fledgling Maccabean revolt, but disillusionment with the Temple establishment caused them to abandon the Temple cult and form the Essene movement. A further split occurred which saw the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers retreat to the wilderness at Qumran. There the community immersed themselves in the development of a Judaic cult based on writings already in use by the group prior to the internal split. This viewpoint is reiterated by Davies (1987:19-30) who is of the opinion that a clear distinction existed between the Essenes and the Qumran-Essenes, the latter being basically a messianic break-away group who was not necessarily priestly in direction. I personally do not agree entirely with the last viewpoint by Davies, as certain Qumranic literature clearly points to the fact that Qumran-Essenism was,



for the lack of a better word, excessively priestly in orientation. I feel that a truer assessment of them would be rather that their perception of the temple and priesthood was a viewpoint diverging from the rest of mainstream Second Temple Judaism. Unfortunately it is not clear to what extent the Essenes not living within the Qumran community still interacted with, on the one hand, the Temple in Jerusalem, and, on the other hand, with their monastic brothers at Qumran.

Stegemann (1992:161-2) puts forth the hypothesis that the founding of the Essene movement can be traced to the time of the unrest which came about due to the persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes. Stegemann identifies the Teacher of Righteousness with the High Priest ousted by Jonathan (152-142 BCE). With his followers the Teacher of Righteousness fled to Damascus. From there he tried to forge a Union consisting of the Temple establishment, the Synagogue *Asidaion* and a group called the New Covenant, but was unsuccessful because of the betrayal by the Man of Lies. Wise (1999:52-75) follows basically the same scenario as Stegemann, but sees the fleeing Teacher of Righteousness and his followers as a "crisis cult" associated with a priestly circle that opposed the Pharisees and the Hasmoneans during the reigns of John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE) and Salome Alexandra (76-67 BCE). In 74 BCE the Teacher of Righteousness went into exile to the area known as Trachonitis, near the northern border of the Golan Heights, where he became a bandit in the mould of King David during his flight from Saul. In the interim his followers waited for his return from exile after forty years, the core group being at Qumran. Eventually he dies, but his followers keep his ideals alive.

Although this latter theory will go far to prove some of the unanswered questions around the Essene movement, one nevertheless feels that Wise builds his hypothesis around ambiguities and wishful thinking. Although he gives a very reasonable and logical explanation as to the Essenes, the Qumran-Essenes and the Teacher of Righteousness, away in exile in the land of



Damascus, he nevertheless does so without reasonable conjecture, relying instead on his own personal interpretation of Qumranic literature.

Schiffman (1994:83-9) sees in the Qumranic legal texts an amplification of Sadducean *halachic* thought. Although he does not see Essenism as strictly Sadducean in thought, he nevertheless maintains that the roots of Essene *halacha* may be found in pre-Hasmonean Sadduceanism. As the polemics of the Qumran literature were clearly directed at the temple priesthood in office, Schiffman conjectures that at some point in time certain Sadducees became dissatisfied with a temple regime which they saw as both illegitimate and perverting the existing cultic practices. When they realised that reconciliation of thought and practise were impossible, they retreated and set out to preserve and further refine their *halachic* tradition. As with most groups whose basis had been found on a premise that theirs is the only correct interpretation of a viewpoint, they developed a fully sectarian mentality. The sect later developed apocalyptic tendencies when they realised that the split from the Jerusalem temple was complete. According to Cross (1995:198) the Essenes proved to be the bearers, if not the producers, of the apocalyptic tradition in Judaism.

In my opinion Schiffman's hypothesis seems very plausible. The nature and scope of the existing Qumran material suggest a corpus of material carefully developed over a far longer period of time, rather than that of the "crisis-cult" described above by Wise. This viewpoint is reiterated by Vermes (1997:26) who bemoans the absence in the documents, singly or together, of any systematic exposition of the sect's constitution and laws. The Community Rule legislates for a group of ascetics living in a kind of 'monastic' society, the statutes of the Damascus Document for an ordinary lay existence. MMT (*Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah*, or Some Observances of the Law) probably echoes the prehistory or early history of the sect, and the War Rule and Messianic Rule in their turn, while associated with the Community Rule and Damascus Document, and no doubt reflecting to some extent a contemporary state of affairs, first and foremost plan for a future age. Theirs was also not such a drastic deviation from



Judaic *halacha* as, for instance, that of the later Christian movement which basically was also a "crisis-cult", as they had to define their own identity while trying to survive the successive loss of their founder as well as the destruction of the Judaic temple cult within a period of less than half a century.

Two points which I do think Schiffman disregard to a certain extent is that he firstly does not seem to give enough credit to the part played by the Teacher of Righteousness as a leadership figure of the movement. Secondly, according to certain Qumranic material which may predate the split with Sadduceanism, certain temple-practices as well as the Temple itself over a very long period *prior* to the split would have been unacceptable according to Essene thought. He does, however, raise the very important question (for this thesis) whether the split between Essenism and mainstream Judaism was so complete in the eyes of the movement, that they started to regard themselves as a cult entirely separate or different from Second Temple Judaism.

The first point of critique against Schiffman's hypothesis which I raised above, namely the part played by the Teacher of Righteousness, may be explained to a certain extent by the so-called Groningen hypothesis. This hypothesis postulates a whole series of six Wicked Priests, and identifies the community not with the main Essene sect but with one of its splinter groups. (Vermes 1997:19) García Martínez (1996:lv-lvi) identifies the rise of the sectarian community of the Qumran scrolls to a split within the wider Essene movement, and dates their exodus from Jerusalem into the wilderness of the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers to 130 BCE. He concludes that the core of the original members of the group consisted of dissatisfied priests of the highest rank, accounting for Sadducean similarities in their *halacha*. (García Martínez & van der Woude 1989:540) Schiffman's theory of the dissatisfied Sadducean group therefore predates this split. García Martínez (1995:80) sees the reference to the "age of wrath" in the Damascus Document (I:6) as the birth of the community, which would usher in the period terminating in the eschatological judgement. The Teacher of Righteousness was convinced of his



own correct interpretation of Scripture, causing the final split between him and his followers, and the parent group. (García Martínez 1995:94) There was therefore a long period of tension during the formative period of the community, during which period many of the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness were misled by the Man of Lies. The "Wicked Priest" refers collectively to the Hasmonean high priests. It was the non-acceptance of the *halachic* viewpoint of the Teacher of Righteousness and his followers, which resulted in the final move to Qumran to await the eschaton. (García Martínez 1995:92 f.)

A syncretistic summary of the above hypotheses would therefore give us this possible scenario:

- At some point in time, ranging from the persecution of Antiochus IV to the Hasmonean dynasty, a certain group within the priestly caste became dissatisfied with the temple priesthood in office, which they saw as *halachically* incorrect or even illegitimate.
- When this group realised that their concerns were unlikely to be addressed, possibly even in the face of persecution, they divorced themselves from the temple. They saw them as a group actively opposing the so-called Wicked Priest, who may be a certain High Priest, or even a term used collectively for an entire priestly dynasty.
- In the interim they continued to promote and amplify certain religious texts and doctrines which they held to be sacred.
- One of their charismatic leaders, known to his faction of followers as the Teacher of Righteousness (*Moreh Ha Şedeq*), clashed with regard to certain matters of *halacha* with another leader, known as the Man of Lies in later Qumranic literature.



- The small group of followers of the Teacher of Righteousness retreated from everyday society to the land of Damascus to prepare themselves spiritually for the impending eschaton. It is not clear if the Teacher of Righteousness accompanied them. It is also not clear if the land of Damascus is synonymous with Qumran.
- For a long period the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness were harried by the Man of Lies, causing many apostasies.
- Over a long period of time, the isolated group in the land of Damascus, whose basis had been found on a premise that theirs was the only correct interpretation of their religion, developed a fully sectarian mentality. The sect later developed apocalyptic tendencies when they realised that the split from the Jerusalem temple was complete.

#### **4.1.3 Qumran and the land of Damascus**

There is, however, another question that needs to be answered. In the Damascus Document, we read that, "They shall keep the Sabbath day according to its exact interpretation, and the feasts and the Day of Fasting according to the finding of the New Covenant in the land of Damascus." (CD VI: 11-19) Is the land of Damascus therefore to be identified with the locale of the Qumran community, or did the community at a later stage after their sojourn to the land of Damascus relocate to Qumran? Analysing the doctrines as contained within the corpus of material found in the caves at Qumran, no indication is found as to what exactly the authors of the scrolls meant by the land of Damascus, other than that it was the place to where the group retreated prior to, or coinciding with, their cathartic realisation that, under the leadership of their Teacher of Righteousness, they were the elect few destined to preserve the true *halacha* while awaiting the eschaton.



As early as the 1950's, R. de Vaux improvised a team to start with archaeological excavations in the caves and ruins at Khirbet Qumran. At the ruins the team found a thick layer of ash covering the ruins and surroundings, attesting to a fire which had caused considerable destruction. According to Milik (1959:52), "...the thick layers of ashes suggests a very violent conflagration, better to be explained as a result of a conscious attempt to burn down the whole building; so the ashes may show the traces of an intentional destruction of Qumran." A study of the coins found at the site indicated that the fire had occurred towards the beginning of the reign of Herod the Great, who reigned from 37 BCE - 4 BCE, and that rebuilding had commenced during the reign of his son, Archelaus (4 BCE - 6 CE). According to De Vaux (1973:19, 22, 34, 37, 44-50) about 450 bronze coins were found at Qumran. The two most prominent periods of activity were from 103-76 BCE and 6-67 CE. However, coins from as early as 135 BCE and as late as 136 CE were also found at the site.

Inconsistent with that of a settlement of ascetic pacifists, two features of the ruins which may attest otherwise are the presence of a fortified tower, as well as what appears to be a forge of some kind. According to de Vaux (1973:28) there used to be a workshop comprising a furnace above which was a plastered area with a drainage conduit. The installation implies that the kind of work carried on there required a large fire as well as an abundant supply of water. It is possible that the forge may have been used as a forge for weapons.

Several arrows were also found inside the ruins of Qumran, which, according to Driver (1965:397) may well have belonged to the occupants of the settlement. More surprising for a community of scribes is the fact that, according to Golb (1980:5), neither fragment of parchment or papyrus nor any tools of scribes were ever found in the debris. Golb is of the opinion that the manuscripts originated in a Jerusalem library (or libraries), the contents of which were concealed in desert caves when the capital was besieged between 67 and 70 CE. The chief corollary of his hypothesis is that the Essenes had nothing to do with either the Qumran settlement - a fortress in Golb's opinion - or with the



manuscripts. Vermes (1997:20) admits that the early assumption of Scroll scholars that every non-biblical Dead Sea text was an Essene writing might have justified Golb's scepticism to some extent, but maintains that specialists nowadays distinguish between Qumran manuscripts written by members of the Essene sect, and others either predating the community, or simply brought there from outside.

The implication thus is not that the Essenes, or whoever the authors of the scrolls may have been, were basically a militaristic order. Rather, I would venture to suggest that the sectarians may not have been the occupants of the site continuously. Given the prominence of the place on a major ancient trade route, it may have well been some sort of military installation from time to time. Josephus (*Ant.* 15:373-8) records that an Essene prophet, Menahem, foretold that Herod would rule over the Jews. Herod showed his gratitude by dispensing the Essenes, who were opposed to all oaths except their own oath of the Covenant, from taking the vow of loyalty imposed on all his Jewish subjects. Yet the site at Qumran had been burnt down at about the same time as Herod's reign. Can one then conclude that the occupants of Qumran at the time of the fire may not have been Essenes?

As it is firstly impossible to ascertain exactly if or when the authors of the Qumranic literature occupied the site at Khirbet Qumran, it seems to be for the time being equally impossible to positively identify the land of Damascus with Qumran. Secondly, as the only place that we are currently aware of bearing the name of Damascus is located in Syria, I personally think it would be prudent for scholars to regard that area (until new evidence to the contrary presents itself) as the cradle of Qumran sectarianism, and not the wilderness around the Dead Sea.



## 4.2 THE TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

### 4.2.1 Zadok in Qumranic and Biblical sources

Throughout the literature of the Qumran community the very important role of the *Moreh Ha Šedeq* (Teacher of Righteousness) is described at great length. He was the leader sent by God to be the spiritual leader of the small remnant of seekers of the truth three hundred and ninety (plus twenty?) years after the Babylonian conquest under King Nebuchadnezzar. The prominence of this person is clearly illustrated by the following important points identified by Wacholder (1983:99):

1. The Copper Scroll describes the burial place of a certain Zadok where the sect's treasures were allegedly concealed.
2. The Damascus Document (CD 5:4) says that a scroll of the Torah was hidden in a sealed ark until the rise of Zadok.
3. The *sons of Zadok* are prominent in the Qumranic writings. It is mentioned twelve times. It sometimes appears to signify a privileged group within the sect, but at other times it is synonymous with the Commune.
4. A number of passages contrast the reign of *Malky-šedeq* with that of *Malky-reša*<sup>6</sup>.
5. The *Moreh Šedeq* (Teacher of Righteousness), whose paramount role is described at great length in the Commune's literature, seems to be a paranomasia on the name Zadok.



Among the many treasures mentioned in the Copper scroll is a description of the tomb of Zadok, recorded in Col. XI:2-7. (Wacholder 1983:100)

בתכן אצלם  
מתחת פנת האסטאן הדרומית  
בקבר צדוק תחת עמוד האכסדרן  
כלי דמע סוח דמע סנה ותכן אצלם  
בהבסה אש הסלע הצופא מערב  
נגד גנת צדוק תחת המסמא ה  
גדולא שבשילוחו חרם

"Next to them under the corner of the southern portico at the tomb of Zadok under the pillar of the covered hall: vessels of offering of resin and offering of senna. Next to them at the ...(?) at the top of the westward looking rock towards the garden of Zadok under the closing stone which is at the conduit: devoted things."

Because the person named Zadok in the above quote is not identified any further it is safe to presume that both the author of the Copper Scroll and its intended readers were well acquainted with both Zadok and the location of his tomb. According to Wacholder, (1983:100) "(t)he absence of the customary gentilic gives the impression that Zadok was regarded as one of the most important personalities of the group. This view is strengthened by the allusion of a sepulchre that seems almost royal." In the entire scroll only one other tomb is mentioned, namely the tomb of the "Sons of ... (?) the Yerahite" (הִירָחִי) (Col XI:56). This tomb is an unknown family sepulchre and nowhere is the name mentioned again. Zadok, however, has his own tomb located in proximity of Mount Zion, where the fabulous treasures were allegedly concealed, as befitting the father of the sect.

As we have previously mentioned, it is in the Damascus document that we find the most invaluable information as to the origins of the sect. This document



may also provide the key to the unravelling of the mystery as to the true identity of Zadok. The name Zadok appears in the Qumranic writings, as in the Damascus Document and the Habakkuk Peshar, in three forms (Wacholder 1983:112):

1. simply as Zadok.
2. as the father or ancestor of the so-called *Beney Šadoq*.
3. in paronomasia, such as *Moreh Šedeq* (Teacher of Righteousness) or *ʿanšey Šedeq* (righteous people).

The first question we therefore would have to ask ourselves is whether the Zadok of the Damascus Document is the same person whose sepulchre is alluded to in the Copper Scroll. Furthermore, is this Zadok one and the same person as the chief priest in the days of David and Solomon from whom the Jerusalem priesthood traced its lineage? In the Damascus Document (Col. V:3-5) it is written:

" ... David had not read the sealed book of the Law which was in the ark (of the Covenant), for it was not opened in Israel from the death of Eleazar and Joshua, and the elders who worshipped Ashtoreth. It was hidden and (was not) revealed until the coming of Zadok."

