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THE QUMRAN SCROLLS

...and the Jewish Gospel

MISHKAN

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A WORD FROM THE EDITOR

Qumran and Jewish Evangelism

By **Kai Kjær-Hansen**

The theme articles in this issue of Mishkan are on Qumran. They are edited by Torleif Elgvin, former Director of Caspari Center and himself a Qumran scholar.

At first glance Qumran has little to do with Jewish evangelism today. This is also true for these articles *if* we believe that Jewish evangelism is only a matter of saying "Jesus." But nobody who is engaged in Jewish evangelism in an academic way is that naïve. People like Alfred Edersheim, Alexander McCaul, Franz Delitzsch, Hermann L. Strack, and Gustav A. Dalman – to mention just a few from the 19th and early 20th century – were not that naïve either. They did indeed say "Jesus," but not without considering the context. They were engaged in the theological debate in order to be able to proclaim Jesus relevantly and contextually to Jews in their time.

Not being too well versed in Qumran studies, I nevertheless see a need to be familiar with the Qumran writings, especially when it is maintained that the New Testament is anti-Jewish, if not anti-Semitic – an accusation also made against Jewish evangelism.

The harshness of the Qumran writings against the enemies of the community may not surpass that of the New Testament against the enemies of the gospel, but they are at least equally harsh: The people of Qumran are the children of light; those outside are the children of darkness, under Belial's dominion.

Such harsh words do not make the Qumran community un-Jewish, anti-Jewish, or anti-Semitic; they are part of the internal Jewish debate. The same is true of the New Testament.

The Scrolls and the Jewish Gospel

By **Torleif Elgvin**

Between 1947 and 1956 remnants of nine hundred book scrolls were found at Qumran, close to the shore of the Dead Sea. Two hundred of these represent books of the Hebrew Bible. Others were authored by the close-knit community that lived there for almost two hundred years, up until the great Jewish revolt – a community related to the larger conservative Essene movement. Still others represent various genres of the wider Jewish religious literature from the last 250 years BCE, some of them written by precursors of the Qumran settlers. The Community's own writings open new windows into a fellowship with many parallels to the early Jesus-movement. These books, and those written by other Jewish authors, provide many parallels to New Testament concepts and expressions and illuminate the Hebrew and Jewish world of Jesus and his disciples.

The last generation has seen various kinds of simplistic use of the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Scrolls have been used to

- prove the reliability of every stroke and accent of the traditional biblical text;
- prove that the Christian interpretation of the Old Testament is the only valid interpretation;
- prove that the traditional understanding of the New Testament must be abolished in light of scrolls that reveal secrets about Jesus, John the Baptist, Paul, and James;
- show the validity of Messianic Judaism as a legitimate branch of Jewish tradition, alongside rabbinic Judaism.

This issue of Mishkan tries to bring more balance to the picture. The Scrolls do not prove that Jesus is the promised end-time messenger of the God of Israel; they were authored before he entered the scene. But the scrolls teach us about the heritage of Jesus and the early church; they demonstrate that this prophet from Nazareth walked around in Jewish clothes. He and his early interpreters were formed not only by the Hebrew Bible, but also by later Jewish tradition. If we take the incarnation seriously, Jesus is a son of his people and a son of his time. His teaching and proclamation must be understood in light of Jewish texts,

faith, and hope. Therefore knowledge of Jewish thought and literature from the last three centuries BCE will enhance our understanding of the New Testament. The Scrolls are a welcome opening into new aspects of this heritage.

The Scrolls remind us that the gospels' main figure was a Galilean who preached to a Jewish audience. When four authors edited their biographies of Jesus in the 70s, 80s, and 90s of the first century, they retained this Jewish flavor, although they knew that a growing number of non-Jews were flowing into the Jesus-movement. This means that the Jewish setting is a compulsory one for transmitting the Jesus event; it is not an accidental feature that the church may do away with. A NT scholar has called the Jewish Christians of the 1st and 2nd centuries the "mighty minority" of the early church; this minority defined the context for understanding and transmitting the gospel. They passed on to the church at large the nucleus of the Jesus tradition: most of the NT authors are Jewish. A central thesis of the influential German theologian Rudolf Bultmann – that the NT gospel reflects a Hellenistic mythical interpretation of Jesus' teaching and death – no longer holds true. The same can be said of other scholars who have interpreted the Jesus event in light of Greek and Oriental thinking about "sons of gods" or gods revived to new life.

The NT writings show how various Jewish authors interpreted their Bible in light of the basic Jesus story. The wisdom writings from Proverbs onwards set the stage for a rich theological and literary tradition, which continues into the apocrypha and "new" writings from the Scrolls. In their light we see that to a large extent Jesus is portrayed as a Jewish wisdom teacher, well at home in preaching traditions and literary forms from Proverbs and post-biblical books such as Sirach and 1 Enoch. Burton Mack and other scholars have asserted that the "pure message of the historical Jesus" can be reduced to a sapiential-ethical message. Based on the so-called "Q-source" (the passages shared by Luke and Matthew and not covered by Mark), they reconstruct a hypothetical original "Q-gospel" without references to Jesus' death, resurrection, or second coming, similar to the half-gnostic Gospel of Thomas. In their view, wisdom and eschatology did not go together in Jewish teaching and literature. Such a view is no longer valid: 4QInstruction, the largest wisdom writing from Qumran, combines traditional wisdom instruction with extensive passages on apocalyptic revelation, eschatology, and the judgment of God (as do 1 Enoch and the Qumran Book of Mysteries).

the Jewish setting is a compulsory one for transmitting the Jesus event; it is not an accidental feature that the church may do away with

NT Christology cannot be understood without reference to the tradition of Wisdom personified. In Proverbs 1–9 we encounter (Lady) Wisdom, the voice, herald, and messenger of God who speaks on his behalf, who asks people to listen to her words that they might live. In the

dialogue between earth and heaven, this Wisdom is on God's side, not on the side of men. Wisdom is God's assistant in the act of creation, and asserts that "the Lord brought me forth at the beginning of his work" (or "as the Beginning of his work," 8:23). This same word (*reshit*, "Beginning/Origin") appears in the first verse of the Bible, which in light of Proverbs 8 could be read, "By (means of) the Beginning/Origin God created the heavens and the earth." Such a combined reading of these two scriptures is evident in John's gospel when John states that the Word "was in the beginning with God, and all things came into being through him." The Word that became flesh is identified with this Wisdom who was at God's side when he created. An early Qumran hymn contains a similar proclamation, "Blessed be he who made the earth by his strength, established the world by his wisdom, and spread out the heavens by his knowledge" (11QPsa Hymn to the Creator). And in a commentary on Genesis from the 2nd century BCE, we find a pre-Johannine statement: "Heaven and earth and all their hosts he made by his word" (4Q422).

The Wisdom at God's side is portrayed in Job 28. Hidden and incomprehensible to men, it dwelled with God from the time of creation. These biblical texts are continued and interpreted in intertestamental Jewish texts, many of them found in the Scrolls. Jesus follows this tradition when he identifies himself as Wisdom from above (Mt 11:19, 25-30). When early interpreters struggled to understand who Jesus is, John (1:1-18), Colossians (1:15-20), and Hebrews (1:2-4) proclaimed him as Wisdom personified. This key enabled them to see Jesus as pre-existent and on God's side in his dialogue with men. Intertestamental texts portray Wisdom wandering until she finds her dwelling at Zion, and then asking men to bend their shoulder to her yoke. These texts provide the framework for understanding John 1:14 and Matthew 11:25-30.

Early NT interpreters knew that a royal Messiah or "son of God" is not necessarily divine – most Jewish listeners would see him as a human king with a divinely ordained task, as indeed did some early Jewish-Christian "Ebionites." Therefore Wisdom Christology was essential to NT writers, as it was to those who later formulated the Nicene Christology: the Son was born of the Father before all things (Pr 8:23-25; Jn 1:1-2) and is of the same divine essence as the Father. Through him all things were created (Pr 8:30/Gen 1:1; Jn 1:3; Col 1:16).

The Scrolls set the early Jesus-movement into profile as a radical Jewish renewal movement with a strong existential experience of the Jesus event

Both the community behind the Qumran library and the early Jewish Christians regarded themselves as the end-time community of renewed Israel, with new access to revelation from above and knowledge of their own position in God's plan of salvation. The Scrolls set the early Jesus-movement into profile as a radical Jewish renewal movement with a strong existential experience of the Jesus event. This experience guided their reading and interpretation of the Bible. While the Qumran commu-

nity had high walls and clear boundaries, the Jesus-movement was more outward oriented. Looking confidently back to the death and resurrection of Jesus, they shared the gospel and willingly received newcomers into their fellowship.

The royal messianic line from the OT runs through many Qumran texts that give color to the NT proclamation that Jesus is the Christ, the Messiah. The texts from Qumran on the expected son of David look forward to a victorious leader who will powerfully lead the people of Israel through the end-time renewal – somewhat in contrast to the NT portrayal of Jesus.

But the Scrolls preserve other texts with messianic connotations: passages referring to priestly figures, who have a unique teaching ministry and may suffer mocking and persecution, being elevated to the heavenly realm. Scholars disagree on who is portrayed in these texts. Is it the Righteous Teacher (the 2nd century priestly founder of the Qumran movement), the present or future high priest, or an eschatological priest to be sent by God with a unique calling? Two of these "portraits" allude to the songs of the Suffering Servant in Isaiah 50 and 53. These passages in the Scrolls should not be seen simplistically as forebears of the NT message, but do provide light on the variety of end-time expectations in Israel before John the Baptist and Jesus entered the scene. NT interpreters relate to some of these expectations when they provide their specific understanding of biblical history culminating with Jesus and the early Jewish-Christian movement.

The poems about priestly figures with a place close to God's throne, as well as the songs of the Righteous Teacher found in the middle section of the Thanksgiving Hymns, have been paralleled with Jesus' self-understanding and NT Christology. Contrary to some assertions, there is no divine Messiah in the Qumran writings. But remarkable parallels do remain: both the gospels and the "Teacher Hymns" show us a Jewish teacher conscious of a unique divine calling, who is confident that he conveys revelation and new life to his followers.

Blessings and hymns that portray the officiating priest or the end-time priestly teacher with a role in the heavenly sanctuary do not reflect a pre-Nicene Jewish view of human servants who are also divine. But they do illuminate the Jewish world of thought that provides the background for Jesus' provocative sayings of his own import and some NT writers' occupation with the heavenly sanctuary.

In some of the Scrolls we encounter Jewish mystics occupied with the heavenly world, partaking in the angelic praise of God on his throne. These writings teach us about a mystical trend in Jewish tradition that may go back to Levitic singers in the Temple around 200 BCE, and continues into mysticism centered around the *merkabah* (God's heavenly throne) in the rabbinic period. The Letter to the Hebrews and the Book of Revelation seem to be inspired by such a mystical Judaism. The last book of the NT is a unique and important voice in the choir of the NT writings, and teaches us about the unity of God's saints and angels above

with the church on earth. Today we may understand this voice even better in light of texts from the Scrolls, which perhaps were used by the God of Israel in preparing his people for the events of the "fullness of time."

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For decades, Messianic Jews have used the Qumran scrolls in apologetic writings to stress the Jewishness of the NT and to understand Jesus in his Jewish context. In the Scrolls they found welcome proof of Jewish ways of reading Scripture and interpreting tradition that contrasted with the later orthodox rabbinic stream. Thus they support the claim of Messianic Judaism to represent a legitimate branch on the tree of Israel. At times I may disagree with some of these modern interpreters. But they do represent an actualization of early Jewish messianic and end-time interpretation. Present readers find old Jewish texts relevant for understanding their path and defending their faith, hope, and way of life.

The Scrolls remind us that the NT writings belong to a long and continuing tradition of Jewish literature that interprets the Hebrew Scriptures. Whatever men may say about the message of Jesus, it is clear that the gospel from the outset was directed to a first century Jewish audience. Thus the Scrolls may be a painful reminder to churches of today that the NT message is not intended for gentiles only, and that neither the Sinai revelation nor the Holocaust render the proclamation of the gospel to Jewish people invalid. Further, the Scrolls should remind the church of its Jewish roots and the need to relate empathically and respectfully to the people of Israel. Messianic Jews may rightly claim that non-rabbinic ways of reading Scripture and interpreting Jewish identity have very early roots indeed.

The Scrolls teach us to read the scriptures with a humble attitude, together with Jewish friends. The Christian interpretation was not the only possible one in the first century, neither is it today. We cannot "prove" NT truth and press our conviction upon others. We can read scrolls and scriptures together with a friend with respect and a willingness to listen, and with a silent prayer that the spirit of God will enlighten and guide us both in the process. Finally, a reading of the Scrolls can lead to a renewed encounter with the biblical texts themselves.

The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Jewishness of the Gospels

By **Craig A. Evans**

The Jewishness of the Gospels is seen at many points. Jesus is addressed as "Rabbi" (e.g., Mk 9:5; 11:21; 14:45 and parallels) or "Rabbouni" (Mk 10:51; Jn 20:16); he has followers called "disciples" (e.g., Mk 2:15; 3:7; 4:34 and parallels), some of whom he appoints as "apostles" (e.g., Mk 3:14; 6:30 and parallels), which is a designation in rabbinic literature of Moses and various prophets "sent" by God (e.g., *Exod. Rab.* 3.4 [on Ex 3:12]; 3.14 [on Ex 4:10]);[1] and he engages in debates with scribes, Pharisees, Sadducees, and priests regarding Jewish law and the meaning of Jewish scripture (e.g., Mk 2:23–3:6; 7:1–13; 11:27–12:34 and parallels). Moreover, Jesus proclaims the rule of God and speaks of Israel's redemption (e.g., Mk 1:14–15 and parallels). Israel's priority over the nations is assumed (Mk 7:24–30), and is sometimes explicitly asserted (e.g., Mt 10:5–6; 15:24). The geography, topography, and demography of the Jesus story are thoroughly Jewish. Jesus is from Nazareth, is headquartered in Capernaum, teaches by and frequently crosses the Sea of Galilee, and travels south to Jericho, Judea, and Jerusalem. Jesus frequents the synagogue, prays, teaches his disciples to pray,[2] and upholds the Jewish law[3] (even if his understanding differs from that of his contemporaries[4]). In short, the Jesus of the Gospels is as Jewish as any figure we know of from this period.[5] The

1 See also *Mekilta deRabbi Shimeon ben Yohai* on Ex 3:10–11; *'Abot deRabbi Nathan* A 1.2; and, from the Samaritan tradition, *Memar Marqa* 4:7; 5:3; 6:3–4. Apostle derives from the Greek noun *apostolos*, which means one who is sent (from the verb *apostellein*, "to send"). Its Hebrew equivalent is *shaliah* or *shaluah*, from the verb *shalah*, "to send." The idea of Moses or a prophet as "apostle" comes from scriptural passages that speak of them as "sent" by God (e.g., Ex 3:10, "I will send you to Pharaoh"; Isa 61:1, "the Lord . . . has sent me"; Jer 1:7, "to all to whom I send you you shall go"; etc.).

2 As in Mt 6:9–13 = Lk 11:2–4, which is manifestly Jesus' own adaptation of a Jewish prayer that became known as the Qaddish. Jesus' prayer and the Qaddish both begin with the petitions that God sanctify his name and that his rule be established.

3 As in Lk 16:17: "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass away, than for one dot of the Law to become void."

