

FURTHER LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE QUMRAN SECT

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A PURCHASE of fragments from the Ta'amireh Bedouin in the Spring of 1955 produced the largest connected document yet salvaged from Cave Four (4Q). Joined to a piece of the same document already in our possession, it made up some four or five columns of a commentary on the Book of Nahum. By far the most important part of this document extant is the first of the connected columns, of which a preliminary publication is made here.

The leather of the scroll is fairly well preserved, comparatively speaking, although the right-hand edge of this column shows a darkening which probably implies that we cannot expect to have very much more from the beginning of this scroll. Originally some 11 cm. deep, the scroll's columns are 8.3 cm. in length; the two complete columns extant measure 15.2 cm. and 13.5 cm. in width respectively. The column reproduced here measured either about 13.5 cm. or 16 cm. in width, depending on the correct reconstruction of lines 2 and 9.

The ruling was made fairly heavily, at regular intervals of .75 cm., and the internal margins measure 2 cm., with those at the bottom 1.7 cm., and at the top 1.2 cm. The letters of the neat, characteristic book-hand of Qumran, are about 2 mm. square (Pl. 1).

4QpNAHUM

- ... a dwelling for the wicked ones of the Gentiles. *Whither the lion, the lioness went, the lion's cub*
- [and none to terrify. Its interpretation concerns Deme]trius, king of Greece, who sought to enter Jerusalem by the counsel of the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things
- [... terrify (?) the kings of Greece from (the time of) Antiochus to the appearance of the rulers of the Kittim, and afterwards [...]will tread (be trodden) down
- [...] *The lion tears sufficient for his cubs, and strangles for his lionesses prey*
- [... Its interpretation] concerns the Lion of Wrath who used to smite (or, smites) with his mighty ones and the men of his counsel
- 1 [מִדּוֹר לְרַשְׁעֵי גוֹיִם
אֲשֶׁר־הֵלֵךְ אֲרִי לְבִיאֵי שֵׁם גּוֹר אֲרִי
- 2 נֹאֵן מִחֲרִיד פֶּשֶׁר עַל דִּמְיוֹנוֹתֵי מֶלֶךְ
יֵין אֲשֶׁר בִּקֵּשׁ לָבוֹא יְרוּשָׁלַיִם כְּעֶצֶת
'דֹרְשֵׁי הַחֲלָקוֹת'
- 3 מִחֲרִיד מַלְכֵי יוֹן
מֵאַנְתִּיכּוֹס עַד עֲמוֹד מוֹשֵׁלֵי כַחֲמִים
וְאַחֵר תְּרַמְסִי
- 4 [אֲרִי סוֹרֵף בְּדִי
גִּרְיוֹ וּמִחֲנֵק לְלִבְיוֹתָיו סוֹרֵף]
- 5 פֶּשֶׁר עַל כַּמִּיר
וְהָרֹן אֲשֶׁר יָבֵה בְּגִדְלָיו וְאֲנָשֵׁי עֲצָחוֹ

^a Comment on Nah 2 12ab. (NH) 'dwelling,' particularly one inhabited by Gentiles, cf. Jastrow, *Dict. of the Talmud, etc.* (1926), s. v.

^b Nah 2 12ad.

^c As MT, but the *pefer* on this passage reflects the variant tradition found in the LXX's *roû elæðeîp* (cf. Syr., Vulg.) = לבוא.

^d If the reconstruction of the full MT of 2 14ab is correct in l. 9, we must suppose a column breadth of about 16 cm., and this would mean a gap of some 2 cm. between the end of the text here and the beginning of the *pefer*. In the last column of this work extant, there is such a space left of 2.4 cm.

^e רִמְיָן טְרוֹס: the last letter but one could be a *yodh*. For the spelling cf. *Kúpios* written as קורייס and קרייס (S. Krauss, *Griechische u. Lat. Lehnwörter im Talmud, etc.*, II [1899], 520b), and Γεωργιος, as גוריוס (*ibid.*, p. 169).