Two main schools of thought exist. The first, held by A. Dupont-Sommer (Wacholder 1983:112) and others see Zadok as the chief priest in the days of David and Solomon. Wacholder (1983:112) also criticises those like Ginzberg who argue that the word בן (son of) had preceded the word Zadok, the reference then being to Hilkiyah the grandson of Zadok, who found what modern commentators consider the Book of Deuteronomy hidden in the sanctuary. According to Wacholder (1983:112) neither of these two hypotheses can stand



close scrutiny. The customary translation of the phrase **עד עמוד צדוק** into English, "until Zadok arose" fails to express the meaning of **עמוד**. The author of the Damascus Document derived it from cognates in Num. 27:19 and 21, where the word **והעמדת** (cause to stand) refers to Joshua's accession to leadership upon the death of Moses. Dan. 11:4, **וכעמדו תשבר מלכותו**, must be rendered as "and upon his (i.e. the king's) assumption (of office) his kingdom shall be broken up." In other words, the Hebrew usage requires a paraphrase which includes a precise time, namely, the very beginning of the subject's assumption of leadership, not the indefiniteness of time in the English "rise", which can extend to a relatively long period (Wacholder 1983:113). The use of **עד עמוד** in CD V:5 cannot but compel its rendition as "until the time when Zadok will assume office", i.e. the beginning of his leadership. This also cannot apply to Hilkiah, the chief priest, whose discovery of the lost sacred book occurred long after his accession to ecclesiastical office (Wacholder 1983:112-3).

According to Wacholder (1983:114) the strongest argument against the argument that the clause "until the coming of Zadok" alludes to any biblical figure is to be found in Daniel 11:4 and Ezra 2:63, where the clause **עד עמוד** in the Damascus Document refers not to Israel's past but to the **אחרית הימים** (end of days) when the messianic era will have begun: "The sons of Zadok are the elect of Israel, the men called by name who shall stand at the end of days" (CD IV: 4,5); "and without them they shall find nothing - until he comes who shall teach righteousness at the end of days" (CD VI:10). Thus Zadok's assumption of office could only refer to a person who would live in the eschatological epoch. But since the author of the Damascus Document claims intimate knowledge of the sealed Torah, the possibility that this Zadok will function in the future is excluded. Thus in the usage of this author, **עד עמוד צדוק** could only refer to Zadok's assumption of office within the period of the existence of the sect, or very near it. (Wacholder 1983: 114) The Zadok referred to would therefore not



be the Zadok in the times of David and Solomon, but with Zadok and his sons to whom God has revealed the secrets of His Torah at the end of days.

According to Wacholder (1983: 118-9) the phrase "until the coming of Zadok" therefore means that Zadok had discovered the Book of Law which had allegedly been sealed in the ark ever since the days of Joshua. This Zadok, which definitely cannot be the Zadok from the times of David and Solomon, was both the founder of the sect and the *Moreh Ṣedeq* mentioned in the Damascus Document and the Habakkuk Pesher. It was this Zadok that announced that the end of days had come at this time, namely in 390 of the era of the *Ḥurban*. Therefore CD V:5 identifies the figure who launched the movement who created the material from Qumran.

The discovery of the IIQ Torah also stands in complete contrast to the discovery of the sealed Torah during the time of Josiah's reforms. In II Chron. 34:14-6 we read:

"While bringing out the money contributed to the Temple of Yahweh, the priest Hilkiah found the book of the Law of Yahweh given through Moses. Hilkiah then said to Shaphan the secretary, 'I have found the Book of the Law in the Temple of Yahweh.' And Hilkiah gave the book to Shaphan."

It is thus clear that the discovery of the Torah in this instance was purely coincidental. However, in the case of the IIQ Torah no coincidence was involved. With a specific and preordained purpose "(i)t was hidden and (was not) revealed until the coming of Zadok." Zadok therefore seems to have been preselected to be the discoverer or 'opener' of the IIQ Torah. In sharp contrast to the times of Josiah's reforms when the discovery of the hidden Deuteronomic Torah went hand in hand with the rededication of the entire nation to the cult of Yahweh centred around Jerusalem and the Temple, the discovery of the IIQ Torah brought division. According to the Damascus Document:



"None of those brought into the Covenant shall enter the Temple to light His altar in vain. They shall bar the door, forasmuch as God said, *Who among you will bar its door? And, You shall not light my altar in vain* (Mal. 1:10). They shall take care to act according to the exact interpretation of the Law during the age of wickedness. They shall separate from the sons of the Pit, and shall keep away from the unclean riches of wickedness acquired by vow or anathema or from the Temple treasure. ... They shall keep the Sabbath day according to its exact interpretation, and the feasts and the Day of Fasting according to the finding of the New Covenant in the land of Damascus." (CD VI: 11-19)

At this very crucial point in time their Teacher of Righteousness, Zadok, therefore led them out of mainstream Judaism and into isolation in the land of Damascus. To equate this event with the times of reconciliation and unification during Josiah's reforms seems totally preposterous. It is therefore highly likely that we are dealing with a totally different epoch in Palestinian history, and it would therefore be advisable to look elsewhere, that is, outside Biblical historical sources for the true identity of Zadok.

#### **4.2.2 Zadok in Talmudic and Karaite writings**

In Talmudic sources (*M. Abot* 1:3) we read of two pupils of a certain Antigonus of Socho, namely Zadok and Baethus, who founded and organised a new party which, according to Gershom Bader (1988:50), came to be known as Sadducees or Baethusians. Apparently Antigonus frequently used to say, "When you serve God, be not like servants who serve the master with the expectation of receiving gifts, but rather be like servants who serve the master without expecting gifts, and fear the Heaven will be upon you." (Bader 1988:50) Zadok and Baethus questioned this doctrine, asking if it would be possible that a labourer would do his work all day and not receive his reward in the evening?



So they split into two sects, the Zadokites (Grk. *Σαδουκαῖοι*) and the Baethusians. (Wacholder 1983:143)

The discrepancy inherent in the above explanation immediately becomes apparent. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII: 4), "(T)he doctrine of the Sadducees is this: That souls die with the bodies." This is in exact contradiction of the view held by Zadok and Baethus. According to Wacholder (1983: 141), the obscure references to the two disciples of Antigonus of Socho do not refer to the Sadducees but rather to the *Beney Šadoq*, the descendants of the founder of the Qumranic sect. The *Šedoqym* in Talmudic sources therefore does not always allude to Jerusalem's aristocratic party but rather to the *Beney Šadoq* of the Judaeen scrolls.

The influence or infamy of Zadok and Baethus is clear from the fact that their teacher, Antigonus, is always mentioned because of his relationship to his two students, unlike all the other sages who form part of the train of tradition and are also known from other mishnaic and talmudic sources. Antigonus, according to Abot de-Rabbi Nathan (Version A), lived in a time of constant wars between the kings of Egypt and Syria, with Palestine often caught up in the middle. Religious learning was also on the decline. The people lived in ignorance and spiritual poverty and deviations from the religious observances on the part of the Jews occurred mainly as a result of their own neglect. It was only with the outbreak of the Hasmonean revolt as a direct result of the persecutions by Antiochus Epiphanes that a new "zeal for the Law" developed. (Bader 1988:51)

Antigonus himself was an important patriarch, for he was a student of Simon the Just and master of the first of the five pairs listed in Abot: Jose son of Joezer and Jose son of Johanan. However, according to Abot de-Rabbi Nathan (Version A), he will always be remembered for his two infamous disciples, Zadok and Baethus, who propagated heresies that continued to plague the



Jewish people for centuries. Were it not for their heretical doctrines, Zadok and Baethus may well have been the first pair in the chain of tradition instead of Jose son of Joezer and Jose son of Johanan. Antigonus himself was not entirely without blame since it was his ambiguous gnome about the servants which brought about the origin of these heresies. (Wacholder 1983:143)

It seems strange that the heresies of Zadok and Baethus elicited such a strong condemnation from mainstream Judaism merely on their stance on the immortality of the soul, as this was the same view held by both the Hillelite and Shammaite traditions within Pharisaism. The difference of opinion was also the same as that between the Pharisees and Sadducees, yet these two main parties within Second Temple Judaism agreed to differ on the immortality of the soul, yet co-existed within the confines of the Law. The only conclusion to be drawn from this fact is that the rift seemed to have run a lot deeper than the reasons set forth by Abot de-Rabbi Nathan. Unfortunately these are the only reasons to be found in rabbinic sources. However, historically it confirms that a certain Zadok, not to be confused by the high priest Zadok of the times of David and Solomon, founded a heretical sect in direct opposition to mainstream Judaism. This is in direct agreement with the writings from Qumran.

In the tenth-century work on Jewish sectarians, the *Book of Lights and Watch-Towers*, by the Karaite author Abu Jusuf Ja'qub Al-Qirqisani, further evidence is found of the two renegade disciples of Antigonus of Socho. The relevant passages, translated by Wacholder (1983: 148-9) will be quoted *verbatim*.

- "Following the Rabbanites, the Zadokites appeared with their leaders, Zadok and Baethus. They were, according to the Rabbanites, pupils of Antigonus of Socho, who succeeded Simon the Just and received instruction from him. Zadok was the first who exposed the Rabbanites by attacking them publicly, and he revealed some of the truth. He wrote a large book in which he attacked and



criticised the Rabbanites. He did not adduce proofs for the things he said, but he wrote them as if from an oral tradition, except for one subject: the prohibition against marrying the daughter of the brother and the daughter of the sister. ... This he proved by the principle of *heqqeš* (analogy) with the paternal or maternal aunt. ... As for Baethus, he used to say that the feast of the Pentecost must fall on Sunday, which is the opinion of the Ananites and of the Karaite sect".

- "The account of the Zadokites, these are their doctrines: namely, they prohibit divorce, which is explicitly sanctioned in Scripture. Moreover, they make every month to be thirty days, and it is conceivable that in this matter they relied on the account of Noah. Also, they exclude the Sabbath from the total of the days of the feast of Passover, counting seven days in addition to the Sabbath, similarly with the feast of Sukkot".
- "Thereupon appeared the teaching of the sect called Magharians; they were so called because their sacred books were found in a cave. One of them is the Alexandrian whose book is famous and widely known; it is the most important of the books of the Magharians. Next to it in importance is a small booklet entitled "The Book of Yaddua", also a fine work".

What we have here is therefore an independent, tenth-century source confirming the fact that Simon the Just had a student named Antigonus of Socho. He in turn, as in the rabbinic sources, is mentioned primarily because of his two schismatic pupils, Zadok and Baethus. Unlike the rabbinic sources we are given more information on the doctrine and beliefs of the Zadokites, which is to a very large extent in line with what the writings found at Qumran indicate. From the above excerpts, I have compiled a list of indicators which may indicate a connection to the Zadokites of the Qumran material as follows:



- The books were held in a cave.
- The identification of the founder of the sect as Zadok.
- A book by Zadok which he used in direct opposition to the Rabbanites' oral tradition, possibly the Temple Scroll (11Q Torah).
- The prohibition against marrying the daughter of the brother and the daughter of the sister.
- An alternative way of establishing certain feast days, hinting at a possible alternative calendar.
- The prohibition on divorce.
- A possible Alexandrian, and hence a possible Egyptian influence from the time of the Ptolemies or even the Diadochi.
- Most importantly, that the Zadokite sect attacked the Judaic mainstream publicly on points of doctrine. They therefore did not see themselves as part of mainstream Judaism as represented by the Pharisees and Sadducees.

Interestingly, however, is the fact that no mention is made of the so-called controversial master-and-servants gnome cited by the rabbinic sources. Could it be that the Zadokite sect was so insignificant that not many people in rabbinic circles knew much about their doctrine? A good example of this phenomenon is the current Unification Church (Moonies) of the Rev. Sun Myung Moon. Even though they are controversial and often make the headlines, not too many people are familiar with the exact doctrines of the church.



An important point to be raised would then be how a Karaite author of the tenth century knew more about the Zadokite sect than the early rabbinic authors. According to Wacholder (1983:150-5), the discovery of the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll (IIQ Torah) permits a glimpse into Al-Qirqisani's sources, as both of these Qumranic texts prohibit marriage to one's niece. In the Damascus Document (V:8-10) we read:

"And each man marries the daughter of his brother and sister, whereas Moses said, *You shall not approach your mother's sister; she is your mother's near kin* (Lev. 18:13). But although the laws for incest are written for men, they also apply to women. When, therefore, a brother's daughter uncovers the nakedness of her father's brother, she is (also his) near kin".

This corresponds accurately with Al-Qirqisani's observation that, "(h)e did not adduce proofs for the things he said, but he wrote them as if from an oral tradition, except for one subject: the prohibition against marrying the daughter of the brother and the daughter of the sister. ... This he proved by the principle of *heqqeš* (analogy) with the paternal or maternal aunt".

Al-Qirqisani also mentions a complete prohibition on divorce. Prior to the translation of the Qumran documents, Chaim Rabin (1954:17) argued that the Damascus Document (IV:21), בְּחַיֵּיהֶם (in their lifetime) may only have prohibited polygamy. It was uncertain if divorce was meant as well. However, both Al-Qirqisani and the Temple Scroll (LVII:17-20) is explicit on this point.

"He shall not marry as wife any daughter of the nations, but shall take a wife for himself from his father's house, from his father's family. He shall not take another wife in addition to her, for she alone shall be with him all the time of her life. But if she dies, he may marry another from his father's house, from his family".



From the above two examples it may be argued that the author Al-Qirqisani may have had even in the tenth century access to both the Damascus Document and the Temple Scroll. Moreover, by the use of these documents he linked these two documents, and through conjecture the corpus of the Qumran library, to Zadok, pupil of Antigonus of Socho, who started his own heretical sect in direct opposition to mainstream Judaism.

#### **4.2.3 Chronology of the Qumran sect**

##### **4.2.3.1 Founding of the sect**

It would be extremely difficult to have dated the origin of the sect and its chronology without the correct identification of their Teacher of Righteousness, Zadok. As Zadok, pupil of Antigonus of Socho, seems to be the most likely candidate, it would be advisable to try and establish a chronological and historical framework and milieu around the persons of Zadok, his teacher Antigonus, and the teacher of Antigonus, namely Simon the Just.

Of all the scrolls yielded by the Qumran library, the one with the clearest reference to the origins of the cult is definitely the Damascus Document (Col. I:1-10). Already in the introduction or exhortation of the document it provides clues as to the origins to the cult. (Vermes 1997:127)

I "Listen now to me, all you who know righteousness, and consider the works of God; for he has a dispute with all flesh and will condemn all those who despise Him".

"For when they were unfaithful and forsook Him, He hid His face from Israel and His Sanctuary and delivered them up to the sword. But remembering the Covenant of the forefathers, He left a remnant to Israel and did not deliver it up to be destroyed. And in the



age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, He visited them, and He caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron to inherit His Land and to prosper on the good things of His earth. And they perceived their iniquity and recognised that they were guilty men, yet for twenty years they were like blind men groping for the way".