4 As in Mt 5:20: "I tell you, unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees . . ."; or Mark 7:9, to the scribes and Pharisees: "You have a fine way of rejecting the commandment of God, in order to keep your tradition!"

5 Even the priestly opposition, arrest, and Roman interrogation and flagellation of Jesus correspond to what happened to another Jewish prophet who dared walk about in Jerusalem warning of coming judgment (cf. Josephus, *J.W.* 6.5.3 §300–309, in reference to one "Jesus ben Ananias").

parallels between his teachings and activities and contemporary Judaism are so numerous that they fill more than 1500 pages in Paul Billerbeck's commentary on the Gospels, a commentary based on comparisons with Talmudic and midrashic literature.[6]

Not only is Jesus, the central figure of the Gospels, thoroughly Jewish, the Gospels themselves are Jewish to the core. We see this in the way the Gospel of Matthew begins: "The book of the genealogy of Jesus Messiah, the son of David, the son of Abraham" (Mt 1:1; cf. Gen 5:1, "This is the book of the generations of Adam …"), followed by a genealogy patterned after those found in scripture (Mt 1:2, "Abraham was the father of Isaac, and Isaac the father of Jacob …" etc.; cf. Gen 5:3, "Adam … became the father of … Seth" etc.). Matthew's infancy narrative goes on to tell of Joseph and dreams, reminiscent of another well-known Joseph to whom God communicated through dreams (cf. Gen 37:5–11; 40:1–19; 41:1–36). Punctuating his narrative with a series of fulfilled prophecies, the Matthean evangelist tells the story of Jesus Messiah's infancy in terms of Moses typology, just as the Lukan evangelist punctuates his version of the infancy with several canticles, whose contents consist mostly of words and phrases drawn from scripture. Indeed, it has been observed that Luke's very style of writing consciously imitates the style of the Septuagint, the Greek version of Jewish scripture. It is as though the story of Israel, which had ended on the tragic note of the old kingdom's destruction and the demise of the Davidic dynasty, now continues in Luke's story of the advent of the promised king and savior. Mark's Gospel, made up of a series of vignettes of teaching and miracles, is reminiscent of the stories of Elijah and Elisha, while John's Gospel consciously imitates the language and themes of the wisdom tradition.

Not only is Jesus, the central figure of the Gospels, thoroughly Jewish, the Gospels themselves are Jewish to the core

The Dead Sea Scrolls have greatly added to our understanding and appreciation of the Gospels as Jewish literature. The Scrolls are Palestinian, early, written in Hebrew and Aramaic, and are unquestionably Jewish. Significant parallels between them and the Christian Gospels should go a long way in confirming the contention here that the Gospels are thoroughly Jewish, even if at points they are at variance with aspects of

6 (H. L. Strack) and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch* (6 vols., Munich: C. H. Beck, 1922–28), vols. 1 and 2. One should also see J. Lightfoot, *A Commentary on the New Testament from the Talmud and Hebraica* (4 vols., Peabody: Hendrickson, 1989 [orig. *Horae Hebraicae et Talmudicae*, 1658–74; ET Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859]), vols. 1, 2, and 3; S. T. Lachs, *A Rabbinic Commentary on the New Testament: The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke* (Hoboken: Ktav, 1987); C. G. Montefiore, *The Synoptic Gospels: Edited with an Introduction and a Commentary* (2 vols., 2nd ed., London: Macmillan, 1927); D. H. Stern, *Jewish New Testament Commentary* (Clarksville, MD: Jewish New Testament Publications, 1992), 1–214.

temple and scribal Judaism as it existed prior to 70 CE. Relevant examples will be cited for all four Gospels.

Matthew

Given its overtly Jewish character we should expect the largest number of important parallels to be found in Matthew, and this appears to be the case. We may consider four: the first concerns an interpretive approach to scripture, the second a Semitic genre, the third an ethical theme, and the fourth a common understanding of a specific collocation of words and phrases from the prophet Isaiah.

(1) Pesher interpretation in the Scrolls and in Matthew. One of the first intriguing features of the newly discovered Dead Sea Scrolls to gain the attention of scholars was pesher interpretation. Happily, one well-preserved pesher ("interpretation" or "commentary") scroll was found in the first cave, discovered in 1947. Line after line of the first two chapters of Habakkuk are quoted and then explained: "Its interpretation concerns" some recent event or some event believed to occur soon. The author of the Habakkuk Pesher systematically equates various events and personages in Habakkuk with various events and personages in the era of the Qumran community. Scholars immediately saw the relevance of this style of interpretation for understanding New Testament use of the Old Testament, e.g., Acts 2:16–17: "But this [the speaking in tongues] is what was spoken by the prophet Joel: 'And in the last days it shall be, God declares, that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh . . . '" (citing Joel 2:28–32).

Throughout Matthew we see specific prophetic texts equated with specific events in the life and ministry of Jesus. We find this five times in the infancy narrative, e.g., "All this took place to fulfill what the Lord had spoken by the prophet: 'Behold, a virgin shall conceive . . . '" (Mt 1: 22–23 [citing Isa 7:14]; cf. Mt 2:5–6 [citing Mic 5:2]; 2:15 [citing Hos 11: 1]; 2:17–18 [citing Jer 31:15]; 2:23 [citing Isa 11:1 and Judg 13:5]). Similar citations punctuate the Matthean narrative. Jesus' ministry in Galilee is said to be "what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah" (Mt 4:12–16 [citing Isa 9:1–2]). Jesus' healing of the multitudes is "what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah" (Mt 8:17 [citing Isa 53:4]). Jesus' style of ministry, particularly his avoidance of clamor and refusing to incite the mob, is the fulfillment of "what was spoken by the prophet Isaiah" (Mt 12:17–20 [citing Isa 42:1–4]). Both of these latter passages encourage readers to equate Jesus with the Lord's Servant of the prophecies of Isaiah. The Matthean evangelist cites a number of prophecies in reference to Jesus' ministry in Jerusalem and his Passion. This exegetical procedure closely approximates what we see in the Pesher commentaries of Qumran.[7]

7 The pioneering study in this field is K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew and Its Use of the Old Testament* (ASNU 20; Lund: Gleerup; Copenhagen: Munksgaard; rev. ed., Philadelphia: Fortress, 1968). Stendahl's appeal to pesher at Qumran was helpful, even if his suggestion of a Matthean "school" is not followed.

(2) Beatitudes in the Scrolls and in Matthew. One of the best-known features in Jesus' teaching was his stringing together of several beatitudes (Mt 5:3–12 = Lk 6:20–26). Couplets of beatitudes are attested in Israel's scriptures and in other Jewish writings from late antiquity (e.g., Pss 32:1–2; 84:4–5; 119:1–2; Sir 14:1–2; 25:8–9; Tob 13:13–14), but it was not until the discovery of 4Q525 that we actually had a Jewish text, apart from the Gospels themselves, that preserves a string of beatitudes:

[Blessed is the one who . . .] with a clean heart and does not slander with his tongue.

Blessed are those who hold fast to its statutes and do not hold fast to the ways of injustice.

Ble[ssed] are those who rejoice in it, and do not burst forth on paths of folly.

Blessed are those who seek it with pure hands, and do not search for it with a deceitful [hea]rt.

Blessed is the man who attains wisdom, and walks in the law of the Most High . . .[8] (frag. 2 ii + 3:1–10).

Scholars debate how many beatitudes originally made up this list. Obviously, there were at least five (one more than we find in the Lukan collection). It is speculated that there may have been seven. The structural similarity is interesting, to be sure, but what is more interesting are the differences between Jesus' beatitudes and those of 4Q525. The beatitudes of this Scroll fit the typical wisdom pattern, whereas Jesus' beatitudes promise eschatological justice: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. . . . Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God" (Mt 5:3, 8).[9]

(3) Righteousness in the Scrolls and in Matthew. The various forms of "righteous" and "righteousness" (including "just" and "justice") occur hundreds of times in the Scrolls. These words also appear frequently in the Gospel of Matthew. Especially interesting are the references to the "teacher of righteousness" who comes in the "last days" (e.g., CD 6:10–11, "the one who teaches righteousness in the last days"; cf. 1QpHab 1:13; 7:4). This authoritative teacher will instruct the faithful in the true understanding of the law of God. The parallel with the Matthean presentation of Jesus, especially as we see it in the Sermon on the Mount, is striking. The men of Qumran would certainly concur with Jesus' warning: "I tell you, unless your righteousness exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees, you will never enter the kingdom of heaven" (Mt 5:20), as well as with his beatitudes: "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness, for

8 Translations of the Dead Sea Scrolls are based on M.O. Wise, M.G. Abegg Jr., and E. M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1996). Modifications are sometimes made, usually to offer a more literal rendering.

9 See B. T. Viviano, "Beatitudes Found among the Dead Sea Scrolls," *BAR* 18/6 (1992), 53–55, 66; É. Puech, "The Collection of Beatitudes in Hebrew and in Greek (4Q525 1–4 and Mt 5,3–12)," in F. Manns and E. Alliata (eds.), *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents* (SBF 38; Jerusalem: Franciscan Printing Press, 1993), 353–68.

they shall be satisfied" (Mt 5:6) and "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven" (5:10).[10]

(4) Works of the Messiah in the Scrolls and in the Gospels. One of the most startling parallels between the Scrolls and the Gospels is found in 4Q521. This particular Scroll fragment lends important support to the contention that Jesus did indeed understand himself in messianic terms.[11] In a passage whose authenticity can scarcely be doubted, an imprisoned and discouraged John the Baptizer sends to Jesus, asking, "Are you he who is to come, or do we look for another?" To this question Jesus replies: "Go and tell John what you hear and see: the blind receive their sight and the lame walk, lepers are cleansed and the deaf hear, and the dead are raised up, and the poor have good news preached to them. And blessed is he who takes no offense at me" (Mt 11:2–6 = Lk 7:18–23). Jesus' message for John contains allusions to several words and phrases from the book of Isaiah (e.g., Isa 35:5–6 [blind and lame]; 26:19 [dead]; 61:1–2 [good news]). This material appears in 4Q521: "setting prisoners free, opening the eyes of the blind . . . For he shall heal the wounded, he shall make alive the dead, (and) he shall preach good news to the poor" (frags. 2 + 4 ii 8–12). These remarkable events are described following mention of God's Messiah, whom heaven and earth will obey (line 1).[12] This Scroll suggests that Jesus' reply to John was indeed messianic. Indeed, the Matthean evangelist also understood the import of Jesus' reply, introducing the story with the words, "Now when John heard in prison about the deeds of the Messiah…" (Mt 11:2). These are Matthew's words, for the Lukan evangelist does not introduce his version of the story this way.[13]

Mark

There are important points of contact between the Jesus story of Mark and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Both involve similar understandings of passages of scripture.

10 See J. Kampen, "'Righteousness' in Matthew and the Legal Texts from Qumran," in M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen (eds.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995* (J.M. Baumgarten Festschrift; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 461–87.

11 For much of the twentieth century so-called critical scholarship argued, or assumed, that Jesus did not regard himself as the Messiah. Typical is the remark of R. Bultmann, *Jesus* (Berlin: Deutsche Bibliothek, 1926), 12; ET: *Jesus and the Word* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1934), 13: "I am personally of the opinion that Jesus did not believe himself to be the Messiah."

12 It is not always clear who the subject of the verbs is in the portion of 4Q521 under consideration. The preaching of good news to the poor surely is the activity of the Lord's Anointed. Perhaps this figure is also the subject of the verbs of healing and raising the dead. However, in an important sense this is not a pressing question, for if the anointed figure is the agent through whom healing takes place, surely he and all concerned would have understood that it is God himself who is the ultimate source of saving power. The same would have been true in the case of Jesus.

13 See É. Puech, "Une Apocalypse Messianique (4Q521)," *RevQ* 15 (1992), 475–519; J.J. Collins, "The Works of the Messiah," *DSD* 1 (1994), 98–112.

(5) Isaiah 40 in the Scrolls and in Mark. Isaiah 40 advances a bold typology whereby the original exodus serves as a model for a new era of salvation. Just as a way was prepared in the wilderness long ago, that God's people could travel from Egypt to the promised land, so it will happen again – only even better, for there will be no wilderness wanderings, but a highway leading directly from oppression to redemption. The men of Qumran understood Isaiah 40:3 in a similar manner. They too cited this passage and organized a community of covenant renewal in the wilderness of the Dead Sea region: "When such men as these come to be in Israel, conforming to these doctrines, they shall separate from the session of perverse men to go to the wilderness, there to prepare the way of truth, as it is written, 'In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord, make straight in the desert a highway for our God' [Isa 40:3]" (1QS 8:12-14). And again: "He shall save reproof – itself founded on true knowledge and righteous judgment – for those who have chosen the Way, treating each as his spiritual qualities and the precepts of the era require. He shall ground them in knowledge, thereby instructing them in truly wondrous mysteries; if then the secret Way is perfected among the men of the Yahad, each will walk blamelessly with his fellow, guided by what has been revealed to them. That will be the time of 'preparing the way in the desert' [Isa 40:3]" (1QS 9:17-20). As seen in the second excerpt, the word "way" (Hebr. *derekh*) became a name for the Qumran community itself, just as it did for the early Christian community: "But this I admit to you, that according to the Way [Greek: *hodos*] which they call a sect I do serve the God of our fathers . . . " (Acts 24:14; cf. Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 24:22).

(6) The Vineyard Parable of Isaiah in the Scrolls and in Mark. Jesus' Parable of the Vineyard (Mk 12:1–9 and parallels) is based on Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard (cf. Isa 5:1-7). Speaking for the Lord, the prophet Isaiah complained that despite loving care, the vineyard planted and nurtured on the hill produced worthless grapes. The parable is an allegory and it is a juridical parable, that is, a parable that induces the hearers to pass judgment on themselves. The vineyard is Israel, its owner is God, the fruit is the behavior of Israel. Israel has no excuse: "What more could God do for his people?" Therefore, the nation may expect judgment. Jesus' parable presupposes these allegorical features, but adds tenant farmers to the story and reassigns the guilt: Israel is not at fault, her religious leaders are; and redirects the judgment: the religious leaders will lose their stewardship.

The shift of focus from the nation as a whole to the religious leaders, specifically the ruling priests, was not unique to Jesus. We find this perspective in the Aramaic paraphrase of Isaiah (the Targum), especially in its rendering of Isaiah 5:1–2, 5, where the watch tower becomes "sanctuary" and the wine vat becomes "altar." (This interpretation is also attested in two places in the Tosefta: *Me'ila* 1.16 and *Sukkah* 3.15.) The antiquity of the tradition is now confirmed at Qumran, where a small scroll fragment (4Q500) alludes to Isaiah's Song of the Vineyard and clearly links it to the Temple.[14]

Luke

One might not expect distinctly Lukan contacts with Judaism, given the high probability that the Lukan evangelist was a gentile. However, perusal of Luke–Acts indicates that this person was familiar with the synagogue (and he gives us an early description of a synagogue service in 4:16–30), and evidently knew well significant portions of the Greek version of scripture. There are two important points of contact with the Dead Sea Scrolls that can be mentioned briefly.