^f As frequently in this document; cf. also 1QH 2.32, CD 1.18, and C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (1954), p. 5.

^g For the spelling with *law*, note the variant (Targ. II Est 3 1) for אַנְתִּיכּוֹס (Targ. II Est 3 1) for אַנְתִּיכּוֹס (Krauss. *ob. cit.*, n. 76). The normal spelling would be אַנְתִּיכּוֹס (cf. Targ. II



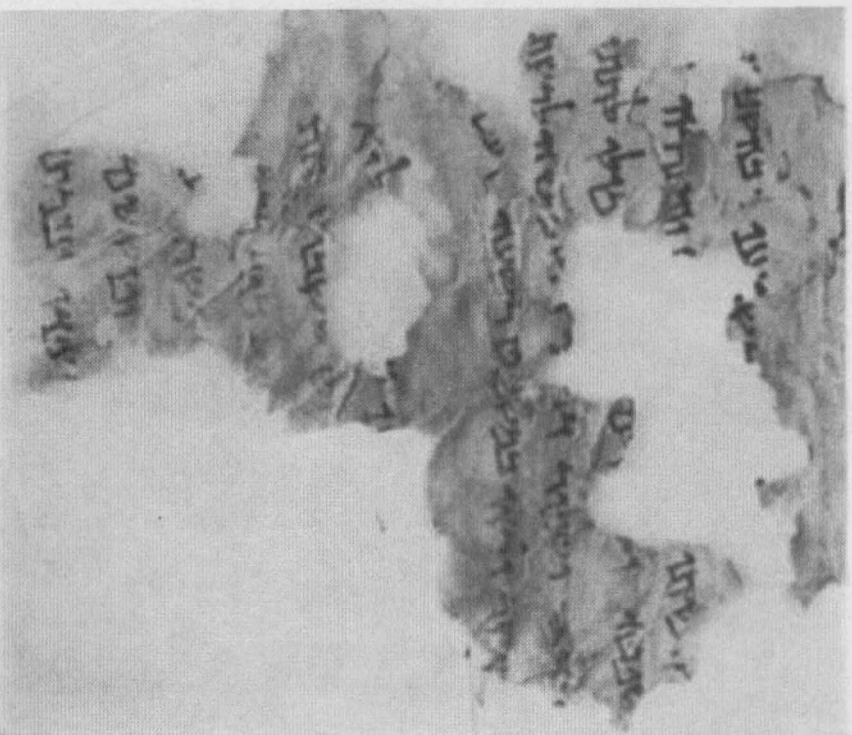
Photograph: Palestine Archaeological Museum

PLATE 2.