"And God observed their deeds, that they sought Him with a whole heart, and He raised for them a Teacher of Righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. And he made known to the latter that which God had done to the latter generation, the congregation of traitors, to those who departed from the way. This was the time of which it is written, *Like a stubborn heifer thus was Israel stubborn* (Hos. iv. 16), when the Scoffer arose who shed over Israel the waters of lies".

The figure of the mythical Teacher of Righteousness therefore features prominently right from the start. According to the above passage from the Damascus Document, God, at some time in the past turned his back on His people because of their infidelity. Then, three hundred and ninety years after the Babylonian exile, there occurred a change in relationship with God. After watching them "groping for the way" for twenty years God sent them a teacher who had the necessary moral qualifications and scriptural knowledge to be their leader.

From the above examples in 4.1.2 it is clear that from a chronological viewpoint the majority of scholars are of the opinion that it is mainly the Hasmonean and Roman periods which have any relevance to the development of the Essene movement. If this was the case, it would mean that compared to Pharisaism and Sadduceanism, Essenism would have been a fairly late arrival to Second Temple Judaism. A divergent, but nevertheless very convincing



viewpoint has been put forward by Wacholder (1983:171-3), who is of the opinion that the roots of Qumran may go back to the era of the *Diadochi*, especially to the time when Judaea was part of the Ptolemaic state. According to Wacholder the chronology of the high priests after Jaddua, the last Aaronide chieftain, remains obscure, as our only reasonably reliable source on the period, namely Josephus, is very accurate with information from the Hasmonean and Herodian periods, but very fragmentary concerning the preceding periods. Relying on Josephus as well as the Zeno papyri and rabbinic tradition, Wacholder attempts to create a chronological unit out of the information provided by all three sources.

The problem can be divided into two parts: (a) the chronology of the high priests from Onias, who follows Jaddua, to Menelaus (Onias-Menelaus) and the chronology of the Tobiads, a clan of sheikhs who controlled parts of Ammon from pre-exilic times, becoming influential and intermarrying with Jerusalem's aristocracy; (b) the chronology of the successors of the oral law listed in the Mishnah.

Josephus names the high-priestly succession during the period of the Diadochi as follows:

Onias I	Simon the Just II
Simon the Just I	Onias III
Eleazar	Jason
Manasseh	Menelaus (Onias-Menelaus)
Onias II	Alcimus

He nevertheless does not record any significant occurrences during the terms of the first four. As Onias I is listed as the successor of Jaddua he presumably served in office after 332 BCE, the date Josephus gives as that of Jaddua's mythical encounter with Alexander. However, according to rabbinical legends Onias I was succeeded by Simon the Just, who ruled before 330 BCE.



But three high priests - Simon I, Eleazar and Manasseh - then occupied this position at some stage between approximately 332 and 240 BCE. More problematic is to date the term of Onias II, Manasseh's successor.

According to Wacholder (1983:172), Onias II was already the high priest at an advanced age at the time when Joseph, son of Tobias, became the tax-farmer in Coele-Syria. Onias had endangered the country by his failure to pay tribute to the Egyptian authorities. However, Josephus states in two places (*Ant.* XII:186, 224) that Joseph held the office of tax-farmer for twenty-two years. Tcherikover (1966:158-61) proposed that the visit of Joseph to Ptolemy took place during the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes (246-222 BCE) in 242 BCE. However, he argued that Joseph received the tax-concession only during a later visit to the same ruler, between 230 and 220 BCE. The problem with this chronology (Wacholder 1983:172) is the timetable of the Tobiads. Tobias, the sheik of Ammon, a correspondent of the Zeno papyri during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282-246 BCE) was the father of the aforementioned Joseph, the tax-collector whose death took place at about 187 BCE, according to Josephus. (*Ant.* XII:124) Assuming that Joseph became tax-collector at the age of thirty in 242 BCE, he would have been eighty-five at his death. If he became tax-collector at forty, he would have lived to the age of ninety-five!

Wacholder (1983:173) endorses the theory that Joseph became tax-farmer in 219 BCE under the rule of Ptolemy IV Philopator (222-205 BCE), serving until the end of the Ptolemaic control of Coele-Syria in 198 BCE. Philopator, upon assuming office, wished to increase his revenue, which gave an opportunity for Joseph's ambitions. At that point Onias was already an old man. He died soon thereafter and was succeeded by Simon the Just II in 218-215 BCE. If Joseph became tax-collector at the age of forty, he died at the age of seventy-seven in 187 BCE. This is consistent with Josephus, who places the death of Simon II and Onias III's assumption of office after 187 BCE. (*Ant.* XII:224) Simon the Just's rule therefore extended for over thirty years, from



about 215 to 187-185 BCE, for he was still alive during the struggle among the heirs of Joseph over their paternal inheritance. (*Ant.*XII:229)

According to the above chronology from both Josephus and other sources, the following succession of high priests seems, according to Wacholder (1983:173) more plausible:

Jaddua	- up to 330	Jason	- 175-173 to 172-170
Onias I	- after 330	Menelaus	- 172-170 to 163-162
Simon I		Alcimus	- 163-162 to 159
Eleazar		Position unfilled	- 159 to 152
Manasseh		Jonathan	- 152 to 142
Onias II	- 240 to 218-215	Simon	- 142 to 134
Simon II	- 218-215 to 187-185	John Hyrcanus	- 134 to 104
Onias III	- 187-185 to 175-173		

If we follow Wacholder's (1983:174) hypothesis that Zadok, the disciple of Antigonus of Socho, was the founder of the Zadokite sect whose scrolls were deposited at Qumran, we can establish the approximate founding of the sect from the following rabbinic chronology.

Prophets	Antigonus of Socho
Men of the Great Assembly	Jose son of Joezer and Jose son of Johanan
Simon the Righteous	

To establish the chronological framework of the Qumran sect, the dates of Simon the Righteous and Antigonus of Socho are of consequence. If taken literally, "Antigonus of Socho received the Torah from Simon the Righteous" (*Abot* 1:4) means that he served as Simon's disciple. The same could be said of Jose son of Joezer and Jose son of Johanan who "received" from Antigonus.



However, the word קבל (received) does not necessarily denote actual discipleship, but only that these sages were significant links in the chain. In the light of rabbinic chronology, Abot 1:3 dates Antigonus of Socho sometime between 311 and 170 BCE. In other words, during the period from the beginning of the Seleucid era in 311 BCE until the time of the Hasmoneans he was the single personality whose name was worth preserving. According to Wacholder (1983:175) the fact that Antigonus has no patronymic implies that he was a well-known personality who required no further identification. As no other rabbinic sources refer to him other than to mention him as the teacher of Zadok and Baethus, he is listed simply to exculpate him from the misinterpretations ascribed to him by his disciples. In other words, the inclusion of Antigonus in the chain of tradition was intended to allude to the rise of sectarianism under the leadership of Zadok and Baethus. Thus, the mention of Antigonus explains the terms "Zadokites" and "Baethusians", frequently mentioned in the Tannaitic texts.

According to Wacholder (1983:176) the name Antigonus was probably given to a Jewish child as a tribute to Antigonus Monophthalmus, who ruled Coele-Syria between 316 and 301 BCE. As it is doubtful that the inhabitants of Socho would have dared to name their sons Antigonus after the Battle of Ipsus in 301 BCE, when the Ptolemies and Seleucids successively ruled the area, the name Antigonus itself makes it likely that the birth of the sage occurred before 301 BCE. But chronologically the unveiling of Zadok's Torah takes place in 196 BCE. It is therefore possible that Zadok was not only the discoverer of the new Torah, but in fact its author. If Zadok was in fact a disciple of Antigonus, Antigonus must have been a very old man and Zadok a very young disciple. It is also possible that Zadok was not a disciple of Antigonus, but that there was an unnamed master who was the student of Antigonus and the teacher of Zadok. Thus it may be presumed that Antigonus, the teacher of Zadok, taught during the high-priesthood of Eleazar and Manasseh, and possibly that of Onias II. Zadok, his disciple, presumably attained maturity during the period of Onias II



and Simon the Just II. (Wacholder 1983:176) It therefore supports a hypothesis that sectarianism began to take root in the third century BCE, which culminated in groups like the Zadokites and Baethusians, as well as a proliferation of rival Yahwistic temples as in Gerizim (Samaritans), Araq el-Emir (Hyrkanus), Leontopolis in Egypt (Onias IV) and at Lachish.

#### **4.2.3.2 The first twenty years of the sect**

In the three hundred and ninety-first year after the *Hurban*, Zadok established a new Aaronic priesthood. As *Moreh Sedeq* of the new sect, he and his followers migrated to the region of Damascus, presumably to the wilderness east of Jerusalem or more likely to a region in Syria. With this act the sectarians entered a new covenant with God, and severed all ties with the Temple cult of mainstream Judaism in Jerusalem. This was the period described in the Damascus Document (Col. I:6-10) as follows (Vermes 1997:127):

"And in the age of wrath, three hundred and ninety years after He had given them into the hand of King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, He visited them, and He caused a plant root to spring from Israel and Aaron to inherit His Land and to prosper on the good things of His earth. And they perceived their iniquity and recognised that they were guilty men, yet for twenty years they were like blind men groping for the way".

The best way to describe these years would be as the years bridging the period when the sectarians were like the blind that grope in the darkness. According to the chronology established in the previous section the twenty years must have spanned from approximately 196/195 to 177/176 BCE. According to Wacholder (1983:181) the purpose of the covenant of Damascus, as well as of the treatise that records it, was to make them realise that what they were seeing was not merely the appearance of truth, but truth itself. The



author of the Damascus Document fully expected that at the end of the twenty years the "Scoffer (who) arose who shed over Israel the waters of lies" (Col. I:14), that is the chief priest in Jerusalem while the *Moreh Ṣedeq* was in exile, would be removed from office to make way for the new dispensation as foretold by their guide, the Teacher of Righteousness.

Chronologically, the high priests in office during this time (196/195 to 177/176 BCE) were Simon the Just II, who was succeeded by Onias III during the reign of Seleucus IV (187-175 BCE). As Simon the Just II remained in office for most of the twenty years that stretched from 196-176 BCE, he seems to be the most likely candidate. If the scoffer (אִישׁ הַלְצוֹן) is indeed to be identified with Simon the Just II, he is also the one identified as Belial, whose person personifies the three sins of Jerusalem, namely whoredom, wealth and defilement of the sanctuary. (Wacholder 1983:183)

As for the first sin, Simon the Just II's sister was the mother of Joseph the Tobiad. According to Josephus (*Ant.*XII:186-9), Joseph's son, Hyrcanus, was the offspring of a marriage between Joseph and the daughter of his brother. This fact ties in well with the Zadokite sect's unique interpretation of incest, and completely disproves the theory of Eisenman (1986:89) that this form of incest only occurred as late as the Herodian era. The second accusation ties in well with the fact that Joseph the Tobiad, with the support of the Jerusalem priesthood, sided with Antiochus III against Ptolemy V in the war over Coele-Syria. Joseph had become the chief tax-farmer under the Ptolemies, and other members of the Tobiad clan gained control of the Temple's treasury, which had become the equivalent of a people's bank where many placed their savings for safekeeping (2 Mac.3:6,10-12).

As for the third sin, Wacholder (1983:184) points to the fact that the precise designation of the term טמא המקדש remains obscure. The avoidance of defiling the sacred is the main theme of the sect's Torah, the Temple Scroll. But



the epithet **טמא המקדש** seems problematic since it contains an adjective before a substantive with a definite article. Technically the phrase may be rendered "the most defiled of the Temple," an epithet that would attain its full force only if hurled against Jerusalem's high priest. Thus it is not unlikely that all three charges - whoredom, possessions and defilement - are primarily directed against the person of Simon the Just and his associates, an interpretation that makes the treatise's vilification quite pointed.

### 4.3 THE SECTARIAN TORAH

If there was one single factor that unified Pharisaism and Sadduceanism into one Judaic religion it was both groups' endorsement of the same Mosaic Torah. It has already been discussed above that one of the main factors that caused a rift between mainstream Judaism and Samaritanism was the sectarian Book of Law of the Samaritans which differed with the Judaic Torah with regard to the authentic site of the Temple. That a discrepant version of the Torah also seemed to have been the motivating force behind the Qumran community's split from mainstream Judaism is clear from the Damascus Document (Col. V:2-5, VI:5-12):

"... but David had not read the sealed book of the Law which was in the ark (of the Covenant), for it was not opened in Israel from the death of Eleazar and Joshua, and the elders who worshipped Ashtoreth. It was hidden and (was not) revealed until the coming of Zadok".

"The *Well* is the Law, and those who dug it were the converts of Israel who went out of the land of Judah to sojourn in the land of Damascus. God called them all princes because they sought him, and their renown was disputed by no man. The *Stave* is the Interpreter of the Law of whom Isaiah said, *He makes a tool for His work* (Isa. Liv, 16); and the *nobles of the people* are those who come



to dig the *Well* with the staves with which the *Stave* ordained that they should walk in all the age of wickedness - and without them they shall find nothing - until he comes who shall teach righteousness at the end of days".

According to Wacholder (1983:1-3) the most exceptional find in the entire Qumran library is the contents of the book what generally came to be known as the Temple Scroll, but which he himself refers to as the Sectarian Torah. This book contains what seems to be another version of the legal lore found in the Mosaic books, in some respects resembling sections of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. At the same time, it also contains certain sections that have no counterpart in the traditional Pentateuch. The first dozen columns have been heavily damaged, with Column I missing entirely. According to Geza Vermes (1997:190) some of the columns are so fragmented that only a very hypothetical reconstruction, almost exclusively from biblical texts, is possible. The probable contents of the scroll could, according to Vermes, be summarised as follows:

1. Column I is missing.
2. Covenant between God and Israel (Column II).
3. Building of the Temple, measurements of the Sanctuary, the Holy of Holies, the chambers and the colonnades (Columns III-VII).
4. Description of the mercy seat, the cherubim, the veil, the table, the golden lamp-stand, etc. (Columns VII-XI).
5. Outline of the sacrifices and the altar (Columns XI-XII).



6. Daily, weekly and monthly sacrifices and those offered on festivals (Columns XIII-XXIX).
7. Buildings in the Temple courtyards: the stairhouse, the house of the laver, the house for sacred vessels, the slaughterhouse, etc. (Columns XXX-XXXV).
8. The three courtyards of the Temple, one for the priests, one for Jewish men over twenty years of age, and one for women and children (Columns XXXVI-XLV).
9. Purity regulations concerning the Temple and the city of the Sanctuary (XLVI-XLVIII).
10. Purity regulations concerning the cities of Israel (Columns XLVIII-LI).
11. Judges and officers (Column LI).
12. Laws relating to idolatry and to sacrificial animals (Columns LI-LIII).
13. Vows and oaths (Columns LIII-LIV).
14. Laws against apostasy (Columns LIV-LV).
15. Laws relating to priests and Levites and detailed statutes of the Jewish king (Columns LVI-LIX).
16. Miscellaneous laws regarding priestly dues, idols, witnesses, the conduct of war, the rebellious son, crimes punishable by 'hanging', and incestuous relations (Columns LX-LXVI).



The first question to be asked would be what was the author of the Temple Scroll's motivation for composing the book? Yigael Yadin (1983:63-5) is of the opinion that the author set out to edit the Pentateuch. He came to the conclusion that the Mosaic books of Law in the Pentateuch contained too many repetitions and duplications, and he therefore set out through conflation and harmonisation to merge all the relevant pieces into one harmonious unity. The writer regarded himself as an editor whose chief task was to present the reader with an integrated text containing as few flaws and ambiguities as possible.