(7) The announcement of the coming Son of God. The angel announces to Mary: "He will be great and will be called the Son of the Most High; and the Lord God will give Him the throne of His father David; and He will reign over the house of Jacob forever; and His kingdom will have no end . . . the holy offspring shall be called the Son of God" (Lk 1:32–35). These words echo the promise given David: "I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever . . . I will be a father to him and he will be a son to Me . . . your house and your kingdom shall endure before Me forever; your throne shall be established forever" (2 Sam 7:13-16). They also find a remarkable parallel in an Aramaic text from Qumran: "He shall be called son of the great God, and by his name shall he be named. He shall be called the Son of God, and they shall call him Son of the Most High . . . their kingdom will be an eternal kingdom" (4Q246 1:9–2:5). This parallel, which is probably speaking of the expected Jewish Messiah, demonstrates that in Judaism, in the land of Israel, and in the Aramaic language, before the time of Jesus and Christian proclamation, the Messiah was sometimes called the "Son of God." Therefore, it is not necessary to conclude, as some critics have in the past, that reference to Jesus as Son of God was due to later Greco-Roman influence as Christianity spread throughout the Roman Empire.[15]

(8) Fulfilling the Law and inheriting eternal life. On one occasion a legal expert approaches Jesus and asks what he must do to inherit eternal life (Lk 10:25–28). When the man affirms the commandments to love God and to love one's neighbor, Jesus assures him, "Do this and you will live" (v. 28). Most interpreters recognize the allusion to Leviticus 18:5,

14 See J.M. Baumgarten, "4Q500 and the Ancient Conception of the Lord's Vineyard," *JJS* 40 (1989), 1–6; G.J. Brooke, "4Q500 1 and the Use of Scripture in the Parable of the Vineyard," *DSD* 2 (1995), 268–94.

15 See J.J. Collins, "The Son of God Text from Qumran," in M.C. De Boer (ed.), *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (JSNTSup 84; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 65–82; J. A. Fitzmyer, "4Q246: The 'Son of God' Document from Qumran," *Bib* 74 (1993), 153–74. Some interpreters believe the Son of God figure in 4Q246 is in fact a usurper, who arrogantly and blasphemously applies to himself such exalted language. This interpretation could well be correct, for the lack of context makes it impossible to decide the question with any degree of certainty. In either case, the value of the Son of God language in 4Q246 for interpreting Luke 1 remains, whether a positive figure is in view, who should be called Son of God, or a negative figure is in view, who should not be so called. The important point is the currency of the titles and how they clarify early Christology.

where the Law of Moses assures Israelites that if a man does the law, he will live. The problem is that Moses was speaking of life in the land of Israel, not eternal life. So how does Jesus' allusion to Leviticus 18:5 provide assurance to the legal expert that he will inherit eternal life? The answer is found in observing that Leviticus 18:5 was understood in late antiquity as referring both to prosperous life in the promised land and to life in the world to come. For example, in the Aramaic, Leviticus 18:5 reads: "You shall therefore keep my statutes and my ordinances, by doing which a man shall live *in the world to come*: I am the LORD" (*Targ. Onqelos*). The antiquity of this interpretation is seen in the *Damascus Covenant*, one of the Dead Sea Scrolls found in fragments in the Qumran caves and – more than one hundred years ago – in the genizah of the old Cairo synagogue. According to this text: "His holy Sabbaths, His glorious festivals, His righteous laws, His reliable ways. The desires of His will, which *a man should carry out and so have life in them*, He opened up to them . . . and even at this day, those who hold firm to it shall receive eternal life" (CD 3:14-20, italics added to indicate the allusion to Lev 18: 5). The author of this text understood Leviticus 18:5 as promising "eternal life," just as Jesus did.

John

We also find important points of contact in the Gospel of John with several midrashic and targumic interpretations. Perhaps the most dramatic parallel between John and the Dead Sea Scrolls is their use of dualistic terminology.

(9) Dualism in the Scrolls and in John. The dualism found in the Rule of the Community has especially drawn scholarly attention. Contrasts between light/darkness, good deeds/evil deeds, and truth/falsehood are found in 1QS 3:13–4:26. A sample of the passage reads as follows: "[God] allotted unto humanity two spirits that he should walk in them until the time of His visitation; they are the spirits of truth and perversity. The origin of truth is in a fountain of light, and the origin of perversity is from a fountain of darkness. Dominion over all the sons of righteousness is in the hand of the Prince of light; they walk in the ways of light. All dominion over the sons of perversity is in the hand of the Angel of darkness; they walk in the ways of darkness" (1QS 3:18–21). Although Johannine and Qumranian dualism is not identical, there is significant similarity. Some of the most important parallels have been presented by James Charlesworth: "Spirit of truth" (Jn 14:17; 15:26; 16:13; 1 Jn 4:6; cf. 1QS 3:18-19; 4:21, 23); "Holy Spirit" (Jn 14:26; 20:22; cf. 1QS 4:21); "sons of light" (Jn 12:36; cf. 1QS 3:13, 24, 25); "eternal life" (Jn 3:15, 16, 36; 4:14, 36; 5:24, etc.; cf. 1QS 4:7); "the light of life" (Jn 8:12; cf. 1QS 3:7); "walk in darkness" (Jn 8:12; 12:35; cf. 1QS 3:21; 4:11); "wrath of God" (Jn 3:36; cf. 1QS 4:12); "eyes of the blind" (Jn 9:39-41; 10:21; cf. 1QS 4:11); "full of grace" (Jn 1:14; cf. 1QS 4:4, 5); "the works of God" (Jn 6:28; 9:3; cf. 1QS 4: 4); "men . . . for their works were evil" (Jn 3:19; cf. 1QS 4:10, 20). To these

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a few others might be added: "witness of the truth" (Jn 5:33; 18:37; cf. 1QS 8:6); "do [or practice] the truth" (Jn 3:21; 1 Jn 1:6; cf. 1QS 1: 5; 5:3; 8:2); "walking in truth" (2 Jn 4; 3 Jn 3; cf. 1QS 4:6, 15); "living water" (Jn 4:14; cf. CD 19:33-34); darkness overcome by light (Jn 1: 5; 1 Jn 2:8; cf. 1QMyst 6).[16]

These parallels do not require us to conclude that John has been influenced by Qumran or the Rule of the Community; they do, however, encourage us to interpret Johannine dualism in the Jewish world of late antiquity.[17] Appeals to Gnosticism, for example, are unnecessary and may well be anachronistic.

Conclusion

The Judaic character of the New Testament Gospels is illustrated by the nine important parallels that have been briefly considered. There are many more parallels and points of contact, some linguistic and technical, that could be added to our discussion. But the examples that have been considered should be sufficient for the purposes at hand.

16 See J. H. Charlesworth, "A Critical Comparison of the Dualism in 1QS 3:13–4:26 and the 'Dualism' Contained in the Gospel of John," *NTS* 15 (1969), 389–418; repr. in Charlesworth (ed.), *John and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Chapman, 1972; repr. New York: Crossroad, 1990), 76–106.

17 This is the conclusion reached by R. Bauckham, "The Qumran Community and the Gospel of John," in L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Israel Antiquities Authority, 2000), 105–15.

Eschatological Bible Interpretation in the Scrolls and in the New Testament

By **George J. Brooke**

Bible Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The first seven scrolls from the 1947 discovery of Cave 1 included an extensive running commentary on the first two chapters of the Book of Habakkuk. The commentary is in the form of short quotations from the prophetic book given in sequence and interspersed with comments, each of which is introduced by a formula of some kind. All the introductory formulae consistently include the Hebrew word *pesher*; they can be translated something like "its interpretation is that" or "its interpretation concerns," though there is some scholarly debate as to how the particular nuance of the term might best be rendered. Perhaps a translation such as "real meaning" or "prophetic interpretation" would be more appropriate. This technical term has been used to label several kinds of biblical commentary found in the caves at and near Qumran in which the term occurs. Thus these Qumran sectarian commentaries have become known in the plural as the *pesharim*, while the contents of individual manuscripts are labeled on the basis of their scriptural content as *Pesher Habakkuk, Pesher Hosea*, etc.

The comments in these *pesharim* are invariably concerned with relating the scriptural text to the circumstances of the sectarian community. The original audiences of the prophets may have received something from the message which the prophets delivered to them, but the real meaning of their words is thought to have been concerned not with their own times but with the period of the Qumran community and the movement of which it was a part. That present time for the community was considered to be the "latter days," a time which anticipated the end-time and which shared many features with it, the last period of history before a decisive divine intervention in human affairs. "And God told Habakkuk to write down what would happen to the final generation, but he did not make known to him the time of the end," writes the commentator as he interprets Habakkuk's report that God had told him to write down a vision (Hab 2:1-2). In other parts of the *pesharim* the hardship which the community was experiencing is seen as a sign of the end times, and

the reward for community members would be a place in the running of things after the destruction of the wicked.

The general term used to describe the method of eschatological interpretation that is to be found in the *pesharim* and similar sectarian compositions is *atomization*. By this it is meant that the general features of the prophetic texts of old are related to specific matters in the life of the community and the movement of which it was a part. The prophetic visions and oracles are understood as really being about the present experiences of community members and the events of the world around them, and nothing else. This general treatment of the authoritative prophetic texts is not presented arbitrarily, but through the application of a complex system of interpretative devices which sometimes look strange to modern readers. For example, the final "Woe!" in Habakkuk 2:19–20, which rings out against idolaters who do not recognize that the Lord is in his holy temple, is interpreted as an omen of the ultimate destruction of all idolatrous nations on the Day of Judgment: God will destroy them from the earth. A close look at the Hebrew shows that the word for temple (*hykl*) in the prophecy is played with to produce the motif of destruction (*yklh*, "he will destroy"). The profound theological insight into the text of Habakkuk is that God's presence in his temple is ultimately a presence of judgment on all idolaters. The exegesis is not haphazard, because the key term of the interpretation is hidden in the prophetic utterance, and once discerned can be recognized by any hearer or reader. The exegesis is only inspired inasmuch as it is full of fresh insight derived from the skilled reading of the authoritative text by a commentator who is able and willing to exercise his gifts which are based on years of training and experience.

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Although the accidents of survival mean that it is difficult to make hard and fast rules, it seems as if the community interpreters considered both that not all prophetic texts were suitable for eschatological interpretation of this kind, and also that many texts beyond the writings of the literary prophets themselves might qualify for such interpretation. It seems that any prophetic text, wherever it might be found in scripture, which was considered to be yet unfulfilled might qualify; in addition to oracular prophecy proper, other types of authoritative text such as blessings, curses, divine promises, and some inspired poetry were ripe for *pesher* interpretation. So, for example, the blessings of Jacob in Genesis 49 are provided with *pesher* in the *Commentary on Genesis A,* as are many of the Psalms in the *Pesher Psalms* as well as in the thematically organized *Eschatological Midrashim*. The position of the Psalms as prophecy is enhanced through the explicit reference in the Cave 11 *Psalms Scroll* to David as uttering his compositions through "prophecy which was given to him from before the Most High."

The discovery of *Pesher Habakkuk* among the first batch of scrolls has resulted in the frequent scholarly distortion of sectarian biblical interpretation. Often it is assumed that the eschatological *pesher* commentary is all there was to the community's understanding of their authoritative scriptures. But it is quite clear, even in the other sectarian compositions from Cave 1, that there is much more to biblical interpretation in the Qumran sectarian mindset than just *pesher*. In addition to the interpretation of unfulfilled blessings, curses, promises, psalms and prophetic oracles, there are several kinds of interpretation which only indirectly concern matters of eschatology. A catalogue of such interpretations should include various forms of legal interpretation, whereby scriptural rules are brought into the present in several different ways; these are only eschatological inasmuch as acting according to the proper interpretation of the Law marked out the community from others at a time when all were branded straightforwardly as insiders or outsiders who would very soon come under divine judgment. The *Damascus Document* makes one thing plain: it is not for the wrong view of prophecy that a community member can be expelled, but for not following the right interpretation of the Law (CD VI, 18; XX, 32–33; cf. 4Q266 11, 20–21 = 4Q270 7 II, 15). In addition to legal interpretation there are also extensive poetic and liturgical interpretations of scriptural material amongst the sectarian texts, such as the *Thanksgiving Hymns*, as well as exhortatory uses of scripture in such sectarian compositions as the *Damascus Document* and narrative retellings of scripture in such parabiblical compositions as the *Apocryphon of Joshua*. Despite the wealth of all this biblical interpretation, this short contribution is indeed focused on the eschatological interpretation of the *pesharim,* with only occasional references to other texts.

The Pesharim and New Testament

How do the *pesharim* – and other forms of prophetic interpretation in the sectarian scrolls found in the eleven caves at and near Qumran – illuminate modern understanding of how the authors of the New Testament writings went about interpreting the Old Testament? There are three things to be said directly.

To begin with, the small library of works which are now assembled together in the New Testament do not include any running commentaries on scriptural texts quite like the continuous *pesharim* such as *Pesher Habakkuk*. The New Testament is primarily made up of quasi-biographical gospels and letters. Thus in an indirect way it is immediately apparent that the Jewish scriptures were perhaps not so much of a controlling concern to the early Christians, even those who were Jews, as they were for the Qumran sectarians. Running commentaries were to become a feature of Christian writing only from the end of the second century CE onwards, perhaps under the influence of the ongoing practice of commentary work in early rabbinic Judaism.

Second, despite the lack of continuous commentaries there are some

sections of the New Testament which are more akin to the kind of thematic eschatological interpretation which is found in Qumran compositions such as the *Damascus Document* or the *Eschatological Midrash*. But even here there is a striking difference. In structure the sectarian compositions generally quote the scriptural text *first* and then relate it to their immediate last day concerns. In the New Testament, significant quotations from the prophets are usually provided as proof-texts and are presented *after* the point has been made or the incident described. This is noticeably the case in the first two chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, where five scriptural texts (Isa 7:14; Mic 5:2; Hos 11:1; Jer 31:15; and Isa 11:1) are cited to show how the narrative of Jesus' birth and infancy is the fulfillment of prophecy. Unlike in Qumran thematic commentaries, the texts are not intricately linked to one another apart from the way they stand in the narrative itself. A case more like the Qumran practice is the use of Psalm 2 in Acts 4:23-31, where the psalm goes before the interpretation.

Third, it is certainly the case that in both the Qumran sectarian use of prophetic texts and in the New Testament, the authors demonstrate that prophetic texts have been or are being fulfilled in the experiences of their hearers and readers. Nevertheless, in the interpretations of the scriptures in the New Testament there is not the same ongoing tone of eschatological urgency as is to be found predominantly in the Qumran interpretations of unfulfilled prophetic passages.

Self-Understanding of the Community of the Last Days

Both the Qumran community and the early Jesus movement understood themselves as constituting the Community of the Last Days, when the fulfillment of prophecies on the elect remnant and the restoration of Israel would take place. Both were convinced that the last days were breaking in. Similar eschatological worldviews open up possibilities for parallels in the use of scripture, so that insight into Qumran exegesis might enhance our understanding of how the New Testament authors used the Bible.

However, between the self-understandings of the Qumran sectarians and the movement of which they were a part on the one hand, and those of the communities variously reflected in the New Testament writings on the other hand, there are both similarities in perspective and method and differences in content.

With some exceptions, for the Qumran community the ongoing and controlling concern of unfulfilled prophetic scriptures meant that the community generally had an eye to the future, looking for the moment of vindication yet to come; their concerns were thus inward looking as they sought ever more strictly to distinguish the righteous from the wicked.

Again, with some notable exceptions such as the initial forward looking eschatological fervor of Paul, the New Testament communities generally looked to the past for their vindication in the death and resurrection

of Jesus. This event was deemed to be of ongoing significance for the construction of a view of the world; the security of a vindication largely realized permitted a more outward looking stance.