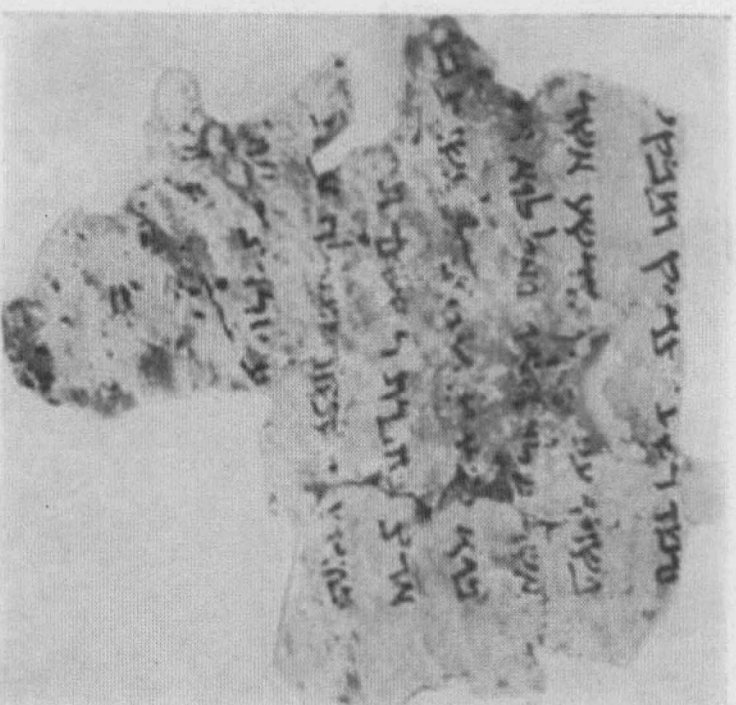


Photograph: Palestine Archaeological Museum

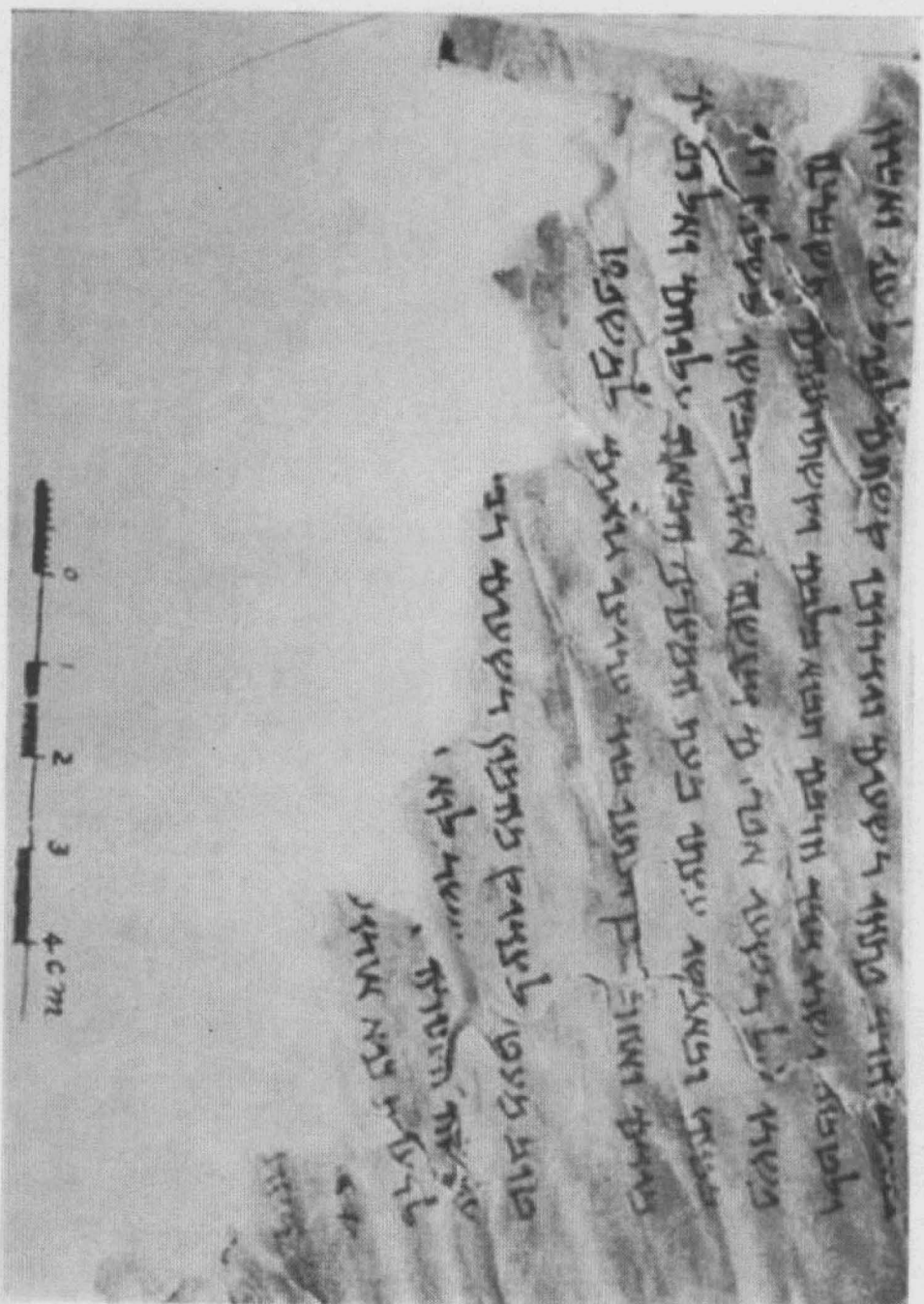
4QpHosea



Photograph: Palestine Archaeological Museum



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- [... And he filled with prey]... and his den with ravin. Its interpretation concerns the Lion of Wrath 6 וימלאי טרף] חיריהם] ומעונותי טרסה פשרו על כסיר החרוך]
- [...] death (?) by the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things, who used to hang (or, hangs) men up alive 7 מות כדורשי] החלקות אשר יתלה אנשים חיים]
- [... which was never done (?)] before in Israel, for it (the Scripture) calls the one hanged alive on the tree — Behold, I am against [thee, 8 אשר לא יעשה] בישראל] מלפנים כי לתלי חי פל (חל) נלן] יקראי ונני אלי(כה)י]
- saith the Lord of Hosts, and I shall burn up in smoke thine abundance]ce (?), and thy young lions the sword shall devour. And I shall cut [off from the land] his [p]rey 9 [נאם יהוה צבאות והבערתי בעשן רובכ]הי] וכפיריכה תאכל חרב והכרנתי טארץ] טרסהי]
- [...] and thine abundance, they are his warrior bands[...] and his young lions, they are 10 [ט ורובכה הם] גדודי חילו] הם]
- [...] and his prey, it is the wealth which the [pries]ts of (?) Jerusalem gathered together, which 11 [וטרפו הוא יהוה] אשר קבצו כוחני ירושלים אשר]
- [... E]phraim, Israel will be given to [...] 12 [אפרים ינתן] ישראל לן] ט ין]

¹ Nah 2 13 ed.

² MT חרין. The *yodh* and *he* seem certain, and the preceding stroke can hardly be other than the left-hand stroke of a *heth*.

³ MT ופענתי.

⁴ The *lamedh* before חלי would seem to make the reconstruction יקרא or קרא almost certain. For the reconstruction of the first two words I am indebted to my friends Frank M. Cross, Jr., and David Noel Freedman, with whom I agree that the deadly words קלל אלהים (Deut 21 23) have been avoided for pietistic reasons, the writer and readers knowing full well what was intended.