Geza Vermes (1997:191) sees the aim of the redactor as to present the message of the scroll not so much as an interpretation of the Mosaic Torah, but as an immediate divine revelation. For this purpose, not only does he formulate the supplementary legislation as directly spoken by God, but also frequently substitutes 'I' for 'the Lord' (Yahweh) of Scripture.

Agreeing with Vermes, Wacholder (1983:3-4) questions Yadin's hypothesis. According to him, it is generally agreed that the composition of Deuteronomy, which evidently occurred in the seventh century BCE, antedates the acceptance of a more or less canonised Torah ascribed to Moses. When the canonisation took place, evidently in the exilic or post-exilic period, the Book of Deuteronomy's authorship was taken for granted. Both the Samaritan and the Greek versions of the Pentateuch attest to the fact that centuries before the Temple Scroll, dated by Yadin circa 100 BCE, the canonicity of the Torah was fully recognised throughout Israel. Therefore, Wacholder proposes that the author proposed to present the reader with another Torah, even more faithful to the word of God and more authoritative than its Mosaic archetype. The real author concealed his identity by advancing the claim that his writings were of a divine source, not as conveyed by any mortal, but revealed directly by God, in the same way as the Torah had been revealed to Moses.

Why a second Torah? The IIQ Torah itself seems to answer this question. In Lev. 26:14-15 we read:



"But if you will not listen to me and do not put all these commandments into practise, if you reject my laws and detest my customs, and you break my covenant by not putting all my commandments into practise, ..."

However, in the course of the apparent paraphrase and harmonisation the author of the IIQ Torah presents a new perspective, shifting the account from the past to eschatological times. (Wacholder 1983:25) In the Mosaic passages the period of backsliding is in the future, when Israel will be settled in the land. In IIQ Torah (LIX:8-9) it is the period when Israel has already backslidden, calling for a renovation of the covenant:

"None shall save them because of their wickedness, because they have broken my covenant and their soul has loathed my Law until they have incurred every guilt".

That which is still hypothetical in Leviticus has already taken place, as far as the author of the scroll is concerned.

Another example quoted by Wacholder (1983:25-6) is the consolation in Lev. 26:42,45:

"I shall remember my covenant with Jacob, I shall remember my covenant with Isaac and my covenant with Abraham".

Instead, the corresponding passage in IIQ Torah (LIX:9-10) contains no such consolation, but reads instead:

"None shall save them because of their wickedness, because they have broken my covenant and their soul has loathed my Law until they have incurred every guilt. Afterwards they will return to me



with all their heart and all their soul, in conformity with all the words of this law until they have incurred every guilt".

Redemption will not come here merely by the merits of the patriarchs, but through Israel's repentance and their resolve to follow this Torah with all their heart and all their soul. The implication is therefore clear that, whereas the Mosaic Torah was given prior to Israel's conquest of Canaan, IIQ Torah was meant to be a Torah for the eschaton. Return to it meant the inauguration of the Messianic age.

#### 4.3.1 "I", "Thou" and "They"

In numerous examples Wacholder (1983:4-6) points out that the author attempted not only to conceal his own identity, but also attempts to convince the reader that the scroll is not a human composition, but that every word has indeed been uttered by God. Examples are:

1.Col. 2:1	אנִי עוֹשֶׂה
------------	--------------

"I] am do[ing."

2.Col. 29:3-4	בבית אשר אֶשְׁכֵּן שְׁמִי עָלָיו
---------------	----------------------------------

"In the house upon which I will cause My name [to dwell]."

3.Col. 29:6	אשר יביאו לי
-------------	--------------

"which they will bring to Me."

4.Col. 31:9	ככול אשר אנוכי מדבר אליכה
-------------	---------------------------

"according to all which I tell thee."

5.Col. 39:10-11	לי אחר יבואו מבן עשרים [שנ]ה
-----------------	------------------------------



"to Me, afterwards they can enter from twenty year[s of age]."

6.Col. 45:10      ולוא יבואו בנדת שמאתמה אל מקדשי

"They shall not come into my sanctuary when they  
are sexually impure."

7.Col. 45:12      אשר אשכין שמי בה

"wherein I shall cause My name to dwell."

8.Col. 45:14      כי אני יהוה שוכן בתוך בני ישראל לעולם  
"for I the Lord reside among the Israelites forever."

9.Col. 46:3-4      בתוך מקדשי לעו[לם] ועד כול הימים אשר  
א[ני שוכן] בתוכם  
"within My sanctuary forev(er) throughout all the days  
that [I resi]de in their midst."

10. Col. 46:7-8      אשר יהיו עולים בני ישראל אליו לבוא אל מקדשי  
"so that the Israelites will ascend it to enter into my  
sanctuary."

From these examples it is clear that the words are supposedly uttered by God himself. Yadin (1983:62) recognises the role of the first person in the scroll, but sees it as a mere rhetorical device to add authoritativeness to the Mosaic transmission of the text. Wacholder (1983:6) sees it as a claim for divine authorship. The Temple Scroll is not to be characterised as an epitome attempting to paraphrase, conflate, or supplement Moses' legal corpus, but rather as a code of laws uttered by God Himself on Mount Sinai which claims at least equality to and probably superiority over the Mosaic Torah.



According to Wacholder (1983:6-9) the real significance of the first person can only be appreciated if it is analysed in conjunction with the author's use of the second and third person. Virtually all the passages commanding the construction of the Temple employ ועשיתָה (thou shalt make), תעשה (thou shalt make), תתן (thou shalt put), ונתתָה (thou shalt put), and תבנה (thou shalt build). Beginning with the first column the author emends the text of Exod. 34:10 to the second-person singular, a practise which he generally follows. Equally significant is the employment of the third-person plural, utilised as a rule to add information to the direct prescription. While the second-person singular is the introductory imperative, the third person plural seems to indicate supplementary commands. The main structure of the book consists of syntax built on these three pronouns. Examples are:

1. Col. 3:4-8      בית לשום שמי עליו כ[נול] ... בו כסף וזהב מכול א ...  
ולוא תטמאנו כי אם מן ה...[נחון]שת וברזל ואבני גזית לב ...  
ואת כול כליו יעשו זהב טהונר

"ho]use upon which to place My name, a[ll] ... silver and gold from all ... thou shalt not defile it, but rather of ... [bro]nze and iron and hewn stone ... all its vessels let them make of pu[re] gold."

2. Col. 46:6-8      ושתים עשרה מעלה תעשה לו אשר יהיו עולים בני ישראל  
אליו לבוא אל מקדשי

"Thou shalt make twelve steps which the Israelites will ascend to enter My Sanctuary".

3. Col.51:6-7      ולוא יטמאו בהמה אשר אני מגיד לכה בהר הזה ולוא



## יטמאן

"they shall not defile themselves with those things which I declare to you on this mount; they shall not defile themselves."

In a number of places, the second-person singular and the third-person plural are used in conjunction. Examples are:

1. Col. 32:12-15      [ו]עשיתה תעלה ... ולוא יהיה נוגעים בהמה כול אדם כי

מדם העולה מתערב במה

"Thou shalt make a water-course ... and none shall touch it (the water), for some of the blood of the burnt offering is mixed with it."

2. Col. 46:13-16      ועשיתה להמה מקום יד חוץ מן העיר אשר יהיו יוצאים  
שמה לחוץ לצפון המערב לעיר בתים ומקורים ובורות  
בתוכמה אשר תהיה הצואה יורדת אל תוכמה ולוא  
תהיה נראה לכול רחוק מן העיר שלושת אלפים אמה

"Thou shalt make for them a place of the hand outside of the city whither they are to go out - northwest of the city; buildings with springs and cisterns within them into which the excrement will descend, not within sight - a distance of 3 000 cubits from the city."

According to Wacholder (1983:7-9) the first person refers to the Deity. In the legal parts of the Torah, the second-person singular usually refers to the collective you, namely Israel. However, in the IIQ Torah the subject of "thou" throughout the scroll is Moses. In Col. XLIV:5 the passage



(... you shall allot to Aaron, your brother ... ) clearly identifies Moses as the addressee in the scroll. The subject of the scroll can therefore be seen as describing the activity of divine revelation to Moses. The Lord is speaking directly to Moses on Mount Sinai. What makes this fact of paramount importance is that it indicates that the sanctuary prescribed by the scroll is to be identified with neither the wilderness tabernacle nor the Solomonic structure. In contrast to the account in Exod. 35-40 the author stresses the point that the execution of these commandments has never been completed in the past and is to be fulfilled in the days to come. In Col. LX:12,13 & 15) we read:

"If a Levite comes from any town anywhere in Israel where he sojourns to the place where I will cause my name to abide, (if he come) with an eager soul, he may minister like his brethren the Levites who attend on me there." ... "When you enter the land which I give you, do not learn to practise the abominations of those nations."

The implications of the above points are clear.

- The Mosaic Torah was given to the Israelites in the wilderness as a Law of a wandering nation.
- The Mosaic Torah describes a sanctuary like a tabernacle, which can be moved from place to place.
- The IIQ Torah was given to the Israelites in the wilderness as a Law of a nation already settled in the Promised Land.
- The IIQ Torah describes a permanent sanctuary like a Temple, but clearly deviating from the earlier Temple erected by Solomon.



The IIQ Torah therefore supersedes the Mosaic Torah. However, it was already given to Moses on Mount Sinai at the same time as the Mosaic Torah, but was hidden to be revealed by the Teacher of Righteousness at the end of days. As Yigael Yadin (1983:38-60) points out the composition of the scroll progresses from the innermost sacred area to the most profane area outside of the Temple precincts, with supplementary material added at the end. Ignoring minor subjects, the overall organisation of the Temple Scroll seems to follow the Pentateuchal order, set out by Wacholder (1983:15) as follows:

Building of the temple	Cols. 1-13	Exodus 25 - 40
Sacrificial rites	Cols. 13-29	Leviticus, Numbers
Resumption of the account of the temple structure and its courts	Cols. 30-46	Exodus 25-40
Laws of defilement and purity	Cols. 47-54	Leviticus, Numbers
Deuteronomic laws	Cols. 54-66	Deuteronomy

What this reveals is that the author relied primarily on the second half of Exodus and then on Leviticus and Numbers, but paid only scant interest to Deuteronomy. According to Wacholder (1983:15) this apparent lack of interest in Deuteronomy may account for two phenomena. First, that the amount of material dependent upon Deuteronomy is limited. Second, in spite of the amplification of Deuteronomic themes, such as the royal charter and the captive woman, the fifth book of Moses has by and large escaped the radical transformation allotted to the subjects of the preceding three Mosaic books. As Wacholder points out (beginning with Col. LII:7) the changes from the Mosaic version are minor. Since copying requires less effort and thought than the composition of new material, the author appears to have invested most of his



effort in subject matter that interested him. Thus the laws of ritual impurity and ecclesiastical perquisites form the core of the Temple Scroll.

#### 4.3.2 Divine Torah, not commentary

According to Wacholder (1983:17) "Torah" may refer to divine teachings in general, or to a specific set of rules given by God. However, scholars often differ as to when the term came to designate Mosaic Law or the Pentateuch as a whole. Although most scholars are of the opinion that Law with reference to the entire Torah or Pentateuch only developed during Deuteronomic or even post-exilic times, in the Temple Scroll the concept of the entire IIQ Torah being Law is clearly further developed than in the Mosaic Torah. As example, in Deuteronomy 17:10 (Mosaic Torah) we read:

ועשית על-פי הדבר אשר יגידו לך מן המקום ...

"And you shall do in accordance with the word that they shall tell you from the place ..."

The corresponding instruction in the Temple Scroll Col. LVI:3-4 (IIQ Torah reads:

ועשיתה על פי התורה אשר יגידו לכה ועל פי הדבר אשר יואמרו לכה  
מספר התורה ויגידו לכה באמת מן המקום ...

"And thou shalt do it in accordance with the Torah which they shall tell to thee, the word that they will say to thee, from the Book of the Torah, which they will tell thee in truth from the place ..."

It is thus obvious from the example that the concept of the Temple Scroll being the literal revealed Law further developed in the IIQ Torah than in the



Mosaic Torah. Wacholder (1983:18-20) identified the following points in which the sectarian concept of Torah is being illustrated:

1. The IIQ Torah is presented as an alternative to the canonised Torah.
2. The IIQ Torah was delivered by God.
3. The IIQ Torah is equal, perhaps even superior, to the canonical Torah in that it substitutes Pharisaic oral law with written law.
4. The IIQ Torah identifies itself (i.e. the Temple Scroll) as the final authoritative Torah being referred to in the text.

As have already been discussed, Yigael Yadin (1983:60-73) saw the purpose of the IIQ Torah first and foremost as an attempt by the author to merge the books of the Mosaic Torah into one harmonious book. Secondly, it served the purpose as a commentary similar to the Midrash Halakah. Wacholder (1983:30-32) disagrees totally. He sees the essence of the work not so much in the passages that reproduce or conflate biblical texts, but rather in the lengthy sections that present radical innovations allegedly ordained by God to Moses. Examples of its radical departure from the Mosaic Torah are amongst others:

1. Nowhere in the canonical Torah does God ordain pentacostal feasts celebrating the first wine and the first oil, which are to be concluded with a season of six days of offering in the woods.
2. The Hebrew scriptures contain several lengthy accounts, which detail the dimensions of several sanctuaries. None of these accounts for the square dimensions prescribed in the Temple Scroll fragments.



3. Cols. 57-60 formulate an utterly new royal charter that has almost no basis in canonical Scripture.

In his own words, Wacholder is of the opinion that, "(i)n spite of the apparent indebtedness to the Mosaic Torah, the fragments can be properly perceived only as presenting a new and superior Torah that reveals, its author claimed, what was still unrecorded in the Mosaic books. ... The text would be revealed to Israel only at the time of the eschaton, when the messianic epoch would be inaugurated. (The IIQ Torah) arrogates to itself not merely equality to the traditional Pentateuch, but superiority to the Mosaic Law." (1983:31,33)

The IIQ Torah can therefore be seen, not as a substitute of the Mosaic Torah, but rather as a Torah intended to be hidden for another epoch in the future of Israel. Allusions are there that, like the Mosaic Torah, it was given to Moses on Mount Sinai. Unlike the Samaritan Torah, it does not claim to be the only true Torah, but sees itself rather as another Torah superseding the old. Hypothetically it nevertheless implies that the sectarians living according to the IIQ Torah are one step ahead of those still clinging to the Mosaic Torah. However, this was seen as only a temporary measure, as the IIQ Torah itself foresaw an era where the entire Israel will be converted to its maxims. IIQ Torah LIX:13 foresees a full redemption of all Israel:

"I will redeem them, and increase them and exult over them. I will be their God and they shall be my people".

#### **4.4 JERUSALEM AND THE TEMPLE**

If there is any one characteristic of the IIQ Torah that could be regarded as the overriding theme of the document it has to be the meticulous attention that is given to the role of temple ritual and the Temple itself. Wacholder (1983:2) sees the dimensions of the Temple as described in the IIQ Torah as one of the strongest arguments for the Qumran community in essence being a temple



centred cult, even though they may have distanced them from the Jerusalem sanctuary. "What seems remarkable is not so much that the author prescribes the dimensions of a sanctuary whose dimensions were so disparate from the tabernacle recorded in the Hebrew scripture, but that the ordinances pertain to the erection of a whole precinct with perhaps half a dozen structures, the location and dimension of each given in minute detail. Certainly, the prescriptions for the sacrificial rites in the Temple Scroll exceeded those recorded in the Priestly Code of Leviticus and Numbers" (Wacholder 1983:2).