View of Revelation

As far as the understanding of revelation is concerned, there are several fundamental differences between the views of the movement represented by the Qumran group and those of the writers of the New Testament. The difference lies essentially in the organization and functioning of the two communities themselves.

In the Qumran community, scriptural interpretation was undertaken only by the specialist. The Qumran commentators were highly skilled priestly scribes or scribal priests, part of whose religious life was the expert interpretation of authoritative texts. It is with such an assumption about the social make-up of the Qumran community that any statements about revelation in their texts must be understood. The kind of interpretation present in the *Pesharim* is probably related to the Jewish tradition of dream interpretation, in which the specialist interpreter is called in to offer the key to understanding the dream. The interpreter was necessary for unlocking the hidden meanings of what had been revealed to earlier generations; without the interpretation it was impossible to live aright. The Teacher of Righteousness (the founder of the movement) was held up as a model of the scriptural interpreter: to him "God made known all the mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets" (1QpHab VII, 4–5).

Such may have been the case in early Christian communities, where we know that there was a role for teachers, but in the lists of community activists it is striking that there is no explicit mention of a role such as interpreter of scripture. This may have been because revelation was indeed seen as coming through authoritative texts, but even more so through the activities of the community and the direct sensory experiences of some community members, whether in prophecy or tongues. Jesus himself is not portrayed as an interpreter of scripture, except perhaps in Luke's Gospel, where at the start he declares the prophecy of Isaiah to be fulfilled and at the end, on the road to Emmaus, he interprets the Law, Prophets, and Psalms to his two traveling companions. In both instances the interpretation is related directly to Jesus himself, rather than to an event.

It is intriguing that though for the Qumran community the Law and the Prophets are worth little without the inspired skilled interpreter, the label prophet is seldom used apart from references to the scriptural prophets. On the other hand, in the New Testament communities in which scripture is less of a controlling influence, the labels prophet and prophecy occur commonly with reference to community members endowed with inspired charismatic gifts.

In sum, though for both the Qumran sectarians and the New Testament

communities revelation is in some sense ongoing, whether primarily as interpretation at Qumran or through forms of charismatic utterance in Pauline communities such as Corinth, the use of prophetic texts is rather different in both communities. At Qumran the unfulfilled prophecies are a resource for the community's hope; in the New Testament communities the resource for hope lies elsewhere, in the person of Jesus and his death and resurrection.

Control and Enhancement

I have already mentioned how the structure of both the continuous and the thematic commentaries at Qumran suggests that the authoritative text acted as a control over what was and could be said. This applies to many of the compositions in the Qumran library, whether sectarian or not. Not only was much of the commentary on the prophets controlled by the running scriptural text itself, but also the community's legal texts advance and enhance scriptural laws, their poetry imitates and reapplies the imagery of scriptural poetry, and their exhortations are based on the principal characters and motifs of the received grand narratives. Admittedly the experiences of the community play a significant role in how the unfulfilled scriptural promises are read and appropriated, but it is scripture which dominates.

This controlling concern of scripture can be expressed somewhat crudely in terms of a comparison of Qumran exegesis with Christian eisegesis. The basic attitude to the authoritative texts in the Qumran community and its wider movement concerned the suitable handling of the tradition, which itself set the agenda for daily living. The Law needed to be applied to daily life in the land and in particular to the temple as properly constructed and ordered. For all that the agreed core of scripture remained the same so that dialogue could be maintained with those outside, the Qumranic exegetical approach led to the extension of the tradition, not its reduction. This is attested, for example, by the very existence of the so-called *Temple Scroll*. This is a text which purports largely to be a direct address of God to Moses about the temple and about how life in the land should be lived. Because these matters were not adequately covered in the Law, the scroll is compiled so as to present itself as having an authority equal to or greater than that of the Law itself. The agenda is set by scriptural texts, and new compositions are derived by thoroughgoing exegesis. Thus the Law is extended and completed, not replaced. Later rabbinic codifications of opinions on various aspects of the Law were compiled with a similar purpose.

In the New Testament, however, the experiential and christological starting point led to a searching in the scriptures for passages which were consistent with the view that God had been, and continued to be, active in Jesus with universal effect. Thus while the whole of an emerging canon remained significant for Christianity in its continuing dialogue with Judaism and its continuing need to understand its own roots, certain

passages which could be understood as fulfilled in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus were focused on to the exclusion of much else. Once identified on the basis of the content of the early kerygma, scriptural passages could be interpreted in manners similar to the handling of texts in Judaism more broadly, but the agenda was set not primarily by scripture itself, but by the early Christian experience kerygmatically formulated.

Thus the Qumranic evidence suggests an attitude to scripture which leads to its extension; the New Testament suggests an attitude which leads to a minimalist approach, and scripture is less important in the overall construction of an outlook on life. Naturally, the actual circumstances lying behind any particular composition could be different from this overall picture. At Qumran, experiences and eschatological views could affect the reading of texts eisegetically. Amongst the early Christian authors, some aspects of what was written no doubt depended upon the exegesis of various scriptural passages which might be derived from the teaching of Jesus himself.

For the authors of the New Testament, most of whom were Jews and some of whom were indeed well educated, the control of their view of the world did not rest in scripture itself, but in their claims about the ongoing experience of the person of Jesus in the life of their communities.

The Last Days and the Messianic Era

As with the content and character of the handling of prophetic interpretation, so the criteria for determining the breaking-in of the last days and the messianic era are somewhat different in the two literary corpora, the sectarian scrolls and the writings of the New Testament.

For the Qumran sectarian the most significant criterion for becoming preoccupied with matters eschatological comes from the calculation of the times. Several compositions found in the Qumran library are concerned with putting history into jubilee periods, most especially ten jubilee cycles – 490 years – calculated from the fall of the first temple. Though the details often vary, the overall periodization is the same, and the starting point for the calculations is to be found with the destruction of the first temple and the start of the exile. Although the method of counting might be different from that of modern historians, it is clear that the first half of the first century BCE can be determined as a key period for the completion of the 490 years. It is not surprising that this is the most likely time for the establishment of a community settlement at Qumran, and that that sect's exegesis of unfulfilled prophetic texts have an eschatological fervor about them. The identification of the movement with Israel in exile for 390 years is an indication of how some applied the periodization to their group life. The political changes both nationally and internationally from the time of the Maccabean revolt (167-164 BCE) onwards were set alongside these calculations to indicate that things were reaching a climax and that surely God was about to intervene decisively on behalf of one small group alone.

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There are a few indications in the New Testament that similar calculations were some part of the early Christian view. The 77 generations of the genealogy of Jesus according to Luke's Gospel can be read as 11 weeks of years, perhaps reflecting an Enochic scheme not unknown at Qumran. However, the New Testament witness seems to indicate that it was the experiences of Jesus' followers shortly after his death which convinced them that his public life and teaching had indeed been about the breaking in of the sovereignty of God in a decisive manner, in fact so much so that Jesus was clearly to be acknowledged as the awaited Davidic Messiah. Those experiences seem to have vindicated Jesus' own teaching, which was then variously recorded and retold in particular so that its universal implications could be appropriated from generation to generation.

The Actualization of the Biblical Texts for Today

It would be trite to suggest with hindsight that the demise of the Qumran group shows the inadequacy of their readings of their authoritative texts, whereas the survival and growth of early Christianity vindicates its handling of the same traditions. What emerges more honestly from this brief comparison of the place of prophetic scriptures in the writings of these two groups is the clarity with which both groups insist that authoritative scriptures without interpretation are of little use, and that any interpretation worth practicing needs to be true both to one's experience and to the text being interpreted. For those who acknowledge the reality of God, there seems to be more veracity in the insights derived from scripture which are of a more general or universal kind, and less to be gained from an insistence on particulars taken in a certain way. There may well seem to be greater appeal in an interpretation which claims that ultimately idolaters misconstrue reality, than in one which insists on constructing a doctrine of the virginity of Mary primarily on the basis of a very specific reading of Greek Isaiah. Conversely, there may be more to be said for hope expressed through a reading of the prophets which provides seating for the many and the unexpected at the banquet, than for one which raises the requirements for participation beyond all but the few.

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Heavenly Scene of the Book of Revelation

By **Håkan Ulfgard**

Many features of the heavenly scenery and liturgy in the Book of Revelation seem to have been inspired by the temple- and throne-visions of Isaiah 6 and Ezekiel 1.[1] Some highly interesting similarities are also found in the texts from Qumran and Masada. Like Revelation, these texts seem to have been inspired by cultic and prophetic scriptural concepts, especially from Isaiah and Ezekiel.[2] If these texts could provide relevant comparisons with features found in Revelation, this might illuminate not only its liturgical language and conceptual universe, but also contribute to its interpretation at large and to the understanding of the relationship between this unique NT text and the Jewish world of thought.

The texts in view here are the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, fragments of liturgical texts found mainly in Caves 4 (4Q400-407) and 11 (11Q17), though one copy was discovered in Yigael Yadin's excavations on Masada (MasShirShab).[3] From formulations in the texts themselves (henceforth abbreviated *Shirot*), their intended use on successive Sabbaths, numbered from one to thirteen, emerges clearly. Furthermore, they are assigned precise dates, matching one quarter of the perfect 364-day calendar known

1 After chs. 4-5, these scenes of heavenly worship are found in 7:9-17; 11:15-19; 12:10-12; 14: 1-5 (though located on Mount Zion); 15:2-8; and 19:1-8.

2 See e. g. the discussion about liturgical elements in the Qumran texts in J. Maier, "Zu Kult und Liturgie der Qumrangemeinde," *RevQ* 14 (1990), 543-586. The utilization of Ezekiel in the Qumran texts may also shed some light on the way in which Revelation makes use of Ezekiel. F. García Martínez demonstrates how the temple vision of Ezekiel 40–48 is reflected and interpreted, not least in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice. Ideas about human participation in the heavenly worship are emphasized, and the text from Ezekiel has provided material for the Qumranite concepts about the New Jerusalem: "L'interprétation de la Torah d'Ézéchiel dans les MSS de Qumrân," *Mémorial Jean Carmignac. Études qumrâniennes* (F. García Martínez , É. Puëch, eds.) *RevQ* 13 (1988), 441-452.

3 C. Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition* (Harvard Semitic Studies 27; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985). The existence of several overlapping fragments has enabled the reconstruction of a text which is more complete than the individual manuscripts would allow (the fragments from 4Q are dated by Newsom to between c. 75 BCE and the turn of the century; the 11Q texts to 20-50 CE; and the Masada fragment to c. 50 CE, with 73 as *terminus ad quem*). Translations in this article are from her edition, unless otherwise stated. The designation "Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice" (*Shirot 'Olat ha-Shabbat*) is adapted from a passage in the text itself: "*l*^{e}*maskil shir 'olat ha-shabbat*" (Newsom, *Songs*, 5).

from other documents affiliated with Qumran (e.g. 1 Enoch, Jubilees, the Temple Scroll, 4QMMT, etc.). No fragments of further *Shirot* for the rest of the year have been found, but nothing in the existing fragments suggests that the same songs were to be repeated four times a year (thus, e.g., the dates given are based on the reckoning of a whole year).[4]

The importance of this liturgical material is indicated by its presence in several copies found both in Caves 4 and 11 as well as at Masada. But the presence of a certain text among the Dead Sea scrolls does not automatically mean that its content should be regarded as "sectarian," i.e. authored within the Qumran community. Regarding the *Shirot*, the question is if its calendar and its liturgical language, focused on the heavenly worship, should be regarded as indicating a sectarian attitude.[5] Of particular interest is the Masada fragment, since it may indicate that these liturgical texts were known and used in wider circles than just among the Qumranites, although nothing certain can be known about the reason for its appearance at Masada: was the text brought there by Qumranites in connection with the military campaign of the Romans in the years of the great Jewish revolt, 66-73 CE? Or did it find its way there without involving any Qumranites? Interpreters such as Maier, Stegemann, and Elgvin have even suggested that the *Shirot* are older than the Qumran community and preserve liturgies from the pre-Maccabean temple.[6]

What is described in the texts is some kind of a Sabbath service in the heavenly sanctuary, in which all categories of angels are invited to participate.[7] Not only the heavenly beings are addressed: Even the foundations, cornerstones, and columns of the heavenly temple are exhorted to join in the praise of God. Newsom argues that there is an overarching structure in the composition of the songs.[8] Each text gives information about its author, its designation, and date, together with an exhortation to praise God. Following this exhortation, the main part of each song describes

4 Cf. Newsom, *Songs,* 5, 19. Note that 11Q5 col. xxvii (11QPsa DavComp) refers to King David as the author of 364 psalms for each day of the year and of 52 psalms for each of its Sabbath sacrifices.

5 Newsom's first inclination towards a Qumranite origin for the *Shirot* (cf. *Songs,* 2-4) has changed into acknowledging the possibility that they may have originated elsewhere, but that they, after having been introduced into the community, would have functioned well within the particular Qumranite ideology; cf. her article "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and Its Interpreters,* ed. W. H. Propp *et al*. (Winona Lake, Ind., 1990), 179-185.

6 H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran. On the Essenes, Qumran, John the Baptist, and Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 99-100. Elgvin has pointed to similarities between the *Shirot* and other pre-Qumran texts such as 11QHymn to the Creator and 1Qmysteries in "Priestly Sages? The Milieus of Origin of 4QMysteries and 4QInstruction," in *Proceedings of the Orion Conference on Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. J. J. Collins and G. E. Sterling, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 67-87, esp. 78 note 40.

7 For a study of the angelology of the Qumran texts, see M. J. Davidson, *Angels at Qumran. A Comparative Study of 1 Enoch 1-36, 72-108 and Sectarian Writings from Qumran* (JSPSup 11; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992). On the *Shirot*, cf. especially pp. 235-254.

8 *Songs*, 6f. For a general survey of the content of the songs, see pp. 6-19.

the angelic praise, containing both strictly formulaic sections and more loosely composed passages. Of the thirteen songs, the sixth, seventh, and eighth are the longest ones. The style of these central songs is particularly solemn with much repetition, an abundant use of the number seven, and lengthy enumerations of all who are exhorted to praise God (seven priesthoods, seven councils, seven *debirim* [=inner sanctuaries], seven chief princes, seven deputy princes, seven psalms, etc.). At the center of the whole series, the seventh song contains the most all-embracing exhortation to join the praise of God, as it also introduces new motifs that recur in the following songs. Thus, one may note a shift in focus from the human congregation of worshippers and ideas on eschatology and predestination in the first five songs, to a concentration on the worshipping angels and the heavenly sanctuary in the last five.[9]

As to the function of these texts, they may have been intended to convey to earthly worshippers the experience of being present at the continuous heavenly liturgy before the throne of God, an attitude found also in the Thanksgiving Hymns and the Rule of the Community (cf. 1QH 3:21-23; 11:13, 25; 1QS 11:7-8).[10] It should be noted, however, that the *Shirot* do not explicitly state that human beings are actually transferred into the cultic community of the heavenly realms. There is no description of humans actually participating in the heavenly liturgy together with the angels. Still, the hypnotic quality of the language used to describe the heavenly temple and its worship, with even "dead objects" such as foundation stones and columns participating, may have conveyed to the readers the feeling of being close to the heavenly liturgy, and confidence that their earthly Sabbath service is some sort of parallel counterpart to it. Though it is the angels that are exhorted to join in praising God, this exhortative and repetitive language may have conveyed to the earthly worshippers who week by week read these evocative texts the notion of being present with them in the heavenly temple. By means of such texts, the Qumran readers (separated from participation in the official temple worship in Jerusalem?) may have sought to attain some kind of experi-

9 *Newsom, Songs,*14f. However, Newsom also notes that the angelic priesthood is a special theme in both the first and the last song (p. 17).