⁵ MT אליך, but cf. כפיריכה in l. 9, and רובכה in l. 10.

GENERAL REMARKS

We have in this *peser* the first identifiable proper names to come out of Qumran literature, and a concrete historical situation from which it is not difficult to identify its chief character, the Lion of Wrath. Although "Demetrius, king of Greece" could in theory be any one of a number of Greek commanders of that name recorded in history, the added reference to his trying to enter Jerusalem, "by the counsel of the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things," points with fair certainty to Demetrius III, Eucerus. It will be remembered that this commander was called to the aid of the rebellious Pharisees in the time of Janneus, and that the combined forces defeated the hated priest-king and drove him to take refuge. Then, for some hitherto ill-defined reason, many of the Pharisees deserted their ally for Alexander, and, thus strengthened, the Jewish king was able to wreak vengeance on his enemies.¹ The real reason for the change of heart on the part of the rebels is now made evident: Demetrius had, naturally enough, decided to follow up his victory at Shechem by installing himself and his troops in the capital. But having a foreign commander fight one's battles, and seeing him desecrating the holy city with his presence were two very different things, and the rebels decided to choose Janneus as the lesser of the two evils. It is interesting to note that this *peser* betrays no sympathy with the rebellious Pharisees who called in the foreigner, any more than with the Lion of Wrath himself.