For Wacholder (1983:21-2) two questions need to be asked with regard to the Temple as described in the sectarian literature:

1. What specifically did the author mean by the numerous phrases containing שכן, "in which I shall make My name dwell"?
2. When will this epiphany implied in the whole book take place?

To this I may add, for the purpose of this thesis, one further question.

3. What will be the nature of the sanctuary as described in the literature of the sect?

For Wacholder (1983:21-2) the key to the first two questions lies in the following passage (IIQ Torah 29:3-10):

"In the house which I shall make My name dwell upon it ... burnt offerings ... daily in accordance with this *torat hammišpaṭ, tamyd* offerings from the Israelites alone, from their free-will offerings for each one who presents it, for all their vows and for all their gifts which they bring to Me for their acceptance. I shall accept them that they may be My people and I may be theirs forever; I shall dwell with



them forever and shall sanctify My sanctuary with My glory when I make My glory dwell upon it during the day of blessing, when I shall create My sanctuary to establish it for Myself for all time, in accordance with the covenant which I made with Jacob at Bethel."

The phrase, "in the house in which I shall make My name to [dwell]," (IIQ Torah 29;3-4) refers to, "house to place My name upon it." (IIQ Torah 3:4) The answer to the first question, namely what specifically did the author mean by the numerous phrases containing שכן, "in which I shall make My name dwell?", is therefore straightforward.

The answer to the second question, namely as to when this epiphany implied in the whole book will take place is also given in the passage, as "I shall dwell with them forever and shall sanctify My sanctuary with My glory when I make My glory dwell upon it during the day of blessing, when I shall create My sanctuary to establish it for Myself for all time, in accordance with the covenant which I made with Jacob at Bethel".

According to Wacholder (1983:22) the meaning of the preposition עד (IIQ Torah 29:9) is usually rendered as "until". Vermes (1997:200) therefore translated the passage as, "I will cause my glory to rest on it *until* the day of creation on which I shall create my sanctuary". So does Yadin. (1983:89) However, if the word 'until' is used in this passage, it implies that two sanctuaries will be created; the one on which Yahweh will cause His glory to rest upon, and a second which He will establish for Himself on the day of creation. Maier (1985:89-90) speculated that the passage refers to the Second Temple, which IIQ Torah depicts in an utopian form. Then the eschatological sanctuary is announced by the author, beginning with the words *yom habberakah*, to which Maier would add the word *meḥadaš* (newly). According to this view, the prescriptions in these fragments present a glorified version of the sanctuary of the Second Temple.



According to Wacholder (1983:23-24) neither of these views appears to have any justification. How could Yahweh have promised to dwell in a newly designed sanctuary "forever" (לְעוֹלָם) and in the next clause limit His dwelling there merely "until" (עַד) the day of blessing? He concludes that syntax and the general contents of the scroll compel us to presume here that the preposition 'ad' (עַד) does not have its usual definition "until", but rather "during" or "while."

It can therefore be construed that the Temple referred to in IIQ Torah does not refer to the Second Temple in Jerusalem, or even to Solomon's Temple, but rather to a Temple to be constructed immediately at the inception of the eschaton. However, this does not necessarily mean that Solomon's temple could not have served as a model for the eschatological Temple, but close scrutiny reveals that there appear to be some major discrepancies between the Temple envisaged by IIQ Torah and Solomon's Temple. Unfortunately, columns III-XII of IIQ Torah, which deal extensively with the Building of the Temple, measurements of the Sanctuary, the Holy of Holies, the Temple decorations, outline of the sacrifices and the altar are so badly damaged that only a very hypothetical reconstruction, based on external texts, is possible. (Vermes 1997:190) The one striking feature that does become apparent in IIQ Torah and which was probably paramount in the author's mind are the alterations, innovations and supplements with regard to the new Temple. According to Wacholder (1983:222) it was without question exceedingly important for the author to have a square sanctuary, not the rectangular one erected by Solomon or Zerubbabel. Other literature from the same period also reflects this perspective. It is fortunate that some of these works are still extant, and it may be useful to try and ascertain to what extent this corpus of material influenced each other.

During the Persian period, Jerusalem had become an important trading centre for the Phoenicians, and this role was expanded during the third century



with both the decline of Tyre after the fall of Carthage and the rise of Greek colonisation. This growing urbanisation must have been viewed with intense disapproval in certain ecclesiastical circles. According to Wacholder, (1983:224) Jerusalem was not seen by them as a city containing a sacred precinct, but rather an extension of the temple. In other words, it was the temple and the sacred areas that made Jerusalem what it was, a city of God. The *halacha* likewise transforms Jerusalem into a city which is an extension of Mount Zion, in which worldly affairs, such as agriculture and commerce, except for the service of pilgrims, were banned.

According to Wacholder (1983:224) IIQ Torah transforms Jerusalem from a city having within its limits the precincts of the temple into עיר המקדש (the city of the sanctuary). It is possible that the city of the sanctuary envisaged in IIQ Torah is not a rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem but a "New Jerusalem" which would, in a different area, replace the city of that name, as the dimensions of the courts in IIQ Torah clearly exceeds the actual area of Jerusalem's Temple Mount.

#### **4.4.1 The Book of Enoch**

Wacholder (1983:33) feels that the only writings outside of the Bible that may have influenced the IIQ Torah are sections of what is now known as the Book of Enoch, which has survived in its entirety only in the Ethiopic version of the Old Testament. According to Delcor (1989:422) the work does not consist of a single book but an entire corpus. This corpus includes within it works of various dates whose only common feature is that they ostensibly record revelations made by the antediluvian patriarch, Enoch. Remnants of an Enochite library in Aramaic and Hebrew were discovered among the manuscripts at Qumran. Wacholder (1983:34) is of the opinion that these fragments cannot be later than the third century BCE. Already in this period two qualities were ascribed to Enoch that were associated with his name: he was



the first mortal to become one of the heavenly beings and he revealed the making of the calendar. The fact that he lived 365 years can only mean that the discovery of the length of the solar calendar, which was followed in part by the Qumran community, was ascribed to him.

Delcor (1989:422) points out that the extant Ethiopic version is probably a translation from Greek. But the Greek text which underlies the Ethiopic is not itself the original, for the original was Semitic, either Hebrew or Aramaic. The Greek version of Enoch always quotes the Bible in the Hebrew form of the text, never in its Septuagintal form. Importantly, the chronology of the patriarchs does not follow that given in the Greek Bible, but that found in the Samaritan Pentateuch.

The Enochite 'Book of Watchers' is represented by five manuscripts from cave 4 at Qumran (Delcor 1989:426), bearing out the fact that it was in fairly common use by the Qumran community. However, among the thousands of Aramaic fragments from the entire Enochite corpus discovered at Qumran, all the sections of Enoch are represented except the Similitudes. From this, Delcor (1989:427-8) has concluded that the book of Similitudes did not exist at Qumran and must therefore have had a Christian origin. What further supports this theory that the title 'Son of Man' for the Messiah, which is found in the Similitudes, does not occur in Qumranic literature at all.

According to Delcor (1989:426) several factors point to a possible Essene origin of the Enochite works. To name but a few:

- The title "Lord of Spirits", occurring constantly in the Enochite corpus but rare elsewhere, does appear at least once in a hymn from Qumran.



- The "garments of glory" in which the elect are clothed (1 Enoch 62:15) also occurs in Qumranic literature, e.g. IQS (Community Rule) 4:8.
- The binding in chains of the evil angels, which is mentioned in Enoch 69:28, also occurs in Qumran Hymn 3:18, and the Mysteries (IQMyst).
- In the Enochite book 'Luminaries of Heaven' the author is arguing in favour not of a lunar year, but of a solar year of 364 days. This calendar is known to have been of sacerdotal origin and to have been respected in Qumranic circles.
- The 'Luminaries of Heaven' accuses the sinners of error 'in the reckoning of all their days' (82:4), and of a failure to observe the order of the stars and the calendar (80:7). The Qumran documents reveal the same preoccupation with the calendar and these discussions in the Enochite literature therefore give the impression that they come from the same circles.
- Chapters 106 to 107 (The Noachic fragment) appears to be altogether Essene in tone. It has a high regard for ascetism, despises gold and silver (108:8-10), and its author believes in the immortality of the soul (108:11-14).
- The eschatological glorification of the righteous in light (108:12) recalls the words of the psalmist in one of the Qumran Thanksgiving Hymns (IQH 11:14), "I will be resplendent in sevenfold light".



In view of the above examples, it is very possible that the original library of Enochite material had an Essene origin. Even if not, it would still be probable that whatever the real origin of the Book of Enoch, the Qumran community held it to be of paramount importance and used it extensively. Our next step would be therefore to try and establish if the Book of Enoch had any influence on the IIQ Torah, and if so, to what extent. Another factor is of paramount importance. If, in fact, there is a close connection between the Book of Enoch and the Qumranic sect and their literature, it may influence any hypothesis on dating the schismatic origins of the Qumran sect. According to M. Knibb (1979:28) the oldest element is the Astronomical Book of Enoch, which, incidentally, is the part which shows the strongest similarities with and influence on IIQ Torah. Knibb dates this book from the third century BCE. Wacholder agrees (1983:34), and points out that an independent Aramaic Astronomical Enoch, in part paraphrased or used in the Ethiopic Enoch's chapters 72-82, goes back to the fifth century BCE. He also dates the Aramaic original found at Qumran to a late Persian or early Hellenistic period. It therefore supports our earlier hypothesis that sectarianism began to take root in the third century BCE, which culminated in groups like the Zadokites and Baethusians, as well as a proliferation of rival Yahwistic temples as in Gerizim (Samaritans), Araq el-Emir (Hyrchanus), Leontopolis in Egypt (Onias IV) and at Lachish.

Wacholder (1983:35-40) is of the opinion that several fragments are significant for establishing a concrete link with extant sections of the Ethiopic Enoch, as well as with elements of the IIQ Torah. This first relevant fragment would be the Astronomical Book of Enoch (4Q209 7 - I Enoch 73-4).

... II ... [And it (the moon) shines in the remainder of this night with three seventh (parts); and it grows during this day to four sevenths and a half; and then it sets and enters (its gate) and is covered for the remainder] of this day to [two] sevenths [and a half. And in the night of the twenty] [fourth it is covered four sevenths and a half and



[four sevenths and a half] are cut off from its light. [And th]en it comes out (from its gate) and shines in the remainder of this night two sevenths and a half. And it grows [in[ this [d]ay five sevenths and then it sets and enters (its gate) and is covered for the remainder of this day [two] sev[enths. *vacat* And in the night, on the twenty fifth, it is covered five sevenths, (and) five sevenths are cut off from its light. And then it comes out and shines for the remainder of this night two sevenths. And it grows in this day to five sevenths and a half. And then it sets and enters the second gate and is covered for the remainder of this day one seventh and a half. (Vermes 1997:515-6)

Wacholder (1983:35) recognises three features that typify these fragments:

1. The redundancy of the formulation.
2. The stress on the divisibility by seven.
3. The role assigned to the gates of the heavens (תרעא).

The second relevant fragment, translated by Wacholder (1983:35) is of the fragment 4Qenastr 1:ii:3-5,14:

II ... and three (gates) after those on the north, [and three after those on the west. 4. And through four of these come forth winds which] are for the healing of the earth, and for its revival. And [through eight of these come forth harmful winds; when they are spent, they destroy all the earth] and the waters and all that is in them which grows and flourishes and keeps [in the waters and on the dry land, and all (men) who live in it. 5. And first of all,] the east wind comes through the first gate which is in [the east, and it inclines to the south; and from it comes destruction, drought, heat, and desolation.] ...14. And the twelve gates of the four quarters of heaven are completely



(described); their complete explanation I have shown [to you, my son Methuselah].

If you compare the above fragments with IIQ Torah 30-46, which describes the four sides of the sanctuary square, its gates, courtyards and architecture, it is clearly in accordance with Enoch's description of the universe. According to Wacholder (1983:38) a number of elements in the sectarian Torah makes sense only if a strong influence of the Astronomical Torah is presumed. The number seven, which appears continuously in the various measurements of the buildings and the gates, is basic to the dimensions of the sanctuary described in IIQ Torah. The stairwell is seven cubits from the sanctuary, the height of the gates of the laver is seven cubits, the wall of another building is seven cubits from the wall of the laver, the width of the wall of the inner court gate is seven cubits, the thickness of the outer court's wall is seven cubits, and the gates stick out from the outer courts wall seven cubits.

The frequent use of the multiples of seven accentuates the septimal theme of this work. Fourteen finds frequent mention: the gate of the inner court has a width of fourteen cubits, the beams of the gate of the inner court are fourteen cubits above the top doorsill, the width of the doors of the outer court is fourteen cubits, and the width of the terrace around the outer court is fourteen cubits. The laver in IIQ Torah is twenty-one cubits square, another employment of the septimal theme. Frequent references to twenty-eight also appear: twenty-eight cubits square is mentioned in the initial description of the sanctuary, the gate of the inner court has a height of twenty-eight cubits, the height of the wall around the middle court is twenty-eight cubits, the total width of the gates in the middle court is twenty-eight cubits. Finally, the height of the gates of the outer court is seventy cubits. While very frequent in the design of IIQ Torah, these measurements are absent in the older designs of the sanctuaries in the wilderness and of Jerusalem, whether in the account of Kings, Chronicles, or Ezekiel. (Wacholder 1983:38)



Wacholder (1983:39) also emphasises the fact that both the Book of Enoch and IIQ Torah reiterate squareness as another outstanding thematic feature. In his own translation of Enoch 76:1-4, the heavens are described as follows:

1. And at the ends of the earth I saw twelve gates open to all winds, from which the winds come out and blow over the earth. 2. Three of them (are) open in the front of heaven, and three in the west, and three on the right of heaven, and three on the left. ... 4. Through four of them come winds of blessing and peace, and from those eight come winds of punishment ...

The concluding verse of this chapter reads simply:

ושלמו תרי עשר תרעי ארבע רוחי שמניא

"And the twelve gates of the four sides of heaven are complete".

In IIQ Torah likewise, some structures, such as the laver and the middle courtyard, have four sides. The twelve gates, three on each side, receive paramount emphasis in Enoch's construction of the universe. The IIQ Torah equally stresses the twelve gates in the middle of the courtyard, where each of the four sides is taken up by three of the twelve tribes of Israel. Similarly, the outer courtyard is square with three gates on each side. (Wacholder 1983:39)

Finally, Wacholder (1983:39) speculates that the fact that all the structures in IIQ Torah consist of a main floor and a second story of smaller dimensions may be linked to the greater and lesser luminaries whose movements are depicted at great length in Enoch 72-73.

#### **4.4.2 The Book of Jubilees**

According to Wacholder (1983:41) the content of the Book of Jubilees is of paramount significance for the understanding of the history of Qumran as well



as the Sectarian Torah. The existence of a close connection between its author and the Qumran community has been recognised, since the Damascus Document (CD XVI:3-4) cites Jubilees by its full Hebrew title and because fragments of this book have been discovered in the Qumran caves. (VanderKam 1979:116) Composed originally in Hebrew, the book now survives in an Ethiopic translation, along with some Greek and Hebrew fragments.