10 Cf. Newsom, *Songs*, 19: "During the course of this thirteen week cycle, the community which recites the compositions is led through a lengthy preparation. The mysteries of the angelic priesthood are recounted, a hypnotic celebration of the sabbatical number seven produces an anticipatory climax at the center of the work, and the community is then gradually led through the spiritually animate heavenly temple until the worshippers experience the holiness of the *merkabā* (God's throne chariot) and of the Sabbath sacrifice as it is conducted by the high priests of the angels."

11 *Newsom, Songs,*65, quoting from 4Q400, frg. 2, l. 6: "How shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood (be considered) in their habitations?" J. Maier argues that the Qumran covenanters' priestly self-understanding may not have been limited to considering themselves the pure priesthood, in contrast to the defiled priests in Jerusalem, but that they regarded themselves as actually performing priestly service among the angels before God's throne. See *Von Kultus zu Gnosis. Studien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der 'jüdischen Gnosis'. Bundeslade, Gottesthron und Märkabah* (Salzburg: Müller, 1964), 133.

ential validation for their claim to represent the true priesthood.[11] The interest in accentuating priestly quality and legitimacy also emerges from the fact that the climax at the end of the songs is not to be found in the depiction of the heavenly throne, but in the description of the heavenly high-priestly angels appearing in glory.[12]

The Book of Revelation and the *Shirot*

Before going into the special similarities between Revelation and the *Shirot*, attention should be paid to the fundamental cultic and eschatological perspective of Revelation.[13] Its introductory reference in 1:5-6 to Exodus 19:6 provides a background for John's statement about the followers of Jesus as "a kingdom, priests serving his God and Father," and lays the foundation for further associations in the book to the Exodus events and to the covenant ideology. But it also offers a significant model for understanding the particular eschatological perspective of Revelation: The readers/listeners are invited to understand their own situation as Christian confessors according to a typological interpretation of the biblical Exodus narrative. Just as the Israelites, having been liberated out of Egypt, are proclaimed to represent God's chosen and sanctified people at Sinai, they should regard the salvific death and resurrection of Jesus as the foundation of their self-understanding. Through this basic event all believers were united into a renewed people of God in the eschatological era, chosen and sanctified through faith in Jesus as the Messiah. In this sense, they may already on earth be described as a royal priesthood unto God, having received dignity before God and immediate priestly access to him.

However, in emphasizing the priestly dignity of Jesus' followers, it should be noted that the author of Revelation is not only alluding to Israel's Exodus experience. Christian priesthood is also the fulfillment of the prophecy of Isaiah 61:6 about the restoration and vindication of God's people in the coming era of salvation. Especially towards the end

12 Newsom, *Songs,* 7lf, referring also to Zechariah 3, Jubilees 31:13f, and Aramaic Testament of Levi 2-8. On evocative language as a means of making the worship of the heavenly world present in an earthly context, cf. her article "'He Has established for Himself Priests': Human and Angelic Priesthood in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls. The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin,* ed. L.H. Schiffman (JSPSup 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 113-117.

13 Other similarities between Revelation and the *Shirot* may be listed as well, though many of these are of a less specific character. Thus, e.g., both Revelation 12:7; 19:11-21 and 4Q402 frg. 4, l. 10 make mention of a war between good and evil powers (for similar imagery, see the War Scroll as well as 1QS 3:24f; 1QSa 1:21, 26; CD 4:13). The exclusion of everything unclean and indecent from the New Jerusalem in Revelation 21:27 has a parallel in 4Q400 frg. 1, l. 14: but cf. e. g. 1QH 6:24-27; 7:8f. Note also the similarity between John's being in the Spirit (4:2), which enables him to behold the heavenly world without any heavenly journey, and the direct view of the heavenly sanctuary in the *Shirot*; cf. N.S. Fujita, *A Crack in the Jar. What Ancient Jewish Documents Tell Us About the New Testament* (New Jersey/New York: Mahwah/Paulist Press, 1986), 174.

of his book, it becomes clear that the author is making use of the Isaianic prophecy in portraying the ideal communion between God and mankind, in the perfect setting of the new heaven and earth and the New Jerusalem (ch. 21, particularly vv. 24-26). For this (and other) reason(s), it has sometimes been argued that the temporal perspective of Revelation leaves no room for actual present experience or performance of the Christian royal priesthood.[14] But it should be clear from the text itself that this is not the case. The verbal form for "made" (*epoiēsen,* perfect tense) in 1:6 is especially significant: The Christians' royal priesthood is a present reality, just like their simultaneous experience "in Jesus [of] the persecution and the kingdom and the patient endurance" (1:9). The priestly and royal dignity is not only meant as a future reward, although there certainly is a future dimension as well in this depiction of Christian existence (cf. 5:10; 20:6; 22:5).

Taken together, these Scriptural references provide a background for the particular eschatological perspective of Revelation that includes both future and realized expectation. As I have argued elsewhere, the scene of heavenly worship in 7:9-17 fits well in this particular conceptual world.[15] Liberated from slavery under sin and death by the cleansing blood of the Lamb, the Christian members of the people of God are constantly on their way to the Promised Land under God's protection – chosen, sanctified and having their names written in the Book of Life – but not yet enjoying the final consummation of their aspirations, and hence subject to temptations and threatening apostasy. Coming at the end of the first septennial series, then, this vision of human beings portrayed as participating in the heavenly liturgy with the host of angels, and as having come through the great tribulation, is not exclusively futuristic. It is proleptic in the sense that it anticipates the blessed human communion with God and the Lamb at the end of the book, but this does not necessarily imply that its prophetic language, heavily indebted to Scripture, only refers to things to come. Through their communion with the salvific death and resurrection of Christ, these are the ones who will overcome on the approaching dreadful day of the wrath of God and the Lamb.

The temporal ambiguity of 7:9-17, together with the difficulty in explaining the chronological and logical sequence between this passage and the previous one (vv. 1-8), is a well-known problem among interpreters of Revelation. Spatial and temporal transcendence, so characteristic for much biblical (especially apocalyptic) literature, is not easily explained according to rational thinking. But as the Qumran writings reveal, cultic ideology and phraseology may illuminate the tension between earth/heaven and present/future. In its earthly worship, the congregation of God's chosen and righteous people at the End of Days unites in the eter-

14 Cf. E. Schüssler Fiorenza, "Apocalyptic and Gnosis in the Book of Revelation and Paul," *JBL* 92 (1973), 577, 579.

15 See my dissertation, *Feast and Future. Revelation 7:9-17 and the Feast of Tabernacles* (CB OTS 22; Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell, 1989), e.g. pp. 35-41, 67, and 150-158.

nal heavenly worship celebrated by all angels and other celestial beings (1QS 8:7f, 9f; 1QH 6:24-27; 7:8f; 1QM 2:3).[16] This holy community represents a "human temple" (*miqdash 'adam*; 4Q174[4QFlor] 1:6), established in the end time in expectation of the perfect temple of the Age to Come, which God will cause to be built on Zion.[17] The cultic language and self-identification of the faithful as "priests" in Revelation may especially be compared with some passages in the *Shirot*, in which the priestly dignity of the celestial and earthly worshippers is stressed. See e.g. 4Q400 frg. 1, col. i, lines 3f: "[... for He has established] among the eternally holy the holiest of the holy ones, and they have become for Him priests [of the inner sanctum in His royal sanctuary], ministers of the Presence in His glorious *debir*"; cf. l. 19: "[...] He established for Himself priests of the inner sanctum, the holiest of the holy ones," and 4Q400, frg. 2, lines 6f: "[...] how shall we be considered [among] them? And how shall our priesthood [be considered] in their habitations? And our ho[liness – how can it compare with] their [surpassing] holiness?"

There are some specific details that point to the common conceptual world of Revelation and the *Shirot*. Among spatial details, the idea of the heavenly temple is a central concept in Revelation 7:15; 11:19; 15:5, and it is also prominent in 4Q400 frg. 1, lines 8, 10, 13, 17; 4Q401 frg. 12, lines 1 and 3. Though this concept is not unique to Revelation and the *Shirot* (the idea of a heavenly temple model goes back to texts like Ex 25:40 and 1 Chr 28:19; but cf. also Isa 6, Ez 1), certain details may reveal a special connection between these documents. As the whole of the heavenly world is called upon to praise God, even the foundation stones, cornerstones, and columns of the heavenly world are regarded as alive in some sense, so that even these dead objects should participate in the angelic worship. This might throw some light on the passage in Revelation 9:13f, in which John hears a voice calling out from the horns of the altar, and where there is no suggestion that God or an angel is speaking (cf. 19:5 and 21: 3).[18] Likewise, the idea of a living temple may help illuminate Revelation 3:12. The message to the Philadelphians concludes with the promise: "If you conquer, I will make you a pillar in the temple of my God ..." Though the metaphorical sense of the phrase is obvious, it is interesting to compare 4Q403 frg. 1, col. i, 1. 41 about the pillars in the heavenly temple as

16 Cf. O. Böcher, "Die Johannes-Apokalypse und die Texte aus Qumran," *ANRW* II, 25.5, hrsg. W. Hase (Berlin – New York: de Gruyter, 1988), 3897. Note also the presence of such ideas, e.g. in 4Q427 (4QHodayot[a]).

17 Cf. A. M. Schwemer, "Gott als König und seine Königsherrschaft in den Sabbatliedern aus Qumran," in *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der hellenistischen Welt*, ed. M. Hengel, A. M. Schwemer (Tübingen: Mohr, 1991), 74f, and D. Dimant, "4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple," *Hellenica et Judaica. Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetsky*, ed. A. Caquot *et al*. (Leuven – Paris: Peeters, 1986), 164-189.

18 See D.C. Allison, "4Q403 fragm. 1, col. i, 38-46 and the Revelation to John," *RevQ*12 (1986), 409-414. Cf. 5:13, where the presentation of the heavenly scene with its continuous worship ends with John claiming that he heard all created things unite in praising God.

praising God: "With these let all the f[oundations of the hol]y of holies praise, the uplifting pillars of the supremely lofty abode, and all the corners of its structure." Since the idea of the faithful constituting a temple is common both to the Qumran texts and to some of the New Testament writings, it may reasonably be asked if the formulation in Revelation could not be related to this concept.[19] The conquerors' reward illustrates the identification of the community and its members with God's temple. Furthermore, it may be related to the ideas in the *Shirot* about human participation, through the angels, in the continuous worship in heaven. In this way, Revelation 3:12 may be regarded as combining the notions about the pillars of the heavenly temple as animate objects and about chosen, holy, and righteous human beings joining with the angels in the divine liturgy.[20]

Furthermore, while it is a common characteristic of apocalyptic literature to describe the biblical world as populated by various kinds of living beings in the service of God, a special analogy to the scene in Revelation 4 may be found in 4Q403 frg. 1, col. ii (cf. 4Q405 frgs. 20-22). In both cases a strong influence from Ezekiel may be discerned, above all the introductory vision of ch. 1. Among other details, the seven flaming torches before the throne in Revelation 4:5 (identified as God's seven spirits) should be compared with 4Q403 frg. 1, col. ii, 1. 5: "the flashing of the light[ning] [...] to the chief of the godlike beings [...]," and also 1. 9: "and divine spirits, shapes of flaming fire round about it [...]." Other indications of similarity between Revelation and the *Shirot* concern how the sacred number seven is used in serial compositions (the seven churches with their respective angels, the series of seven seals, trumpets, and bowls, etc.). As was pointed out above, the number seven is particularly frequent in the sixth, seventh, and eighth songs. Especially notable is its recurring use in MasShirShab col. ii (overlaps in 4Q403-405), where the seven chief princes, i.e. principal angels, are exhorted to praise God with seven psalms of thanksgiving.[21] In an

19 Cf. B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament. A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); and R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple. The Church in the New Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969). A brief but comprehensive orientation on the temple symbolism in the Qumran texts is found in N. Fujita, *A Crack in the Jar*, 140-150; see especially pp. 145f for comments on the similarities between the depiction of the heavenly Jerusalem in Revelation 21 and the interpretation of Isaiah 54:11-12 in 4QpIsa^{d}, frg. 1 (the precious stones used for building up post-exilic Jerusalem interpreted as pointing to different groups within the Community; cf. Rev 21:14 on the twelve apostles as the founding stones in the walls of the heavenly Jerusalem). For similar observations concerning the relation between Revelation and Qumran texts, cf. J. Draper, "The Twelve Apostles as Foundation Stones of the Heavenly Jerusalem and the Foundation of the Qumran Community," *Neotestamentica* 22 (1988), 41-63.

20 Thus Allison, "4Q403," 411f. Especially in the Thanksgiving Hymns, the idea about sanctified, faithful and righteous human beings participating with the angels in the heavenly liturgy is a prominent feature; cf. 2:10; 3:7-13, 22f; 4:36ff; 5:8ff; 6:3ff; 7:16ff; 9:26; 11:12.

21 The extremely fragmentary remains of this text overlap with 4Q403, frg. 1, col. i, lines 1-11; cf. the reconstruction in Newsom, *Songs*, 175-177, and her chart on pp. 207f. Other fragments in which the number seven plays an important role are 4Q403, 404, and 405.

elaborate pattern, there is a sevenfold variation of praising words: blessing, magnification, exaltation, praise, thanksgiving, rejoicing, praise-song (*b*^{e}*rakā*, *gōdel*, *rōmām*, *shābah*, *hōdōt*, *rinnā*, *zemer*; lines 16-18), leading up to a summary of the seven blessings: "Seven psalms of His blessings; seven p[salms of the magnification of His righteousness;] seven psalms of the exaltation of His kingdom; seven psalms of the p[raise of His glory;] seven psalms of thanksgiving for His wonders; seven psa[lms of rejoicing in His strength;] [sev]en psalms of praise for His holiness ..." While there is an analogy for this sevenfold pattern of liturgical praise in the seven elements of the Amidah prayer, the closest similarity and a contemporary parallel to the concepts of the *Shirot* may be found in the sevenfold doxologies of Revelation 5:12 and 7:12, using the words power, wealth, wisdom, might, honor, glory, wealth (*dunamis*, *ploutos*, *sofia*, *ischus*, *timē*, *doxa*, *eulogia*).[22] This sevenfold terminology may be compared in character and meaning with the sevenfold praise of God in the *Shirot*.[23]

To summarize these observations, it seems reasonable to argue that the cultic-eschatological perspectives of both Revelation and the *Shirot* reveal a common consciousness of sharing a divine election and priestly dignity. In the context of worship, there is a transcendence of spatial (earthly and heavenly) as well as of temporal (past, present, and future) categories, which enables the authors of these texts to regard human beings as participating with the heavenly host of angels and other celestial creatures in the perennial praise of God. Such transcendent cosmological ideas ("vertical eschatology") may very well co-exist with the more traditional concept of the coming kingdom of God ("horizontal eschatology").[24]

22 The doxologies of Rev 4:9 and 5:13 contain respectively three and four elements of praise. The sevenfold praising formula of 1 Chronicles 29:11f has a more complex structure; cf. Newsom, *Songs*, 177. Note the comment of D. E. Aune, *The Cultic Setting of Realized Eschatology in Early Christianity* (NovT Suppl 28; Leiden: Brill, 1972), 32, n. 2, remarking on the correspondence between the angelic liturgy of the *Shirot* and Revelation: "The frequent use of the number seven in the Angelic Liturgy calls to mind the heptadic structure of the Apocalypse of John, thereby disposing us to view its cultic realization of the kingdom of God and final judgment as historically and genetically related to the identical cultic phenomenon in the worship of the Qumran community." For similar reflections on the connection between the hymns of Revelation and the *Shirot*, see S. Segert, "Observations on Poetic Structures in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice," *RevQ* 13 (1988), 223.