Who was this Lion of Wrath? The reference to his "hanging men up alive" and, furthermore, his being credited with being the first to introduce this hateful punishment into Israel, leaves little doubt that the writer is speaking of Janneus himself. Josephus tells us² that the Jewish king vented his fury upon his enemies after the Demetrius affair by having eight hundred of them crucified before him in Jerusalem while he reclined feasting with his harem.³ To add to this cruelty, he ordered that the victims' wives and children should be massacred before their dying eyes. In consequence of this barbarism, he was nicknamed *Thrakidan*.⁴

¹ Josephus *Ant.* XIII. xiv. 2; *Wars* I. iv. 5.

² *Ant.* XIII. xiv. 2.

³ Josephus uses here the verb *ἀνασταυρῶ* for 'crucifying,' as he does for the hanging of the corpse after judicial execution (*Wars* IV. v. 2). The qualifying adjective *bay* rules out this possibility here, of course, and the use of *lth* is probably to be paralleled with *Est* 7 9, where LXX renders *σταυρωθήτω*. If the incident was recalled to the writer by the *mānq* of the text, one might have supposed that *lth* here indicated a death more in accordance with our idea of 'hanging,' but this verb *lth* is nowhere else used of 'strangulation,' rendered in the OT by the verb *hng* itself.

⁴ Supposed to mean 'Thracian,' although it is an impossible form of the gentilic

What is *not* explicitly stated in this *pešer* is that this Lion of Wrath was the Wicked Priest, the Teacher's persecutor. Yet, this identification seems most probable, and, on other grounds, it has been proposed often enough in the past that this person was Janneus. The identity of terminology used here and in 1QpHab about the gathering of wealth by the priests in Jerusalem, might offer a little support for the idea, and further evidence might be found in the only other reference to the Lion of Wrath so far extant in Qumran literature. This occurs in a very fragmentary *pešer* Hosea (Pl. 2), and seems to be a comment on 5 14 (the next section begins with a quotation from 5 15): עִכְבִּי כְשֶׁחַל ל: and on the next line we have: כֹּהֵן הָאַחֲרוֹן אֲשֶׁר יֵשֶׁלַח יָדוֹ לְהַכּוֹת בְּאַפְסָרִים.

The play between אַחֲרוֹן and חֲרוֹן was, perhaps, to be expected, and, since the "smiting of Ephraim" is presumably a reference to the war at the end of days, the connection between the Lion of Wrath and the Last Priest (or Priest of the End-time) might tell us something about the identity of the priestly leader of the Sons of Light.

The *Kittim* for the writer of this commentary were clearly the Romans (l. 3), and one presumes that the Antiochus mentioned there was Epiphanes himself, but the meaning of this broken line is obscure. Certainly, the identification of the *Kittim* as Romans in no way invalidates the conclusion that the Teacher's persecutor of 1QpHab is to be placed in Seleucid times. The difficulty which so many scholars have found in trying to place the Kittim and the Wicked Priest in the same age, is largely one of their own making. These commentaries are in no way works of connected history, and the method of the authors does not necessarily require any historical connection to be made between the interpretation of one verse and another,⁶ or even one word and another. The general pattern of interpretation is clear: mention of a righteous man in Scripture is referred automatically to the Teacher, of a persecutor of the righteous to the Wicked Priest, of internal enemies to the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things or the like, of external foes to the Kittim. Thus in 1QpHab, the mention of Roman Kittim in no way implies that the events of 11.4-8 took place in Roman times.

Further light on the relationship between the Teacher and the Wicked Priest comes from a *pešer* Ps 37, part of which I have already published.⁷ In a comment on vss. 32-33, we have (Pl. 3):

⁶ A possible reconstruction for the space might be לְהַכּוֹת עִכְבִּי, 'to crush, or emasculate him,' אֲשֶׁר הָיָה הַמַּעֲרִיךְ being a non-biblical Hifil form of מַעַר, cf. קָעוּץ, 'crushed, or emasculated,' and perhaps is the original reading of the unsatisfactory MT אֲלֶיךָ in vs. 14 (אֲשֶׁר הָיָה).

pPs 37 32-33

The wicked watcheth for the righteous and seeketh [to slay him. The Lord will not leave him in his hand, nor] condemn him when he is judged.