VanderKam (1979:115-6) dates the book to sometime between c. 160 and 150 BCE. His basis for dating are:

- He says that Jubilee's account of the war between the sons of Jacob and the seven Amorite kings is modelled after the account of Judah Maccabee's warfare in 164-160 BCE.
- The same is said to apply to the war between Jacob and Esau.
- The passages in Jubilees stressing the significance of the observance of circumcision are taken to be reactions to Antiochus IV's persecution of Judaism in 167-164 BCE.
- The attack on public nudity in Jubilees is directed to the athletes who performed in the gymnasium which Jason had constructed while he was high priest.

Wacholder (1983:41-2) feels that VanderKam's dating of Jubilees needs to be modified. His reply to VanderKam's hypotheses are:

- A number of the place-names in the account of Judah Maccabee's battles and in the embellishment of Genesis in Jubilees do coincide, and others might be hypothesised. However, some of



the place-names linking patriarchal and Maccabean warfare are sheer conjectures.

- It was natural for the author of Jubilees to stress the rite of circumcision, as it forms an integral part of the Book of Genesis. It would have been more surprising had he decided to omit all mention of its observance.
- The problem of nudity could have originated with the penetration of Hellenism into certain segments of Judaeen society, such as the Tobiads, during the early decades of the second century BCE.

According to Wacholder's own hypothesis (1983:42) the historiographical indices in Jubilees place the work in the tradition of ancient Jewish Enochite literature, a corpus that possibly goes back to the Persian period but certainly to the third century BCE. The many parallels between provisions found in IIQ Torah and those found only in the Book of Jubilees, have amply demonstrated an interdependence between these two works.

Wacholder (1983:45) places an outline of Exodus 34 side by side with that of Jubilees 1. It reveals a discernable relationship between the two.

1	Moses' ascent to Sinai	Jub. 1:1-4	Exod. 24:12-18 ; 34:1-5
2	God's first address to Moses	Jub. 1:5-18	Exod. 34:6-7
3	Moses' intercession for Israel	Jub. 1:19-21	Exod. 34:8-9
4	God's second address to Moses	Jub. 1:22-26	Exod. 34:10-26
5	God's command to the angel of presence	Jub. 1:27-28	

The author of Jubilees begins by fusing Exod. 24:12-18 with Exod. 34:1-28, but continues only with the latter. Here the use of Exod. 34:1-5 is a postulate crucial for the understanding of Jub.1:1-4, for it alone contains the



paraphrase "two tablets of stone." This image becomes the central theme of both the prefatory section and the remainder of Jubilees 1. We find a fascinating exchange between God and Moses entirely absent in Exodus. Instead of God's depiction of His own characteristics delivered in the third person, in Jubilees God predicts in the first person what will befall Israel as a consequence of abandoning His Law and commandment from the present until the post-exilic times, i.e. roughly to the days of the composition of Jubilees. The plea by Moses that God not destroy Israel in spite of its stiff-neckedness is transformed into a supplication very apropos to the situation in Judaea at the second century BCE. (Wacholder 1983:45)

The divine response to Moses' prayer is even more radical than God's first words. Moses misunderstood God's concluding statement in Jub. 1:15-18 as referring to the rededication of the sanctuary following the rebuilding of the Temple by Zerubbabel (516 BCE). In God's second address to Moses He clarifies what the allusion to Israel's complete repentance and the erection of the Temple meant in the first speech. Contrary to the way Moses understood it, God had not referred to the Jerusalem sanctuary of the Second Temple, but to another Temple that would be built in the messianic age when Israel would indeed have repented and God will dwell in their midst forever. (Wacholder 1983:45-6)

The key to this section is to be found in Jub.26b-29:

26. "And do thy write down for thyself all these word which I declare unto thee on this mountain, *the first and the last*, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, *until I descend and dwell with them throughout eternity*." 27. And He said to the angel of the presence: "Write for Moses from the beginning of *creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity*." 28. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all will know that I am the God



of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. *And Zion and Jerusalem will be holy.*"

(Translation by Wacholder 1983:46 ; Italics by author)

Once again, three themes are reiterated:

1. Two sets of law, "the first and the last", were given to Moses.
2. God Himself will come and dwell with His people at the end of days.
3. Zion and Jerusalem will be one holy sanctuary.

Crucial to the fulfilment of the above three points is the "divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity." According to Wacholder (1983:56) the calendar advocated by Jubilees seems to rest on the Astronomical Enoch, and presents two versions of a lunisolar calendar. The first assumes a lunar year of 354 days, six months of 29 days each and another six months of 30 days. To reconcile the lunar orbit with the revolution of the sun, an embolistic month of 30 days is added every five years. Enoch fails to mention, in 74:10, that four days are added each year to make it total 364 days. The second calendar likewise begins with a 354-day lunar year, but adds an embolistic month every three years for a similar total of a mean year of 364 days. Both systems assume the solar year of 364 days in contrast to the Egyptian year, which has 360 plus 5 days, or the Julian calendar, according to which the year is composed of 365¼ days. This viewpoint radically deviates from the strictly lunar calendar followed by the Temple authorities in Jerusalem.

#### **4.4.3 Eupolemus**

We have above already discussed the fact that there seemed to have been quite a few examples of Yahwistic temples other than the one in



Jerusalem. Some, as the one established by Onias IV in Leontopolis (Egypt), also enjoyed some support and recognition by the Jewish population of the day. From the very strong emphasis placed on temple worship and ritual in their writings, one would be able to reach the conclusion that the Essene community was, in essence, basically a temple centred cult, albeit one, for the time being, without a temple. It would be informative to try and establish exactly to what extent their envisaged temple deviated from the one in Jerusalem, and how widely acceptable their own blueprint was.

The problem we are immediately faced with is the fact that the extant copy of IIQ Torah is very badly damaged in certain parts, especially that dealing with the description of the eschatological sanctuary itself. (Vermes 1997:190) However, Wacholder (1983:62-77) found possible evidence outside the usual Essene sources which may help to illuminate certain sections of IIQ Torah which were very badly damaged, and which may also go some way to proof that there were other sources outside their own which echoed their views. This he found in citations from the works of Eupolemus, who served as Judas Maccabeus' ambassador. Eupolemus authored a history of the Jews from the beginning until at least the post-exilic period. It is striking, though, that his description of Solomon's temple differs almost completely with the descriptions found in the Books of Kings, Chronicles and Ezekiel. On what basis did he depart from the scriptural sources, giving dimensions for which there seems to be no biblical authority?

To be able to comprehend exactly to what extent Eupolemius' description of Solomon's temple differ from that in the Chronicles, it would be essential to give a fairly extensive account of it, as translated by Wacholder (1983:63-4):

4. "And he (i.e. Solomon) began to build the temple of God at the age of thirteen. And the work was done by the above-mention nations; and the twelve Jewish tribes supplied the 160,000 with all their needs, one tribe each month".



"He laid the foundations of the temple of God, sixty cubits its length and sixty cubits its width, but the width of the building and of the foundation was ten cubits. Thus he was commanded by Nathan, the prophet of God".

5. "He built alternately a course of stone and a layer of cypress wood, bonding the two courses together with bronze clamps of a talent weight. Having built it thus he boarded the inside wall with cedar and cypress wood so that the stone walls were not visible. He overlaid the *naos* with gold on the inside by casting golden bricks row by row, five cubits long, fastening them to the walls with silver nails, weighing a talent, in the shape of a breast, four in number".

6. "Thus he covered it with gold from the floor to the ceiling; and the ceiling he made of gold; but the roof he made of bronze tiles, having smelted the bronze and cast it into moulds".

"He made two pillars of bronze and covered them with pure gold, a finger thick".

7. "The pillars were of the same height as the temple, the width of each pillar was ten cubits in circumference; and he set one of the pillars on the right side of the house, the other on the left. He also made ten lampstands of gold, each weighing ten talents, having taken as a model the lampstand made by Moses in the tent of the testimony".

8. "He placed some of the lampstands at the right of the shrine, others at the left. He also made seventy lamps of gold, so that each lampstand had seven lamps. He also built the gates of the temple, adorning them with gold and silver, and he panelled them with cedar and cypress wood".



9. "He also made, in the northern portion of the temple, a porch, and he supported it with forty-eight pillars of brass".

"He also built a bronze laver, twenty cubits long, twenty cubits wide and five cubits high, extending a brim around the base a cubit long, projecting to the outside, so that the priests may stand upon it when they dip their feet and wash their hands. He also made the twelve legs of the laver of cast oxen, the height of a man, and he attached them to the lower part of the laver, at the right of the altar".

10. "He made a bronze platform, two cubits high around the laver, so that the king may stand upon it when praying, that he would be seen by the Jewish people. He also built an altar twenty-five cubits by twenty cubits and twelve cubits high".

11. "He made two bronze ringlike lattices, and he set them upon contrivances, which rose above the temple twenty cubits, and they cast a shadow over the entire sanctuary. Upon each network he hung four hundred bronze bells of a talent weight. He made all the networks so that the bells would toll and frighten away the birds, that none would settle upon the temple nor nest in the panels of the gates and porches nor pollute the temple with their dung".

12. "He surrounded the city of Jerusalem with walls, towers and trenches. He also built a palace for himself".

13. "The shrine was first called the Temple of Solomon, but later, because of the Temple, the city was falsely called Jerusalem, but by the Greeks it was called Hierosolyma".

14. "When he had completed the Temple and the walls of the city, he went to Selom and offered a sacrifice to God, a burnt offering of 1,000 oxen. Then he took the tabernacle and the altar and the



vessels, which Moses had made, and he carried them to Jerusalem and he placed them in the house".

15. "The ark, the golden altar, the lampstand, the table and the other vessels he also placed there, just as the prophet had commanded him".

16. "There he offered a myriad offering to God; 2,000 sheep, 3,500 oxen".

"The total weight of the gold expended on the two pillars and the Temple was 4,600,000 talents; silver for the nails and other furnishings 1,232 talents; bronze for the columns, the laver and the porch, 18,050 talents".

According to Wacholder (1983:64) the recovery of extensive remnants from a lengthy account of the dimensions of a temple enables us to examine the possibility that Eupolemus was dependent on the work found at Qumran. We will look at certain passages which, according to Wacholder, may indicate an interdependence between Eusebius' description of the temple and that of IIQ Torah.

1. Eupolemus (P.E. 9:34:4) and IIQ Torah 4:7-10 (Wacholder 1983:65-7)

<i>θεμελιῶσαί τε τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ,</i>	7. ... ה הרחב וקומת הק ...
<i>μῆκος πηχῶν ξ', πλάτος πηχῶν</i>	8. ... [א]מה ובאתה את האולם ...
<i>ξ', τὸ δὲ πλάτος τῆς οἰκοδομῆς καὶ</i>	9. ... ב עשר באמה וקירות ...
<i>τῶν θεμελίων πηχῶν ι'.</i>	10. ... וגובה ששים באמנה ...

He laid the foundation of the temple of God, sixty cubits its length and sixty

7. ... the width and height of ...  
8. ... cubits and thou enterest the



cubits its width, but the width of the	porch ...
building and of the foundation was ten	9. ... ten cubits and the walls ...
cubits.	10. ... and the height of sixty cubi[ts]

It is clear that Eupolemus' dimensions for the temple differ from the Biblical account. 1Kgs 6:2 and 2 Chr. 3:3 put the length of the house at sixty cubits, its width twenty cubits, and its height thirty cubits. He thus makes the temple square, whereas all the other sources describe it as rectangular. Interestingly, both the shape and size of the structure described by Eupolemus and IIQ Torah were echoed by the Samaritan temple on *Tell er-Ras*, which measured 18 by 21 metres. (Halpern-Zylberstein 1989:25-6) According to Halpern-Zylberstein (1989:26) it has not been possible to define its plan or architectural detail more precisely, since the remains were used again in the construction of the podium of a later Roman temple. It therefore could very well have been a perfect square.

Unfortunately the above extract from IIQ Torah is very fragmentary. It still leaves us with some clues, however, as the phrase ... *ה הֵרָחֵב וְקִימַת הָקָן* may indicate that the width and height were equal. Also, if one has to emend the remnants of line 8, the most plausible change would be the reading of *וְ* in the place of *וְהָ*, i.e. "and thou shalt come to the porch." (Wacholder 1983:66) This seems to refer to a discussion of the gates or doors leading to the porch and temple, possibly from the terrace mentioned in the preceding lines of the column. Also, as the lengthy account of the outer courtyard suggests, IIQ Torah's insistence on the evenness of the width and length is based on the symbolic link between these dimensions and the tribal organisation of Israel. Each of the four sides was shared by three tribes. We therefore have twelve gates even in the outer courtyard, the least sacred of the temple's network of buildings. It is therefore not entirely implausible that this feature is reiterated throughout the entire structure.



As to the height, Wacholder (1983:67) concludes: "There is no doubt, however, that, according to Eupolemus, the Temple's height was twenty cubits. This is so ... because this is the height of the network which Eupolemus said covered the *naos*. Incidentally, of some interest to our subject is a Temple Scroll in the Qumran texts recently discovered by Yigael Yadin, envisioning an eschatological Temple with 'three courts, each an exact square, one inside the other'." Interestingly, the theme of the square design and three equal sized areas is also found at two other Yahwistic temples. The shrine at Lachish in Idumea, also dating from the second century BCE, included a square courtyard occupying half the total area. The sanctuary proper was situated in the western part. This comprised, over practically the whole width of the building, a raised antechamber which was reached by five steps, and beyond that, three small rooms. (Halpern-Zylberstein 1989:26) The Lachish temple, in turn, resembles as far as plan, dimensions and orientation are concerned, an earlier Israelite temple at Arad, dating from the tenth century BCE. (Aharoni 1967:233-49)

## 2. Eupolemus (P.E. 9:34:8) and IIQ Torah 5:8-11 (Wacholder 1983:67-8)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς πύλας τοῦ</i> | 8. ... יכה וארבעה שערים [לעליה          |
| <i>ἱεροῦ καὶ κατακοσμηῆσαι χρυσίῳ</i>   | לארבע] ...                              |
| <i>καὶ ἀργυρίῳ καὶ καταστεγᾶσαι</i>     | 9. ... השער שתים עשרה ...               |
| <i>φατνώμασι κεδρίνοις καὶ κυπαρισ-</i> | 10. ... באמה וכול הכיוןר ... צלתותיו... |
| <i>σίνοις.</i>                          | 11. התח[תון והכול מצופה [זהב            |
|   | טהור] ...                               |

He also built the gates of the temple, adorning them with gold and silver, and he panelled them with cedar and cypress wood.

8. ... and four gates [of the roof chamber for the four] ...
9. ... twelve gates ...
10. ... cubits and all of the la[ver ... its doors ...



11. the lo]wer and all are inlaid with  
[pure gold] ...

Even though all the other Biblical sources emphasise the gates of the temple, only IIQ Torah actually describe the dimensions of the gates of each of the temple's structures, e.g. *באמה וכול הכיוןר ... צלתותיו*. Also, IIQ Torah is the only source that mentions that the gates were gilded. Unless another source which are completely unknown to us today existed, Eupolemus could only have obtained this information from IIQ Torah.