23 See also e.g. 4Q400 frg. 1, 1. 1; frg. 2, lines 1-5; frg. 3, co1. II, 1. 4; 4Q401 frg. 1, lines 5-8; frg. 13, 1. 2; MasShirShab col. 2. Cf. Newsom, *Songs*, 178-180, 195-197, and her concordance, 389-466.

24 Cf. H. Löhr, "Thronversammlung und preisender Tempel. Beobachtungen am himmlischen Heiligtum im Hebräerbrief und in den Sabbatopferliedern aus Qumran," *Königsherrschaft Gottes* (above, n. 17), 185-205, especially his conclusion (p. 204) that there is a common complex of motifs in the *Shirot* and the Epistle to the Hebrews, in which cultic and political concepts are combined in order to express the idea of the kingship of God. This does not necessarily mean that there must have been direct connections of a traditio-historical or literary kind, however. As a final important observation (concerning the understanding of Hebrews, but in my opinion highly relevant for Revelation as well), it is pointed out that "chronologically futural and spatially transcendent eschatology do not exclude each other, but rather implicate each other" (p. 205; my translation).

From the heavenly perspective revealed in Revelation and the *Shirot*, earthly future is already a present reality. As expressed by Anna-Maria Schwemer, commenting on the latter texts:

The present-tense cultic language involving *malkût* in the description of the heavenly worship is not contrary to the end-historical hope for the new eschatological Temple on earthly Zion, but rather helps to explain it. What is hoped for on earth regarding the future of salvation is eternally present in heaven. Through its exhortation to the angels to give praise to God in the cycle of the Sabbath Songs, the earthly community is participating in the heavenly worship, joyfully singing to this salvific gift.[25]

Concluding remarks

This brief study of some aspects of Revelation against the background of the *Shirot* has indicated the need for further exploration of the similarities between these expressions of Judaism at the turn of the era. Details in the depiction of the heavenly scene and in the cultic language suggest that interpreters of Revelation should be more concerned to study Qumran texts for illuminating its conceptual world. Among topics that need clarification are eschatology and the use of Scripture: How can the eschatology of Revelation be understood in light of Qumranite eschatological ideas? And are there points in common between Qumranite use of Scripture and the particular dependence on Scripture in Revelation?

Eventually, these theological and hermeneutical questions reach down to the issue of Christian origins: Being aware of the multifaceted forms of Judaism of the first century CE, is it possible that the unique Christian witness of Revelation may be due to influence from the kind of Judaism that also comes to expression in the Dead Sea scrolls?[26] Or put even more sharply: Could its author have been a 'converted' ex-Essene/ex-Qumranite – just as Paul was an ex-Pharisee?[27] Maybe the greatest problem with Revelation rests with theologians and exegetes who for various reasons have been unwilling to acknowledge the genuine but highly particular character of this witness to one form of early confession of Jesus as the

25 Schwemer, "Gott als König" (cf. above, n. 17), 116f (my translation).

26 The interest in celestial details in both Revelation and the *Shirot* should be related to the ideas of ancient Jewish mysticism, particularly its concepts concerning the heavenly throne and the *merkabā*; cf. e.g. I Enoch 39:10ff and 40:3ff, and see further Maier, *Vom Kultus zu Gnosis*, 133. In the opinion of G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1964), addendum to p. 29, 1. 9, the finding of the *Shirot* proves the connection between the Qumranite *merkabā* texts and the *hekalot* literature, and furthermore that the latter literature should be dated much earlier than has previously been the case. Cf. also Newsom, "Merkabah Exegesis in the Qumran Sabbath Shirot," *JJS* 38, (1987), 11-30; J. M. Baumgarten, "The Qumran Sabbath Shirot and Rabbinic Merkabah Tradition," *RevQ* 13, (1988), 199-213; and Fujita, *A Crack in the Jar*, 174-176.

27 See e.g. Fujita, *A Crack in the Jar*, 150, 202; and G.J. Brooke, "The Temple Scroll and the New Testament," *Temple Scroll Studies. Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1998* (JPSSup 7; G.J. Brooke, ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 194.

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Messiah and the fulfillment of Scripture.[28] Would it not be possible that the Jesus-movement came to include also frustrated(?) Messiah-expecting Jews (especially after 70 CE), among whom were also such people whose ideas about the celestial world and its correlation with human worship corresponded to those expressed in the *Shirot*? Should one look here for the conceptual world which finds its Christian expression in Revelation's depiction of a warlike Messiah and Lamb, conquering the earthly and heavenly agents of evil as the firstborn from the dead and the king of kings, and as the "shoot of David"?[29] Such ideological background in an eschatologically highly conscious Judaism would help explain the harsh ethics of Revelation (e.g. in the letters to the seven churches). It would also illuminate its intense expectation of the End, juxtaposed with a liturgical language which suggests an understanding that the faithful may already on earth enjoy the blessings of the Age to Come – the oscillation between hope for the future vindication of the suffering righteous and the conviction that the faithful believers already have a share in Christ's *basileia*, despite earthly affliction.[30] John's formulation in 1:9 about his sharing "in Jesus" of the kingdom, the affliction, and the patient endurance together with his readers, is truly a key to his book, with its proclamation that God's *ecclesia* in heaven and on earth is united in the praise of his name.

28 Cf. the well-known negative attitudes to the Book of Revelation of such important theologians as Martin Luther and Rudolf Bultmann.

29 Cf. Ulfgard, "L'Apocalypse entre judaïsme et christianisme: Précisions sur le monde spirituel et intellectuel de Jean de Patmos," *RHPR* 79 (1999); see also my article, "The Branch in the Last Days: Observations on the New Covenant before and after the Messiah," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context,* ed. T.H. Lim *et al.* (Edinburgh: T.&T. Clarke, 2000), 233-247.

30 A thorough thematic and literary analysis of the idea of divine kingship in the *Shirot* is found in A.M. Schwemer, "Gott als König" (cf. above n. 17), e.g. p. 117. Though from a different perspective, modern studies in cultural anthropology and ritual theory may confirm and underscore such a conclusion, e.g. referring to the concept of "liminality." Cf. J.P. Ruiz, "Betwixt and Between on the Lord's Day: Liturgy and the Apocalypse," (SBLSP; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992), 654-672, in which he gives a good survey of such approaches to Revelation and their usefulness. Mention must also be made of L. Thompson, *The Book of Revelation: Apocalypse and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), using Victor Turner's concept of *communitas* to demonstrate how the literary-liturgical language of Revelation is closely related to its practical purpose of enabling a liberating identification on the part of its readers.

Wisdom Christology in the Light of Early Jewish and Qumran Texts

By **Daniel J. Harrington, S.J.**

The Gospels present Jesus as a Jewish wisdom teacher. He uses the literary forms typically employed by Jewish wisdom teachers: instructions, admonitions, prohibitions, proverbs, parables, questions, and beatitudes. His teachings concern topics often treated by Jewish wisdom teachers: marriage and family, money and material goods, social relations, happiness, and relating to God. Study of early Jewish wisdom texts will illuminate a number of passages in the gospels (e.g. connected to the so-called 'Q-source') as well as the letter of James that draws heavily on the wisdom tradition. Yet for early Christians Jesus was more than a typical Jewish sage. Among other things (Son of God, Son of Man, Lord, etc.) they celebrated Jesus as Wisdom personified (see Col 1:15-20; Heb 1:3), as the Word of God made flesh (Jn 1:1, 14).

The Wisdom Christology of the New Testament can only be appreciated in the light of contemporary developments within early Judaism. This article first traces the tradition history of the personification of Wisdom in early Jewish and early Christian texts. Then it examines various manuscripts discovered at Qumran to see what contributions they might make to our understanding of Jesus as the Wisdom of God.

Part One: Early Jewish Texts

A key text in the tradition of Wisdom personified is Proverbs 8:22-31, a poem in which Wisdom speaks for herself in a female persona. Whether her female character depends on Hebrew grammar (*hokma* is a feminine noun) or some statement is being made to counter the female deities of other religions (Asherah, Isis, etc.), Wisdom describes her coming into being at the very moment of God's creating all things: "The Lord brought me forth at the beginning of his work" (8:22).[1] She claims not only to have been present at creation but also to continue God's work through-

1 The translations of biblical texts are usually taken from the New Revised Standard Version (1989). In this verse, however, the Hebrew verb may be more precisely rendered 'acquired' or 'brought forth' (NIV). (The Septuagint translation 'created' was a good card for Arius in the christological debate in the early 4th century.)

out history: "then I was beside him, like a master worker" (8:30). Wisdom is said to rejoice in the inhabited world and to delight in the human race (8:31).

The "Praise of Wisdom" in Sirach 24:1-34 is the approximate center of Ben Sira's book (early second century BCE), and in a real sense it constitutes its heart. Here Wisdom personified in feminine terms speaks in the heavenly court (24:1-2). In 24:3-7 Wisdom recounts her creation from the "mouth of the Most High" and describes her search for a home or resting place within creation (24:3-7). Then in 24:8-12 she tells how God chose for her a dwelling place in the temple at Jerusalem: "In the holy tent I ministered before him, and so I was established in Zion" (24:10). Then with a series of "tree" comparisons ("like a cedar … cypress … palm tree") in 24:13-17, Wisdom calls attention to her attractiveness and power to give abundant life. Finally in 24:19-22 Wisdom issues an invitation to come to her banquet: "Come to me, you who desire me, and eat your fill of my fruits" (24:19). The fruits of Wisdom include not only knowledge but also the ability to avoid shame and even sin: "Whoever obeys me will not be put to shame, and those who work with me will not sin" (24:22).

The boldest and most original theological move in the book of Sirach appears in 24:23, when Ben Sira identifies Wisdom and the Torah: "All this is the book of the covenant of the Most High God, the law that Moses commanded us as an inheritance for the congregation of Jacob." For Ben Sira, the essence of divine wisdom is to be found in the law of Moses. His claim is that the Torah is true Wisdom, and Wisdom dwells in the Jerusalem Temple. The Torah serves to reveal God's own wisdom, and Wisdom is present in the rituals of sacrifice and prayer conducted in the Jerusalem Temple.

The nature and dwelling place of Wisdom are also major concerns in the Wisdom of Solomon. For the first century BCE Jewish author based in Alexandria in Egypt, Wisdom is what the Greek philosophers regarded as the "world soul": "the spirit of the Lord has filled the world, and that which holds all things together knows what is said" (1:7). The spirit that is in Wisdom is said to be "intelligent, holy, unique, manifold, subtle, mobile, clear, unpolluted…" (7:23). She is described as "a pure emanation of the glory of the Almighty … a reflection of eternal light, a spotless mirror of the working of God, and an image of his goodness" (7:25-26). In this perspective Wisdom is everywhere and in everything, and all creation is a reflection of the Wisdom of God.

A very different approach appears in 1 Enoch 42, part of the "Book of Parables" (or "Similitudes") in 1 Enoch 37–71. As in Proverbs 8, Sirach 24, and the Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom is a female figure present with God in heaven. But when Wisdom goes forth in search of a dwelling place on earth, she finds none and so returns to her place in heaven: "Then Wisdom went out to dwell with the children of the people, but she found no dwelling place. So Wisdom returned to her place, and she settled permanently among the angels" (42:2). That means that when humans want to obtain real wisdom, they must take a heavenly journey in a dream, a vi-

sion, or some other esoteric experience. The books associated with Enoch purport to describe such experiences and the wisdom conveyed in them.

Early Jewish Christians developed their distinctive approach to the what and where of Wisdom in terms of Jesus. In what is generally regarded as an early Christian hymn preserved in Colossians 1:15-20, Jesus is described in terms familiar from Jewish texts about the figure of Wisdom: "He is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation; for in him all things in heaven and on earth were created …. He himself is before all things, and in him all things hold together." In this perspective Jesus is the Wisdom of God. And Wisdom now resides in him and in the church as the body of Christ: "in him all the fullness of God was pleased to dwell" (1: 19). For other examples of Wisdom Christology, see John 1:1-18 ("In the beginning was the Word …and the Word became flesh") and Hebrews 1: 3 ("He is the reflection of God's glory and the exact imprint of God's very being, and he sustains all things by his powerful word"). This Wisdom Christology is crucial for the Nicene creed's confession of the divinity of Christ. Some gospel texts suggest that Jesus himself spoke in the role of Wisdom personified. Matthew 11:19 may be rendered "Wisdom is proved right by her actions." This same chapter closes with words of wisdom (11: 25-30), where Jesus exhorts men to carry his yoke to lighten their burdens and find rest in him, as it is said of Wisdom in Sirach 6:24-28, "Give your shoulder to her yoke … seek her, she will reveal herself to you … you will find rest in her."

Conclusion

Taking their starting point from Proverbs 8:22-31, these early Jewish and Christian texts represent a wide variety of approaches to the nature of wisdom and where wisdom is to be found. For Ben Sira, Wisdom is the Torah and dwells in the Jerusalem temple. According to the Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom is the spirit of God or world soul animating all creation, and so is to be found everywhere and in everything. In 1 Enoch 42, Wisdom remains a heavenly figure not at home on earth, and accessible only through dreams, visions, and reports about such experiences. For Christians, Jesus is the Wisdom of God, and he is present in "the body of Christ," which is the church.

Part Two: Qumran Texts

The Qumran discoveries contain nothing as spectacularly relevant to Wisdom Christology as do the early Jewish texts treated above. Nevertheless, certain manuscripts from Qumran Caves 1, 4, and 11 can help to show how Jews in late Second Temple times understood Wisdom.[2]

4Q184 (also known as "The Wiles of the Wicked Woman") presents a lurid picture of Lady Folly, a figure well known from Proverbs 1–9. She functions as the "evil twin" of Lady Wisdom, and the poem about her

in 4Q184 is intended to warn prospective sages about the seductions of sin and evil. The description of her as "the beginning of all the ways of iniquity" (4Q184 i 8) evokes the positive portrayals of Wisdom as "the beginning of all the ways of God" in Job 40:19 and as created "at the beginning of His [God's] work" in Proverbs 8:22. In a similar way, Paul and early Christian texts outline the two ways upon which men can walk, and describe the fruits of the flesh versus those of the spirit (Gal 5:16-6: 10; Didache 1:1).

The wisdom instruction in 4Q185 twice uses the "beatitude" form that is common in Jewish and early Christian (see Mt 5:1-12; Lk 6:20-23) texts. It declares "happy" those to whom Wisdom has been given and who "do it." Whether "it" is Wisdom or Torah in this context is not certain. In fact, these beatitudes most likely are equating Wisdom and Torah, and are urging people to recognize that Wisdom (= Torah) is both a gift from God and something to be practiced.

The wisdom text known as 4QBeatitudes (4Q525) is noteworthy for its series of five beatitudes. They declare "happy" those who speak the truth and "cling to her statutes … rejoice in her … seek her with pure hands." Again it is not clear whether "her" refers to Wisdom or Torah (or both). But the fifth beatitude indicates that Wisdom and Torah are being equated: "Happy is the one who has attained wisdom and walks by the Law of the Most High" (4Q525 2 ii 3-4).