Its interpretation concerns the wicked [pries]t who s[ent to the Teacher of Righteousness...?] to slay him [...] and the Law

which he sent to him. But God will not le[ave him in his hand] nor [condemn him when] he is judged. And [God will] repay to [him] his recompense to give him

into the hand of terrible ones of the Gentiles to do to him[...]

1 צוֹסֵה רָשָׁע לְצַדִּיק וּמִבְקֵשׁ לְהַחֲמִיתוֹ יְהוָה
לֹא יַעֲזֹבנוּ בְיָדוֹ וְלֹא יִרְשִׁיעֵנוּ
בְּחֹשֶׁפֶטוֹ

2 פָּשְׁרוֹ עַל נְהֻכְהוֹן הָרָשָׁע אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח אֶל
מִזְרַח הַצֶּדֶק ? [לְהַחֲמִיתוֹ] [אֶת
הַתּוֹרָה

3 אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח אֵלָיו וְאֵל לֹא יַעֲזֹבנוּ בְיָדוֹ
וְלֹא יִרְשִׁיעֵנוּ בְּהַשְׁטָטוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׁלַם
[אֶל אֶת גְּמֻלָּתוֹ לַחַוָּה

4 בְּיַד עֲרִיצֵי גִּוָּאִים לַעֲשׂוֹת בּוֹ]

One feels that there is a dramatic story lying behind the reference to "the Law which he sent to him," but of more immediate import is the use of tenses here. Perhaps the tense of "will not leave him in his hand" should not be given too much weight, but it is possible that these future tenses may all have reference to a final judgment at the end of days, and perhaps of relevance in this connection is an earlier *pešer* on vss. 14 and 15 (Pl. 4):

pPs 37 14-15

The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow; to cast down the poor and needy,

and to slay the upright of way. Their sword shall enter into their own heart, and their bows shall be broken.

1 ... חָרַב פָּתְחוּ רָשָׁעִים וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ קֶשֶׁתָם
לְפִילִי עֲנִי וְאֹבִיּוֹן

2 וּלְטִבְחוֹ יִשְׂרָאֵל דֶּרֶךְ חֲרָבָם תִּבְּאֵה בָלֵם
וְקִשְׁתֹּתֵיהֶם תִּשְׁבֶּרֶה

Its interpretation concerns the wicked ones of Ephraim and Manasseh who will seek to put forth a hand

3 משרו על רשעי אמרים ומנשה אשר
יבקשו לשלוח יד

against the Priest and the men of his counsel in the time of trial which is coming upon them. And God will re[dee]m them

4 ככהן וכאנשי עצמו בעת המצרית
הבאה עליהם ואל יפדום

from their hand and afterwards they shall be given into the hand of terrible ones of the Gentiles for judgment.

5 מידם ואחריו [וכן ינתנו ביד עריצי
גואים למשפט

Here, the future "will put forth a hand" is inescapable, being linked to "the time of trial which is coming," and that this is an eschatological event is shown by a reference in another 4Q document, called provisionally 4Q Florilegium. It is a comment on Ps 21-2, and all that remains of the *pešer* itself, apart from the introduction, is:

... the chosen ones of Israel in the last days, that is, the time of trial which is com[ing] ...

בחירי ישראל באחרית הימים היאה
עת המצרית הבאה

This time of trial is presumably the מועד התענית of col. 1, line 9 of 4QpPs37.¹¹ Since this event lies in the future and is yet reckoned to affect both Priests, one must suppose that either 4QpPs was written when both were still alive, and the end was expected before they died, or, and perhaps more probably, they were expected to arise in the end of days to face glory and condemnation respectively. Certainly this interpretation would be in line with the resurrection to everlasting life and to everlasting contempt of Dan 12 2 and the New Testament.¹²

¹¹ Cf. CD xx.27, and IQS 1.17, 8.4.

¹² PEQ, LXXXVI (1954), 73; cf. עת צרה of IQM 1.11-12.

¹³ Cf. especially John 5 28-29.