3. Eupolemus (P.E. 9:34:6-7) and IIQ Torah 13:1-7 (Wacholder 1983:69-70)

<i>ποιῆσαι δὲ δύο στύλους χαλκοῦς καὶ</i>	1. למען ....
<i>καταχρυσῶσαι αὐτοὺς χρυσίῳ</i>	2. [ו]עשר א[מות] ...
<i>ἀδόλῳ, δακτύλου τὸ πάχος. εἶναι δὲ</i>	3. תעשה ...
<i>τοὺς στύλους τῷ ναῷ ἰσομεγέθεις,</i>	4. ודלתו[תיו] ...
<i>τὸ δὲ πλάτος κύκλῳ ἕκαστον κίονα</i>	5. אחד ... לימין ואחד ל[שמאול] ...
<i>πηχῶν δέκα στήσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς τοῦ</i>	6. מצופים ...
<i>οἴκου ὃν μὲν ἐκ δεξιῶν, ὃν δὲ ἐξ</i>	7. לו שער כ ...
<i>εὐωνύμων.</i>	

He made two pillars of bronze and covered them with pure gold a finger thick. The pillars were of the same height as the temple, the width of each pillar was ten cubits in circumference; and he set one of the pillars on the right side of the house, the other on the left.

1. in order that ...
2. [and] ten cub[its] ...
3. thou shalt make ...
4. and its do[ors] ...
5. one ... to the right and one to the [left] ...
6. overlaid ...
7. for it a gate ...



In this case, both Eupolemus and IIQ Torah mention the circumference of the pillars (10 cubits) and the fact that the pillars were set on each side of the structure before the altar. This differs from biblical accounts, which place the pillars in front of the house.

4. Eupolemus (P.E. 9:34:9) and IIQ Torah 31:10-13 (Wacholder 1983:70-1)

κατασκευάσαι δὲ καὶ λουτῆρα  
χαλκοῦν, μῆκος πηχῶν κ' καὶ  
πλάτος πηχῶν κ', τὸ δὲ ὕψος πηχῶν  
ε'. ποιῆσαι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ στεφάνην  
πρὸς τὴν βάσιν ἔξω ὑπερέχουσαν  
πῆχυν ἓνα πρὸς τὸ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοὺς  
τε πόδας προσκλύζεσθαι καὶ τὰς  
χεῖρας νίπτεσθαι ἐπιβαίνοντας  
ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ τὰς βάσεις τοῦ  
λουτῆρος τορευτὰς χωνευτὰς  
δώδεκα καὶ τῷ ὕψει ἀνδρομήκεις καὶ  
στῆσαι ἐξ ὑστέρου μέρους ὑπὸ τὸν  
λουτῆρα, ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ θυσιασ-  
τηρίου. ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ βασιν  
χαλκῆν τῷ ὕψει πηχῶν δυοῖν κατὰ  
τὸν λουτῆρα, ἵν' ἐφεστήκη ἐπ'  
αὐτῆς ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅταν προσε-  
ύχηται, ὅπως ὁπτάνηται τῷ λαῷ  
τῶν Ἰουδαίων.

10. ועשיתה בית לכיור נגב מזרח  
מרובע לכול רוחותיו אחת ועשרים  
11. אמה רחוק מהמזבח חמשים אמה  
ורחב ה[ק]יר שלוש אמות וגבה  
12. [ע]שרים אמה ... ושערים עשו לה  
מהמזרח ומהצפון  
13. ומהמערב ורוחב השערים ארבע  
אמות וגובהמה שבע



He also built a bronze laver, twenty cubits long, twenty cubits wide and five cubits high, extending a brim around the base a cubit long, projecting to the outside, so that the priests may stand upon it when they dip their feet and wash their hands. He also made the twelve legs of the laver of cast oxen, the height of a man, and he attached them to the lower part of the laver, at the right of the altar. He also made a bronze platform, two cubits high around the laver, so that the king may stand upon it when praying, that he would be seen by the Jewish people.

10. And you shall make a house for the laver south-east, a square with all its sides twenty-one.
11. cubits, away from the altar fifty cubits, the thickness of the [wa]ll is three cubits, and its height
12. [tw]enty cubits ... and gates attached to it from the east and from the north
13. and from the west. The width of the gates is four cubits and their height seven.

According to Wacholder (1983:71) Exod. 39:17-21 ordains the making of a *kyyor* and its stand for the tabernacle, without specifying any of its measurements. The account of the Solomonic temple mentions a *kyyor*, but refers instead to a platform rather than to a washbasin. In turn, 1 Kings records the *yam* (sea) whose diameter was ten cubits, the circumference thirty, and the height five. However, IIQ Torah is very clear that the future temple's *kyor* will bear no resemblance to the Solomonic work. The words, "ועשיתה בית לכיור", i.e. a cube, contrast sharply with the circular shape of the "sea" of the Solomonic temple, standing on cast oxen, another detail that was not to be reproduced in the eschatological temple of IIQ Torah.

Eupolemus undoubtedly had been aware of the biblical and historical versions of the laver. He nevertheless chose to deviate from these accounts, opting instead for a square base of twenty by twenty cubits plus a stand of one cubit around it, making it a square of twenty-one cubits, or twenty two if both



sides are counted. The fact that he seems to be once again echoing IIQ Torah may point to the two sources' interdependence. However, Eupolemus also clearly made use of Kings and Chronicles, as is indicated by his ascription of the height of five cubits, which corresponds to the height of Solomon's sea. According to Wacholder (1983:71) Eupolemus seems to present a conflation of IIQ Torah, Kings and Chronicles.

5. Eupolemus (P.E. 9:34:9) and IIQ Torah 34:2-6, 15; 35:8-9. (Wacholder 1983:72-74)

*ποιῆσαι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ πρὸς  
βορρᾶν μέρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ στοᾶν καὶ  
στύλους αὐτῇ ὑποστῆσαι χαλκοῦς  
μή.*

2. ... ובין העמוד לעמוד

3. ... אשר בין העמודים

4. ... הפרים אל בין הגלגלים

5. ... ים וסוגרים את הגלגלים ואחר

6. ואוסרים את קרני הפרים אל

הטבעות ... בטבעות

He also made, in the northern portion of the temple, a porch and he supported it with forty-eight pillars of brass.

2. ... and between the pillar[s]

3. ... that is between the pillars

4. ... bulls between the wheel[s]

5. ... They open and they close the wheels after

6. And they bind the horns of the bulls to the rings ... in the rings

15. ועשיתה שלשלות יורדות מן מקרת

שני עשר העמודים

15. Thou shalt make chains hanging from the beams of the twelve pillars.



8. וקדשתמה את סנבין למזבח ולהיכל

ולכיוור

9. ולפרור ...

35:8 ... [Ye] shall sanctify aro[und]

the altar, the sanctuary, the laver

9. and the *parwar* ...

In this instance, Eupolemus records a structure that has no walls, standing upon forty-eight pillars of bronze. No such structure is recorded anywhere in the biblical accounts of the Solomonic temple. Similarly, IIQ Torah records only twelve pillars, (ועשיתה שלשלות יורדות מן מקרת שני עשר העמודים) but the meaning of this line is unclear because of the loss of the remainder of the line. It may be conjectured that the statement concerning the twelve pillars refers to one side only, thereby corresponding with Eupolemus' account. ( $4 \times 12 = 48$ )

IIQ Torah 34:4-6 may indicate that the structure described may have been intended for the restraint of sacrificial animals. It also provides a definite purpose for this structure, which Eupolemus does not. According to Wacholder (1983:73-4) the porch of forty-eight pillars in Eupolemus was intended to serve the same purpose as the *parwar* and its annex in the Qumran text: to keep the sacrificial animals in preparation for their presentation on the altar.

Wacholder (1983:75-6) gives a full summary of the extent to what Eupolemus' account may have been indebted to IIQ Torah:

*Eupolemus (P.E. 9:30:1-34:18)*

*IIQ Torah*

- |   |                 |
|---|-----------------|
| i. material for the temple (gold, silver); 30:6-8 | col. 3          |
| ii. the sanctuary; 34:4                           | cols. 4-6       |
| iii. the gilding of the temple; 34:5-6            | cols. 4-6, etc. |



iv.	gilded pillars; 34:6-7	col. 13
v.	the lamps and lampstands of gold; 34:7-8	col. 9
vi.	the gilded gates; 34:8	cols. 5, 36
vii.	the porch of 48 pillars; 34:9	cols. 34-35
viii.	the bronze laver; 34:9	col. 31
ix.	the twelve oxen; 34:9	?
x.	the bronze stand; 34:10	?
xi.	the altar; 34:10	col. 12
xii.	the bronze lattices for a scarecrow; 34:11	col. 46

In view of all the similarities it is therefore possible to assume that Eupolemus was aware of IIQ Torah, and may have used it as a source for his own account of the temple. Although it may also be possible that both Eupolemus and IIQ Torah may have borrowed from another primary source, it is my opinion that this is unlikely. As we have already indicated above, the author of IIQ Torah went to great pains to present the book as an archaic and hidden Torah presented by God to Moses on the Mount specifically for the end of times. Any indication that the book, when deviating from the canonical *Tanak*, may have been influenced by another extant work would have rendered the claim for divine authorship of IIQ Torah obsolete. This hypothesis, if correct, makes any dating of IIQ Torah after the completion of Eupolemus' work (157 BCE) impossible. (Wacholder 1983:77)

## **CHAPTER 5 - CONCLUSION**

With the survival and resulting prominence of Pharisaic Judaism, it may sometimes seem as if modern Judaism as we know it today has always been the sole representative of what constitutes the Alpha and Omega of Judaism. Although most scholars of Biblical history are aware that there were other divergent views within what constituted Second Temple Judaism, two thousand years have clouded our memory, and the only dissenting voice that readily springs to mind is that of Sadduceanism. Samaritanism had always seemed to have been merely a schismatic movement outside Judaism, as this was how it was usually portrayed by both Judaic and Christian sources. Essenism was known only to scholars of the period through secondary sources like Plato and Pliny, but remained largely voiceless until the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947.

At the outset we have made the initial assessment that the problem that presents itself with a comparison of Essenism and the other major role-players in Second Temple Judaism is the fact that Essenism is sometimes seen as one of three major trends within Second Temple Judaism, albeit schismatic in origin and nature. With Sadduceanism deriving its authority from the Temple and written Torah, and with Pharisaism its authority from both the written Torah as well as the oral tradition of the Sages, we have set out to establish what, in their own minds, set the Essenes apart from the aforementioned two groups. That their motivation for exclusiveness must have been very strong becomes clear through the fact that, in their writings, the Essenes did not see themselves as just another group within Judaism, but as the only true and legitimate group.



The ultimate aims of this thesis we have therefore established to be:

- To determine what constituted mainstream Judaism. Although the Samaritan cult also traced its origins back to Moses' experiences on Mount Sinai and Israel's acceptance of the Law, it was nevertheless not seen as part of mainstream Judaism because of certain historical and religious factors as well as Judaic *halachic* interpretation.
- To ascertain whether Essenism met the determined criteria to be regarded as part of mainstream Judaism, and if not, if it can be regarded as sectarian Judaism, or as a separate religion altogether.

Within a historical context the period between the Babylonian captivity and the destruction of the Second Temple by the Romans has been a cathartic experience for the Judaic religion. The role of Yahweh as God of the Jewish nation had to be redefined from the viewpoint of a conquered people. Yahweh had not been defeated, even though his people had been defeated. Moreover, his power extended to Babylon itself and He would eventually redeem the Jews if they remained true to Him. The growth of a monotheism of this type became possible, it seems, with the advent of the great empires that dominated the Ancient Near East. First Assyria, then Babylonia, and thereafter Persia assumed dominion over what seemed to be almost the entire known world. If there could be a universal empire, then it followed that there was a universal God who could bring this empire into being. Yahweh, although He was especially God of the Israelites and the Jews, thus came to be understood as the divine King of the entire earth, and worship could be offered to Him anywhere, not just in Judah or Israel.



Yahwism itself was exposed to other religious ideas from especially Persian culture, and absorbed a whole plethora of new concepts which enriched its own scope of reference. Persian language and legal procedure penetrated deeply into Judea during the two centuries of Achaemenid rule. The Persian dualism in its godhead found its way into Judaism, as well as the dualistic concept of good and evil. The figure of Satan made its debut. Nowhere in Second Temple Judaism is this concept of dualism more clearly defined than in the Essene cosmic struggle between the "Sons of Light" and the "Sons of Darkness."

The Jews who returned to Jerusalem from the exile in Babylon lived relatively peaceably as a community within the Persian Empire under the leadership of the Temple authorities. However, when the Persian Empire was overthrown in about 330 BCE by Alexander the Great of Macedonia, the course of world history, including the development of Judaism, was changed for all time. Judea, like all the other societies of the Near East, became part of the Hellenistic world. Hellenism included not only the "high culture" of the Greeks, found in the works of philosophers and dramatists, but also Greek forms of social organisation and commercial activity. The Greek language became widely disseminated among the Jewish upper classes, including the priesthood. When the Roman Empire absorbed Judea, about 270 years after Alexander's conquest, the process of Hellenisation continued, for the Romans deliberately took over and promulgated the Hellenistic culture.

It has long been believed by many that there was an innate antagonism between Judaism and Hellenism, but this is not entirely true. Jews rose up against their Hellenistic rulers when they were oppressed politically or when the rulers sought to impose restrictions on the free exercise of Jewish religious life, but in general Jewish and Hellenistic culture were quite complementary to each other. Large Jewish communities developed in the Hellenistic cities outside Judea, populated by migrating people who sought a material prosperity that Judea could not provide.



With the division of the empire after the death of Alexander the Great, the dynasty of the Ptolemies took possession of Egypt, and Judea was for a time subject to it. Syria was ruled by the Seleucid dynasty, and Judea came under its sway as well. Jerusalem developed as a major centre of Hellenistic culture and population, and several Jewish families, following the tradition of the Greeks, became wealthy international merchants.

A number of plots and intrigues divided the supporters of the Seleucids and the supporters of the Ptolemies within Judea as well as in other provinces within the region. Bitter rivalries and jealousy, accompanied by a desire to acquire as much material wealth as possible, were widespread within the upper echelons of Judean society. As the office of High Priest became reliant upon the whims of the political rulers from time to time, corruption set in, as material wealth and political power within Judea became synonymous with the ruling priesthood. An aristocratic priesthood, the Sadducees, after the High Priest Zadok from Davidic times, became the prominent ruling priestly caste in this period.

It was at this time that a new group in the life of the Jews, namely the *Ḥasidim* or pious ones, who adhered strictly to the traditions and in particular the ancient form of religion of orthodox Jewry, came to the fore. In these years a number of observant Jews also started to leave Jerusalem, seeking a less disturbed life in the rural areas. It is possible that some of these Jews were part of the Jews mentioned as the *Ḥasidim*, or that they may have had close connections with the Pharisees. They were not one and the same group, however. Tensions came to a fore during the reign of Antiochus IV (Epiphanes), and the Jews revolted under the leadership of the Maccabees, who eventually managed to secure nominal independence for the Jewish nation, and established the first ruling Jewish dynasty, the Hasmoneans, since the Babylonian return. However, not all parties within Judea were equally satisfied with the Hasmoneans, and the rulers themselves did not follow a consistent



policy concerning religion, with some being closer to the Sadducees, and others closer to the Pharisees. A third party, the Essenes, also came to the fore, with strong legalistic tendencies like the Pharisees, but also claiming to operate within the Zadokite tradition, like the Sadducees. It is unclear, however, if it refers to the same Zadok of Davidic times.