The most extensive wisdom text found at Qumran is 4QInstruction (1Q26; 4Q415-418, 423). The presence of multiple copies at Qumran suggests that it was a popular and important work, though there is no indication that it was "sectarian." The instruction presupposes a setting in which those being instructed marry and have children, engage in business and finance, and have dealings with all kinds of people. The opening of the instruction (4Q416 1) places all the advice in a cosmic and eschatological setting. The advice that follows is intended to align the prospective sage with the correct order of the cosmos and to prepare him for the final judgment.

While the extant parts of 4QInstruction do not contribute explicitly to the theme of the personification of Wisdom, the text does repeatedly make links between common wisdom advice and what it calls "the mystery that is to be/come" (*raz nihyeh*). This "mystery" involves creation ("by the mystery that is to be/come He has laid out its foundation") and ethical behavior in the present ("meditate on the mystery…then you will know truth and iniquity…you will discern between good and evil according to their works," 4Q417 1 i/4Q418 43-45). And the eschatological

2 The translations of Qumran texts generally follow my *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London–New York: Routledge, 1996). For the "official" editions of the Hebrew texts, see the pertinent volumes in the *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* series. See also my "Ten Reasons Why the Qumran Wisdom Texts are Important," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 4 (1997), 245-55. For a different treatment of the topic of this paper, see Sidnie White Crawford, "Lady Wisdom and Dame Folly at Qumran," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5 (1998), 355-66.

dimension (which seems most important of all) is brought out by parallel phrases such as "the birth-time of salvation…who is to inherit glory and trouble" (4Q417 ii I 12). Such an integration of eschatological and sapiential material recurs in NT writings.

The phrase *raz nihyeh* is also prominent in the Book of Mysteries (1Q27; 4Q299-300[301?]). Even more clearly than in 4QInstruction, the mystery involves knowledge that pertains to God's plan for end-time events. When that mystery is fully revealed and runs its appointed course, then the hope is that "knowledge will fill the world, and folly will be no more" (1Q27 1 i 7 parr.). At times what is said about the *raz nihyeh* parallels what other early Jewish texts say about Wisdom personified. Likewise, there are parallels with what is said about "the kingdom of God" in the Synoptic Gospels. None of these concepts – the *raz nihyeh,* Wisdom, or the kingdom of God – is ever defined in detail, but each of them encompasses knowledge about creation, ethics, and eschatology.

In almost every account of the Qumran scrolls, the Community Rule (1QS) and the Hodayot or Thanksgiving Hymns (1QHa) constitute the core documents of the sect behind the scrolls. That there are links between 4QInstruction and these works is clear from the reference to the *raz nihyeh* in 1QS xi 3-4 and from the use of the same sentence in 4Q418 55 10 and 1QHa xviii (formerly x) 27-28.

It is possible that the *raz nihyeh* is spelled out in the Instruction on the Two Spirits in 1QS iii 13-iv 26. That discourse explains how God created the world and left it in the control of two opposing powers – the Prince of Light (Michael) and the Angel of Darkness (Satan) – until God's final "visitation." Meanwhile, the children of light are to do the (good) deeds of light, and the children of darkness do the (evil) works of darkness. Wisdom sections in the Thanksgiving Hymns explain that God's wisdom created the world and humankind, that the best and only real wisdom for humans is the wisdom that God gives through revelation, and that the speaker ("I") is a privileged recipient of God's gift of wisdom and must pass that wisdom on to others. The parallels to central aspects in NT thinking are obvious; Paul also speaks about divine mysteries that are revealed to the elect in the last days: 1 Corinthians 2:7; Romans 11:25; 16: 25; Colossians 1:26; and Ephesians 1:9; 3:2-6.

The Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (designated 11Q5 or 11Q Ps a) contains all or parts of over forty canonical psalms (from Psalms 101 to 150), as well as eight additional texts in Hebrew, four of which were known previously and four "new" works. The four previously known works are Psalms 151, 154, and 155 (included in some early Greek and Syriac versions of the Psalms), and Sirach 51:13-19, 30. The "new" works include three poems entitled by modern editors as the "Plea for Deliverance," "Apostrophe to Zion," and "Hymn to the Creator." There is also a prose summary of David's compositions. Several of these texts are relevant to our theme because they provide at least "hints" that Wisdom was being perceived as personified at Qumran.

The Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 contains most of the Hebrew

text of what was known in the Syriac tradition as Psalm 154. After a call to praise God cast in a series of plural imperatives ("Glorify God … proclaim … glorify … recount …"), the psalm consists of four alternating stanzas dealing with Wisdom (lines 2b-6a, 10b-13) and the worship of the Most High God (lines 6b-10a, 14-15). The first wisdom stanza (vv. 5-8) asserts that "Wisdom is given to make known the glory of the Lord, and to recount the greatness of His deeds she has been made known to humans, to make known to the simple His power" (11Q5 xviii 3a-4). It affirms that Wisdom is a gift from God rather than a human achievement, that Wisdom's purpose is to make known God's glory, and that Wisdom is given to the "simple" and those "without understanding" to bring them to God – cf. similar words by Jesus in Matthew 11:25-27.

In the second wisdom stanza (vv. 12-15) of Psalm 154, Wisdom appears to dwell in a community dedicated to the pursuit of Wisdom as it/she is found especially in the Torah: "From the gates of the righteous her voice is heard, and from the assembly of the pious her song." The "her" is Wisdom, and she is at the center even of the community's meals: "When they eat in fullness, she is mentioned; and when they drink in community together, their meditation is on the Law of the Most High." This second wisdom stanza contains three themes that recur in other sapiential texts from Qumran: the personification of Wisdom in feminine terms, the idea of a wisdom community, and the connection between Wisdom and the Law of the Most High. While there is nothing "sectarian" about Psalm 154, its content would have been perfectly appropriate to the Qumran sectarians. This impression is confirmed by its theology of "sacrifice of praise" (for which cf. Heb 13:15) in the two worship stanzas as the equivalent of the material sacrifices offered in the Jerusalem temple.

Also included in the Cave 11 Psalms Scroll (11Q5 xxi 11-17 and xxii 1) is part of the "autobiographical" poem found in Sirach 51:13-30. That poem consists of a description of the speaker's search for and discovery of Wisdom (51:13-22), as well as an invitation for prospective students to join his school (51:23-30). Whether it was composed directly by Ben Sira is a matter of dispute, though it fits perfectly well with what is found in the rest of his book. Only the first part of the autobiographical poem (Sir 51: 13-19) is preserved in column xxi of 11Q5, but the last words of 51:30 are present at the beginning of column xxii.

The best preserved part of the poem recounts the speaker's search for Wisdom as a female figure and her search for him: "When I was a young man before I traveled, I sought her. She came to me in her beauty, and unto the end I will search for her." There is surely a sexual and even erotic dimension to the description. Indeed as the poem proceeds, it appears that the speaker's true and pure love for Wisdom has taken over his whole life: "I resolved and delighted in her, and I was zealous for good, and I shall not turn back. I inflamed my soul for her, and my face I did not turn away." The fact that the poem is an acrostic in Hebrew (with each line beginning with a new letter of the alphabet) conveys a sense of order and fullness in the speaker's search for and discovery of Lady Wisdom as

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a personal female figure. This text, which may be inspired by the Song of Songs, prefigures later bridal piety in both Jewish and Christian traditions.

The Hymn to the Creator (11Q5 xxvi 9-15) celebrates God's Wisdom and understanding made manifest in creation. In describing God's work in separating light from darkness, it observes that God established the dawn "by the knowledge of His heart" (11-12), and thus put on a show for the angels. It goes on to state that God established the world "by His Wisdom," and "by his understanding" he stretched out the heavens (14). While the language here is familiar from Jeremiah (10:12-13; 51:15-16) and the Psalms (135:7), the motif of personified Wisdom as God's agent in creation from Proverbs 8: 22-31 may well also be in the background.

The prose summary of David's compositions near the end of 11Q5 (xxvii 2-11) attributes 4,050 works to David: 3,600 psalms, as well as 364 songs for the daily offering, 52 for the Sabbath offering, 30 for the New Moons and other festivals, and four songs for the "stricken." The summary portrays David not only as a prolific psalmist but also as a sage ("wise and brilliant like the light of the sun; and a scribe, intelligent and perfect in all his ways before God and men") and a prophet ("all these he spoke through prophecy which was given him from before the Most High"). In the royal figure of David the roles of wisdom teacher and prophet coalesce, as they do in NT texts on Jesus the Messiah and Son of David. And the source of David's wisdom and prophecy is divine revelation.

Conclusion

What do we learn about Wisdom from Qumran texts? We find that Lady Folly is the evil counterpart of Lady Wisdom (4Q184), that Wisdom and Torah are linked as God's revelation (4Q185, 4QBeatitudes), and that the mystery from above (*raz nihyeh*) may convey the real content of Wisdom concerning both creation and the end-time, as well as how to live in the present (4QInstruction, Book of Mysteries, Community Rule 3-4). The Cave 11 Psalms Scroll provides evidence for the presence of important wisdom motifs and ideas at Qumran (most of which are paralleled in the NT): glorifying God as the purpose of wisdom, and the ideal of a wisdom community (Psalm 154); the ardent search for Wisdom personified as an attractive female figure (Sirach 51); Wisdom as God's agent in creation (Hymn to the Creator); and David as sage and prophet (prose summary). Through all these texts we learn more about the deep Jewish flavor of the writings that later were collected into the New Testament.

A Messianic High Priest in the Scrolls?

By **Martin G. Abegg, Jr.**

> This is the rule for those who live in camps, who live by these rules in the era of wickedness, until the appearance of the Messiah of Aaron and of Israel.[1] (CD 12:22-13:1[2])

The appearance in the Dead Sea Scrolls of both a royal messiah (Messiah of Israel) and a priestly messiah (Messiah of Aaron) aroused from the early 1950s the interest of Jewish and Christian scholars alike. Could these texts shed light on messianic expectations reflected in the New Testament?

This messianic duo occurs several times in CD and once in 1QS, and functions to establish the *terminus ad quem* of the community and its practice: "live by these rules until the appearance of the Messiah of Aaron and of Israel." It comes as no surprise that the appearance of this twosome is also understood by the scrolls as the time of final judgment:

> But those who give heed to God are the poor of the flock (Zech 11: 7): they will escape in the time of punishment, but all the rest will be handed over to the sword when the Messiah of Aaron and of Israel comes. (CD 19:9-11[3])

Thus in the earliest days of scroll research, the presence of a dual *and* eschatological messianic expectation was well established.

Although scholars have usually portrayed the Messiah of Israel as playing a subordinate role – this in large part due to the interpretation of the actions of the two characters in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa, see the text quoted below) – his character and the expectation surrounding his coming produced a much more focused identity than that of the priest. Aside from his presence as the Messiah of Israel paired with his priestly consort, he appears as "the Messiah" and "Messiah of Israel" in the Rule

1 All Scroll translations except where noted are by Michael Wise, Martin Abegg, and Edward Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (2nd ed.; San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, forthcoming).

2 See also CD 14:18-19; 1QS 9:10-11; 4Q266 10 i 11-13; and 4Q269 11 i 1-3.

3 See also 19:35-20:1.

of the Congregation (1QSa 2:12 and 1QSa 2:14, 20 respectively); "the Righteous Messiah, the Branch of David" in the Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252 5:3); and the "Prince of the Congregation" in the Damascus Document (CD 7:20), the Rule of Benedictions (1QSb 5:20), the War Scroll (1QM 5:1), Isaiah Peshera (4Q161 5-6 3), the War Rule (4Q285 4 2, 6, 10; 7 4), and the Apocryphon of Moses[b] (4Q376 1 iii 1). These texts put the New Testament references to the Davidic Messiah into context. The royal Messiah at Qumran is portrayed as an end-time victorious leader of Israel. He is a focal point for hope and an encouragement to stay true to the covenant of God.

Meanwhile, Messiah the Priest has proved to be much more elusive. As a pointed example, the priest of the Rule of the Congregation, although introduced as "head of the entire congregation of Israel" (1QSa 2:12), is never called messiah in what is left of the two-page document. This striking deficiency is filled by Geza Vermes who interprets the first occurrence of messiah in this document as "(the Priest-) Messiah":

> [This shall be the ass]embly of the men of renown [called] to the meeting of the Council of the Community: When God engenders (the Priest-) Messiah, he shall come with them [at] the head of the whole congregation of Israel with all [his brethren, the sons] of Aaron the Priests, [those called] to the assembly, the men of renown; and they shall sit [before him, each man] in the order of his dignity. And then [the Mess]iah of Israel shall [come] ...[4]

Michael Wise, recognizing that an "engendered" messiah is more likely to be a royal rather than priestly character (see Ps 2:7), translates:

> The procedure for the [mee]ting of the men of reputation [when they are called] to the banquet held by the Council of the Community, when [God] has fa[th]ered (?) the Messiah among them: [the Priest,] as head of the entire congregation of Israel, shall enter first, trailed by all [his] brot[hers, the Sons of] Aaron, those priests [appointed] to the banquet of the men of reputation. They are to sit be[fore him] by rank. Then the [Mess]iah of Israel may en[ter,] ... (1QSa 2:11-14)

Without the help of modern editors and translators, it would appear that there is no compelling reason to understand the priest of 1QSa as a messianic character at all. Hartmut Stegemann says of this document: "1QSa was composed at a time when the Essenes already longed for the coming of the Royal Messiah, but did not yet develop the concept of a Priestly

4 Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 1997), 159.

Messiah."[5] Whatever we might determine concerning his conclusions about the development of messianic theology at Qumran, if we are objective, we must admit that the priest of 1QSa appears quite "ordinary."

So the game is afoot! Where to uncover the character of the messianic High Priest? We will turn our attention to five manuscripts where scroll scholars have suggested our elusive character is to be discovered: the Rule of Benedictions (1QSb), the Self-Glorification Hymn (Recension A: 4Q491 11 i; Recension B: 1QHa 25:34 –26:9, 4Q427 7 i, and 4Q431 1), and the Apocryphon of Levi[b] (4Q541 9 i, 24).

The Messianic High Priest and the Rule of Benedictions

1QSb is the second of two 'appendices' to the Manual of Discipline (1QS), the first being 1QSa which we have already examined. The 'b' of the title is not an ordinal character, but instead stands for the Hebrew word *berachot* or 'blessings.' It is indeed a text of liturgical blessings – as few as four or as many as six – beginning with a blessing on the faithful congregants at the onset of column one and ending with a blessing on the Messiah of Israel at the bottom of column five. Here he is called the Prince of the Congregation.

As I have written elsewhere,[6] it is not only the *Eschatological* High Priest who has proven elusive in this document, but any priestly leader at all. In the original publication of 1QSb,[7] J. T. Milik set the tone for subsequent discussions by suggesting that the blessing on the High Priest began at the end of column one and extended through the bottom of column three where it was followed by a blessing – still extant – on the Zadokite Priests as a group. I have preferred to follow Jacob Licht in his important study,[8] placing the High Priest immediately before the Prince of the Congregation from the bottom of column four.[9]

>] you and He has justified you from all [… For] He chose you […] and to place you at the head of the holy ones and with you to bl[ess …] by your hand the men of God's council, rather than by the hand of the prince of […] one another. May you [abide forever] as an Angel of the Presence in the holy habitation, to the glory of the

5 Hartmut Stegemann, "Some Remarks to 1QSa, to 1QSb, and to Qumran Messianism," *RevQ* 17/65-68 (1996), 493.

6 Martin Abegg, "1QSb and the Elusive High Priest," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*, ed. Shalom Paul, Robert Kraft, Lawrence Schiffman, and Weston Fields (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003), 3-16.