More than one hypothesis as to the rise of Essenism is currently in existence, of which one in particular, namely the Groningen hypothesis put forward by García Martínez , identifies the rise of the sectarian community of the Qumran scrolls to a split within the wider Essene movement. Among the more probable hypotheses, a composite one may give us the following possible scenario:

- At some point in time, ranging from the persecution of Antiochus IV to the Hasmonean dynasty, a certain group within the priestly caste became dissatisfied with the temple priesthood in office, which they saw as *halachically* incorrect or even illegitimate.
- When this group realised that their concerns were unlikely to be addressed, possibly even in the face of persecution, they divorced themselves from the temple. They saw them as a group actively opposing the so-called Wicked Priest, who may be a certain High Priest, or even a term used collectively for an entire priestly dynasty.
- In the interim they continued to promote and amplify certain religious texts and doctrines which they held to be sacred.
- One of their charismatic leaders, known to his faction of followers as the Teacher of Righteousness (*Moreh Ha Şedeq*), clashed with regard to certain matters of *halacha* with another leader, known as the Man of Lies in later Qumranic literature.



- The small group of followers of the Teacher of Righteousness retreated from everyday society to the land of Damascus to prepare themselves spiritually for the impending eschaton. It is not clear if the Teacher of Righteousness accompanied them.
- For a long period the followers of the Teacher of Righteousness were harried by the Man of Lies, causing many apostasies.
- Over a long period of time, the isolated group in the land of Damascus, whose basis had been found on a premise that theirs was the only correct interpretation of their religion, developed a fully sectarian mentality. The sect later developed apocalyptic tendencies when they realised that the split from the Jerusalem temple was complete.

Another hypothesis, advanced by Wacholder, sees the Qumran sect as followers of Zadok, a former disciple of the sage Antichonus of Socho, who broke away from mainstream Second Temple Judaism to form a heretical sect late in the third or very early in the second century BCE. These Zadokites therefore were not necessarily part of the traditional Sadducean party who claimed lineal descent from the High Priest Zadok from Davidic times. However, apart from the fact that Wacholder's hypothesis puts the time of the split about fifty years earlier than that of the composite hypothesis discussed above, there is no reason why these two hypotheses cannot be reconciled.

As it is firstly impossible to ascertain exactly if or when the authors of the Qumranic literature occupied the site at Khirbet Qumran, it seems to be for the time being equally impossible to positively identify the land of Damascus with Qumran. Secondly, as the only place that we are currently aware of bearing the name of Damascus is the one in Syria, I personally think it would be prudent for scholars to regard that area (until new evidence to the contrary presents itself)

as the cradle of Qumran sectarianism, and not the wilderness around the Dead Sea. This seems to be completely irrelevant, however, as identification of the exact locale of the land of Damascus does not add to (or detract from) the essence of Qumranic thought whatsoever.

Wacholder (1983:222-9) sees the Temple Scroll (IIQ Torah), or as he calls it, the Sectarian Torah, as the one defining work that set Essenism apart from mainstream Judaism of the period of the Second Temple. Firstly it can be seen as a work of learning, as an attempt to create a more coherent Torah than the Mosaic one by eliminating duplicate or seemingly contradictory material through conflation and harmonisation, and by adding some supplementary material. However, this conflation and harmonisation of the legal lore of the Pentateuch is largely incidental, as the purpose or essence for the Sectarian Torah is to be found in the deviations from the Pentateuch.

- It was exceedingly important for the author to have a square sanctuary, not the rectangular one erected by Solomon or Zerubbabel.
- Of equal consequence were the three seasons of new fruits, instead of the single season of grain prescribed in the Pentateuch.
- The sacrificial rites for the Sabbaths and feasts depart from the Mosaic prescriptions.
- An entirely new charter to be observed by the king was added.

It is in the light of these four deviations from mainstream Second Temple Judaism that any hypothesis based merely on sectarian dissatisfaction with corrupt Temple authorities may seem too simplistic, as adherence to incorrect Temple practices would have invalidated the most pious of priesthoods in the



eyes of the author of IIQ Torah. Furthermore, it is clear that IIQ Torah was meant for the eschaton, which left any Temple practices then current as purely incidental. The sectarians saw themselves as establishing a core group within Judaism which, under the guidance of their Teacher of Righteousness, was to prepare the nation for the eschaton through correct observance of the Law. They had no designs on taking over the Jerusalem temple and priesthood. They were awaiting the erection of a new Sanctuary within a new Holy City. In a way, they were not a priesthood in exile, but rather a priesthood in waiting. It may have been this fact, more than any other, which separated them from the more militant Zealots and *Sicarii*. For the time being, the battle was not theirs to fight. Although the End of Times was imminent, Yahweh Himself would determine the time and place.

We have to be careful not to confuse the sectarians, or those who produced the Qumranic material, with Essenism in general. Of the latter we simply do not have enough data available to clearly differentiate, according to the Groningen hypothesis, between those who followed the Teacher of Righteousness, and those who did not. We do not even know with certainty if those sectarians who produced the scrolls were in all certainty part of the Essene movement, even though we generally assume that they were.

Without question, the author of the IIQ Torah saw himself in a light virtually unparalleled in Judaic tradition. He did not regard himself, or his sources, as heretical, even though he disregarded the Mosaic Torah in favour of one composed by himself. He even challenged the Mosaic Torah by writing an entirely new version, a Torah in which God, speaking in the first person, addresses Moses at Sinai, and then presented it as having been discovered in a sealed ark. Lastly, he rejected the entire period from the entry into Canaan until the present as nothing but a sinful epoch. These radical deviations from mainstream Judaism alone may have led to, according to the scenario put forward by the Groningen hypothesis, his split with the larger Essene



movement, which may have been more conservative with regard to *halachic* tradition and the Mosaic Torah.

In view of the above hypotheses, the two ultimate aims that we set out to establish through this thesis were the following:

- To determine what constituted mainstream Judaism. Although the Samaritan cult also traced its origins back to Moses' experiences on Mount Sinai and Israel's acceptance of the Law, it was nevertheless not seen as part of mainstream Judaism because of certain historical and religious factors as well as Judaic *halachic* interpretation.
- To ascertain if Essenism met the determined criteria to be regarded as part of mainstream Judaism, and if not, if it can be regarded as sectarian Judaism, or as a separate religion altogether.

Compared to the Qumran sect, Samaritanism may have been closer to Second Temple Judaism in thought and tradition. Why, then, is Essenism regarded as part of the Judaic tradition, and not Samaritanism? As we have pointed out in Chapter 3.1.3, the Samaritans had come to Shechem as a people of mixed ethnic and religious background. There they developed into a religious community with a very clear self-understanding. During the period of their incumbency at Shechem their relations with the Jewish community of Jerusalem had deteriorated until it finally became evident that the rupture between them would never be healed. The destruction of their temple by John Hyrcanus in 128 BCE and the ravaging of their city was an indication that their compatriots in Judah would never accept them on their own terms. Yet they steadfastly maintained the legitimacy of their autonomy and the authenticity of their expression of the Israelite religious tradition.

It can thus be argued that the Samaritans, even though certain rabbis were of the opinion that they should be seen as part of Judaism, deliberately



chose to regard themselves as the only true remnant of the ancient Israelite faith. They regarded the Jerusalem cult as a deviant and apostate part of the Israelite nation, which had departed from the true faith of which they were the representatives. It was not they who were schismatics from the house of Israel, but the Jews from Jerusalem, the spiritual heirs of the schism which had been initiated in ancient times when Eli had removed the sanctuary from Shechem to Shiloh. The authentic adherents of the Mosaic religion were to be found at Mount Gerizim.

The sectarians from Qumran never thought of themselves as anything other than Jews within the *halachic* tradition, even though it may have been a *halacha* that may in certain respects have radically deviated from that of their fellow Jews. But differences of opinion were nothing new to Second Temple Judaism. In fact, it was introspective debate that made Judaism the vibrant religion able to reassess and rejuvenate itself even after the destruction of both the First and Second Temples.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Aharoni, Y 1967. *Excavations at Tel-Arad, Israel Exploration Journal*, 17 . pp.233-49.
- Alon, G 1977. *Jews, Judaism and the Classical World*. Magnes Press, Jerusalem.
- Anderson, BW 1984. *The Living World of the Old Testament*. Longman, Essex.
- Bader, G 1988. *The Encyclopedia of Talmudic Sages*. Jason Aronson Inc, Northvale, N.J..
- Benson, D 2001. *Josephus' reasons for the Jewish War*. Unpublished Thesis for Master of Arts, University of Stellenbosch, March 2001.
- Boccaccini, G 1998. *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis* . William B. Eerdmans, Grand Rapids.
- Comay, J 1978. *The World's Greatest Story*. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London.



- Cook, J 1996. *Die Persiese Ryk*. (classnotes), University of Stellenbosch.
- Cook, J 1998. 'Hope for the Earth' in the Early Judaic Era (Jewish Apocalypticism)?, *Scriptura* 66, 235-243.
- Cross, FM 1963. The discovery of the Samaria papyri. *Biblical Archaeologist*. 26. pp.110-121.
- Cross, FM 1995. *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 3rd ed. Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield.
- Davies, PR 1987. *History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Scholars Press, Atlanta.
- Delcor, M 1989. The apocrypha and pseudepigrapha of the Hellenistic period in; Davies, WD & Finkelstein, L (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, Vol. 2. The Hellenistic Age. London: Cambridge University Press. pp.409-503.
- Depoix, DJ 1999. Legalism and Apocalypticism in early Judaism. Unpublished Thesis for Master of Arts at the University of Stellenbosch, November 1999.
- De Vaux, R 1973. *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford University Press, London.

- Driver, GR 1965. *The Judaean Scrolls*. Oxford University Press, London.
- Eisenman, R 1983. *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran*. E.J. Brill, Leiden.
- Eisenman, R 1986. *James the Just in the Habakkuk Pesher*. E.J.Brill, Leiden.
- Finkelstein, L 1989. The Men of the Great Synagogue (circa 400 – 170 BCE) in; Davies , W.D. & Finkelstein, L (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. . The Hellenistic Age*. London: Cambridge University Press. pp.229-244.
- García Martínez , F 1996. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated, 2nd ed.* Eerdmans, Grand Rapids.
- García Martínez , F & Treballe Barrera, J 1995. *People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. E.J.Brill, Leiden.
- García Martínez , F & Van der Woude, AS 1989. A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History in; *RevQ* 55/14, pp.521-541.
- Gerber, MH 1997. Politieke Opportunisme in Palestina gedurende die 2de eeu vC as bydraende faktor in die aanloop tot die Makkabeëroepstand.



Unpublished Thesis for Master of Arts at the  
University of Stellenbosch, January 1997.

- Goldstein, JA 1989. The Hasmonean Revolt and the Hasmonean dynasty in; Davies , W.D. & Finkelstein, L (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2. The Hellenistic Age*. London: Cambridge University Press. pp.292-351.
- Golb, N 1980. The problem of origin and identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls, in; *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, vol. cxxiv, no.1*, pp.1-5.
- Grant, M 1978. *History of Rome*. Faber and Faber Ltd., London.
- Halpern-Zylberstein, MC 1989. The archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine in; Davies , WD & Finkelstein, L (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2. The Hellenistic Age*. London: Cambridge University Press. pp.1-34.
- Hegermann, H 1989. The Diaspora in the Hellenistic Age in; Davies , W.D. & Finkelstein, L (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2. The Hellenistic Age*. London: Cambridge University Press. pp.115-166.

- Hengel, M 1989a. The political and social history of Palestine from Alexander to Antiochus III (333-187 BCE), in; Davies , W.D. & Finkelstein, L (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2. The Hellenistic Age*. London: Cambridge University Press. pp.35-78.
- Hengel, M 1989b. The interpenetration of Judaism and Hellenism in the pre-Maccabean period, in; Davies , W.D. & Finkelstein, L (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2. The Hellenistic Age*. London: Cambridge University Press. pp.167-228.
- Josephus, F 1978. *Antiquities of the Jews : A History of the Jewish Wars and Life of Flavius Josephus, Written by Himself*. trans. Whiston, W., Harmondsworth, London.
- Josephus, F 1978. *The Jewish War*. trans. Williamson, G.A., Harmondsworth, London.
- Knibb, MA 1979. The Ethiopic Book of Enoch in; De Jonge (ed.), *Outside the Old Testament*. Cambridge University Press, London. pp.26-55.



- Knight, C & Lomas, R 1996. *The Hiram Key*. Arrow Books Ltd., London.
- Le Roux, JH 1979. The Roman Period in; Van Zyl, A.H.(ed), *Israel and her Neighbours*. Butterworths, Durban. pp.256-290.
- Maier, J 1985. *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation & Commentary*. Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield.
- Metzger, BM 1965. *The New Testament : Its background, growth and content*. Abingdon Press, Nashville.
- Milik, JT 1959. *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*. Naperville, Illinois.
- Montgomery, JA 1907. *The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect: their History, Theology and Literature*. Fortress Press, Philadelphia.
- Mørkholm, O 1989. Antiochus IV in; Davies , W.D. & Finkelstein, L (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Vol. 2. The Hellenistic Age*. London: Cambridge University Press. pp.278-291.
- Murphy-O'Connor, J 1986. The Judean Desert, in; Davies , Kraft and Nickelsburg (eds.), *Early Judaism and its*

*Modern Interpretors*. Scholars Press, Atlanta.  
pp.119-155.

*New Jerusalem Bible, The* 1985. Darton, Longman & Todd, London.

Otzen, B 1989. *Judaism in Antiquity : Political Development and Religious Currents from Alexander to Hadrian*, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield.

Purvis, JD 1989. The Samaritans in; Davies , W.D. & Finkelstein, L (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism*, Vol. 2. The Hellenistic Age. London: Cambridge University Press. pp.591-613.

Rabin, C, 1958. *The Zadokite Documents*. Oxford.

Rosenberg, RA 1990. *The Concise Guide to Judaism; History, practice, faith*. Mentor, New York.

Schiffman, LH 1994. *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*. The Jewish Publication Society, Philadelphia and Jerusalem.

Stegeman, H 1992. The Qumran Essenes – Local Members of the main Jewish Union in late Second Temple Times, in; Treballe Barrera and Vegas Montaner (eds.), *The Madrid Qumran Conference*. E.J.Brill, Leiden pp.83-165.



- Stone, ME 1984. *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*. Van Gorcum, Fortress Press, Philadelphia.
- Swanepoel, FA 1979. Alexander the Great and his legacy in; Van Zyl, A.H.(ed), *Israel and her Neighbours*. Butterworths, Durban. pp.219-228.
- Tcherikover, V 1966. *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*. The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia.
- VanderKam, JC 1979. The Book of Jubilees in; De Jonge (ed), *Outside the Old Testament*. Cambridge University Press, London. pp.111-144.
- Van Zyl, AH 1979. *Israel and her Neighbours*. Butterworths, Durban.
- Vermes, G 1997. *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*. Penguin Books, London.
- Wacholder, BZ 1983. *The Dawn of Qumran; The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness*. Hebrew Union College Press, Cincinnati.
- Wilson, E 1978. *Israel and the Dead Sea Scrolls*. McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., Toronto.
- Wise, M 1999. *The First Messiah*. Harper, San Francisco.

- Wright, GE 1965. *Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City*. McGraw-Hill, New York.
- Yadin, Y 1983. *The Temple Scroll I - III*. Jerusalem.
- Zeitlin, S 1974. *Studies in the Early History of Judaism, Volume II*. Ktav Publishing House, Inc., New York.