7 O. P. Barthelemy and J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 118-130.

8 Jacob Licht, *The Rule Scroll. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea. 1QS. 1QSa. 1QSb* (Hebrew; Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1965), 273-289.

9 So also Esther Eshel, "The Identification of the 'Speaker' of the Self-Glorification Hymn," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: New Texts, Reformulated Issues, and Technological Innovations,* ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene C. Ulrich (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 631-33.

> God of host[s. May you] serve in the temple of the kingdom of God, ordering destiny with the Angels of the Presence, a Council of the Community [with the holy ones] forever, for all the ages of eternity! Surely [all] His [pr]ecepts are truth! May He establish you as holy among His people, as the "greater [light" (Gen 1:16) to illumine] the world with knowledge, and to shine upon the face of many [with wisdom leading to life. May He establish you] as consecrated to the Holy of Holies! [You shall] indeed [be sanc]tified to Him, glorifying His name and His holy ones! (1QSb 4:22-28)

Two important comments on this passage should suffice to establish the special nature of the person receiving the blessing. First, God's purpose for choosing this individual is stated as, "to place [you] at the head of the holy ones" (1QSb 4:23), namely the angels. This is important in light of the fact that the Zadokite priests of the previous blessing were "appointed, perfected in honor, in the *midst of* the angels" (1QSb 3:25). The recipient of blessing five would thus appear to stand at the head of the Zadokite Priests.

Another rather significant statement is made concerning this individual: "And you are as an angel of presence in the holy habitation" (1QSb 4: 24-25). This sentiment is echoed in Jubilees 31:14 concerning Levi, "God brought you and your seed to himself from all humankind so that you might serve him in his sanctuary as the angels of presence and the holy ones." The community is seen as in lot *together with* the angels of presence in 1QHa 14:16, but the recipient of the fifth blessing is "*as* an angel of presence."

In one of the few recent studies on 1QSa and 1QSb, Hartmut Stegemann records his approval of Milik's physical reconstruction of the manuscript – placing the blessing of the High Priest at column one – but concludes that the High Priest of 1QSb is no priestly messiah.[10] He argues that the consensus model of the dual messiah, in which the priest is preeminent, would expect that the blessing on the High Priest should follow that of the Royal Messiah rather than preceding it. Stegemann reasons that the priest of 1QSb is actually the High Priest who was serving at the time the blessings were to be spoken, rather than he who was expected at the end of days. Stegemann would likely find a penultimate position no less appealing. Following Stegemann's suggestion, however, there may be a more compelling proof for a *present* rather than eschatological priest in the text of 1QSb itself.

Where extant, the blessings of 1QSb are bestowed upon subjects who are addressed in the second person: "[may he re]new for *you* the [eternal] covenant of the priesthood" (1QSb 3:26). Likewise for the High Priest: "may he renew for you [the covenant]" (1QSb 5:5). Whereas for the Prince of the Congregation our text reads: "And he shall renew for *him*

10 Stegemann, "Some Remarks," 500.

the Covenant of the [Comm]unity" (V 21). The Prince, represented in the third person, is not present in the mind of the writer, he is yet to come; the High Priest, on the other hand, is present. This liturgy, perhaps recited as a part of the covenant renewal ceremony on the fifteenth of the third month, witnesses to an attending High Priest but yet looks forward to the coming of the Prince of the Community (Messiah of Israel).

The Messianic High Priest and the Self Glorification Hymn

In 1982, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VII,* edited by Maurice Baillet, was published. Among the thirty-nine documents which were included in the edition was 4Q491, which some have concluded is perhaps as many as three different manuscripts with a very similar scribal hand.[11] One of these manuscripts, given the label 4Q491 11 i by Baillet, contains a hymn couched in the first person that was originally understood to be the voice of the archangel Michael.[12] Almost no one has followed Baillet in this assessment and other suggestions have ranged from Herod the Great to the Teacher of Righteousness. As Esther Eshel has proposed that the speaker is the Eschatological High Priest, we must examine the evidence. We will see that there are two versions of this hymn in the scrolls and that the common factor to both is glorification couched in the first person. Thus we will call 4Q491 11 i Recension A of the Self-Glorification Hymn.[13]

>] eternal, a mighty throne in the congregation of the angels. None of the ancient kings shall sit on it, and their nobles [shall] not [… There are no]ne comparable [to me in] my glory, no one shall be exalted besides me; none shall come against me. For I dwelt on [high, …] in the heavens, and there is no one […] I am reckoned with the angels and my abode is in the holy congregation. [My] desi[re] is not according to the flesh, […] everything precious to me is in the glory [of] the holy [habit]ation. [Wh]o has been considered contemptible like me? Who is comparable to me in my glory? Who of those who sail the seas (?) shall return telling (?) [of] my [equa]l? Who has born[e] troubles like me? And who like me [has refrain]ed from evil? I have never been taught, but no teaching compares [with my teaching.] Who then shall assault me when [I] ope[n my mouth?] Who can endure the utterance of my lips? Who shall challenge me and compare with my judgment [… Fo]r I am reck[oned] with the angels, [and] my

11 Martin Abegg, "Who Ascended to Heaven? 4Q491, 4Q427, and the Teacher of Righteousness," in *Eschatology, Messianism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls, Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature I,* ed. Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 61-73.

12 Maurice Baillet, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert VII. Qumran Grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 26.

13 Eshel, "The Identification," 635. Eshel also speaks of recensions and labels in the reverse, 4Q491 being Recension B. My nomenclature is only meant to serve this current need.

> glory with that of the sons of the King. Neither [pure go]ld, nor the renowned gold of Ophir. (4Q491 11 i 12-18)

Recension B to the Hymn has an equally interesting history of discovery. The Hodayot or Thanksgiving Hymns (1QHa) was one of the first scrolls to be published and had already spawned dozens of articles and much scholarly discussion before the last of the caves was found in 1956. Cave 4 produced six additional fragmentary copies of this important text which first came to light in 1992. These additional manuscripts added surprisingly little to the body of the Cave 1 document, but have allowed researchers to piece together previously unattached fragments to form two additional columns at the end. Here is revealed another version of the Self-Glorification Hymn.

> For the Instructor, a ps[alm…] For [none of the] ancient kings [shall sit on it, … no one besides me shall] be exalted [… my abode is in the *holy* congregation. *W*ho is *despised like m*e? Who *like me has refrained from evil and compares with* me? I have never been taught, but no teaching *compares with my teaching*. For *I have dwelt* on high … in the heavens. *Who is like me among the angels*? Who shall assault me when I open my mouth? Who *can endure* the utterance of *my lips*? *Who* with the tongue] will challenge me [and compare with my judgment? For I am *beloved of the king, a companion to the holy* ones, and no one shall] come [against me … and to my glory *no one compares. As for me*, my office is among the angels,] and my glory [with that of the sons of the king. Neither *with pure gold shall I* … for myself nor the renowned gold of Ophir …] with me and [… shall not *be re*ckoned for me]. (1QH[a] 25:34-37; 26:1-9, with 4Q427 7 i underlined and 4Q431 1 italicized.)

There are a number of questions that arise given the content and context of the Hymn. We will confine our discussion to three. First, most modern readers are struck by the apparent hubris of the speaker's claim to have sat on a mighty throne in the heavens (Recension A 12, Recension B 35) and to possess a glory beyond compare (Recension A 13, 15, 18, Recension B 7). The fact that the hymn was included in the Hodayot clearly witnesses to the certitude that it was not challenging in this way to its ancient readers. And in his defense, the speaker is clearly claiming a comparable status to angels and other supernatural beings, but not God.

Second, given the widespread notion that the first person speaker in the Hodayot is the Teacher of Righteousness, why do scholars not simply bow to the seemingly obvious – after all, the teaching of the Hymn's subject is without par (Recension A 16-17, Recension B 7) – and agree that the founder of the community, the Teacher of Righteousness, is speaking.

14 1QH[a] 10:3-21; 12:6-14:39; 15:9-28; 16:5-41; and perhaps 10:33-42 and 11:2-19.

The answer is two-fold. First, students of the Hodayot are in basic agreement that the true teacher hymns form the center of the collection[14] and have been augmented fore and after with hymns written in the same style but reflective of the voice of the entire community rather than a single person. This hymn, placed in columns 25 and 26, falls logically into this second category. As if to verify this judgment, the speaker in the Self-Glorification Hymn does not incorporate the themes known from the true teacher hymns: complaints concerning his persecution, acknowledgment of his sinfulness, or, most clearly, the admission of being nothing more than a creature of clay.

So then, what is the evidence that our speaker might be the Eschatological High Priest? Eshel posits that the elements of the Self-Glorification Hymn resemble those of the fifth blessing of the Rule of Benedictions (1QSb). The common components are exalted status among the angels and other supernatural beings, and extraordinary teaching ability. As concluded above, however, the priestly recipient of the blessing in 1QSb is best understood as the present, rather than eschatological, High Priest. Likewise, the Self-Glorification Hymn relates a past tense action – "For I have dwelt on high" – with present tense ramifications – "but no teaching compares with my teaching" – but gives no sense of eschatological expectation.

The Messianic High Priest and the Apocryphon of Levi[b]

One last document remains for our examination, the Apocryphon of Levi[b] (4Q541). This document has been known to scholars since a 1963 publication by Jean Starcky, although its official publication had to wait until 2001 and the edition by Emile Puech.[15] The text purports to preserve the patriarch Levi's prophecies to his descendants of the times to come. Both the first and official publication agree on two issues: the Aramaic manuscript describes not only the Eschatological High Priest but also a suffering messiah.

> ...] their places [… and] to his sons with a parable [... he will speak] and will transmit [to the]m his [w]isdom. And he shall make atonement for all those of his generation, and he shall be sent to all the children of his people. His command is like the command of Heaven, and his teaching is like the will of God. The Sun everlasting will shine and its fire will give warmth to all the ends of the earth. It will shine on darkness; then will darkness vanish from the earth, and mist from the dry land. They will speak many words against him, and many [falsehood]s; they will concoct lies and speak all kinds of slander against him. His generation is evil and perverse; [...] will be; his term

15 Jean Starcky, "Les quatre etapes du messianisme a Qumran," *Revue Biblique* 70 (1963), 481-505; and Emile Puech, *Qumran Grotte 4: XXII, Textes Arameens, Premiere Partie. Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXXI* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

> of office will be marked by lies and violence [and] the people will go astray in his days and be confounded. (4Q541 9 i 1-7)

Although the manuscript, as far as we have it, lacks any claim to the subject's consorting with the angelic hosts – so prevalent in the Self-Glorification Hymn – the person spoken of here is certainly a future priest whose gift for divine teaching receives special attention. This and the claim of a ministry marred by lies, violence, and unbelief bear a striking resemblance to elements in the true teacher hymns of the Hodayot. It may be that the Teacher, and those that followed who wrote in his style, knew of this document or its expectations and were echoing its elements. The manuscript found in Cave 4 is dated paleographically to 100 BCE and shows no signs of being the autograph. Thus it was likely known by the community from its very beginnings.

An additional fragment perhaps contains references to some sort of tribulation, and needs to be examined before a discussion can be had as to whether this eschatological priest-teacher was also expected to suffer death. First my English translation of the key passage from the French edition of Puech:

> Seek and ask and know what the agitator (?) requests. Do not weaken him by means of exhaustion (*or* a stick). Do not pronounce crucifixion (*or* hanging) as punishment; let not the nail approach him. (4Q541 24 ii 4-5)

Edward Cook tackles the same text and comes to a distinctly different conclusion as to the state of affairs:

> Examine them (scriptures?) and seek and know what will befall you. But do not damage them by erasure or [we]ar like [...] Do not touch the priestly headplate.

Starcky and Puech claim some elements of suffering in the large fragment 9, namely, service in a perverse and evil generation and a ministry marked by lies and violence (lines 6-7). These elements, when added to the "crucifixion" and "nail" (Cook's "wear" and "priestly headplate") of fragment 24, and combined with a healthy desire to find a reflection of Jesus in the scrolls, have produced for them the image of a suffering, eschatological, and priestly messiah in reflection of Isaiah 53. The text is, as evidenced in the translation by Cook, far too unsure to support such a bold claim.

Conclusion

Although an Eschatological High Priest does not appear with any degree of certainty in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa), the Rule of Benedictions (1QSb), or the Self-Glorification Hymn (Recension A: 4Q491 11 i; Recension B: 1QHa 25:34 –26:9, 4Q427 7i, and 4Q431 1), his presence

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in fragment 9 of 4Q541 is relatively sure. John Collins adds his own positive verdict concerning 4Q541: "It does refer to an eschatological priest, who may be called a messiah by analogy with the messiah of Aaron, who appears elsewhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls."[16] This anointed eschatological priest has a unique teaching ministry that is joined to God's renewal of the earth. His trials and persecution at the hands of his people could have been associated with Isaiah 50 and 53. But key elements in the Christian interpretation of Isaiah 53, namely vicarious suffering and atoning death, are lacking in 4Q541 and elsewhere in the scrolls.

But there are certain lines to New Testament Christology and exegesis in our study. In the blessing of the present high priest in 1QSb and in the Self-Glorification Hymn, we encounter priestly teachers who are elevated to the heavenly realms and officiate among the angels of God. Here we have entered the conceptual world of the Apostle Paul who reports of his own (?) heavenly visitation (2 Cor 12:2) and the heavenly "enthronement" of the elect (Eph 2:6), and we see foreshadowings of the image presented in the Revelation of John, of a Jesus who has ascended to the heavenly throne room and ministers in the presence of God and his angels (Rev 7:9-11).

16 John Collins, "The Suffering Servant at Qumran?" *Bible Review* 9/6 (1993), 63.

Qumran, Messianic Jews, and Modern Self-Identity

By **Gershon Nerel**

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947-1956, contemporary Messianic Jews, also known as Hebrew/Jewish Christians, have repeatedly referred in their writings to the documents and people of Qumran.[1] Why do modern Jewish believers in Yeshua, who accept either the messiahship or the divinity of Yeshua, or both, express an interest in the Qumran scrolls and community?

In this paper I present a preliminary study of ideological mechanisms among contemporary Jewish believers in Yeshua (= JBY) which enable them to rediscover their own Jewish roots through the old writings of the Judean Desert. Although on the surface such efforts may look like mere virtual attempts, nevertheless they do reveal another dimension within the reality of an ongoing process that shapes the parameters of non-monolithic Jewry, composed of several Judaisms.[2]

Qumran, Messianic Jews, and Karaites

Historically, as a result of the rejection of the halachic traditions (Oral Law) by both JBY and Karaites, Rabbinism excluded them from mainstream

1 See, for example, Raymond Chasles, "Manuscript Discoveries," *Jerusalem*, 92 (1954), 6-8; Moshe Immanuel Ben-Meir, "Of Whom Speaketh the Prophet?" *The Alliance Weekly* (August 15, 1956), 5; Menachem Benhayim, *Jews, Gentiles and the New Testament: Alleged Antisemitism in the New Testament* (Jerusalem 1985), 68-70; Joseph Shulam with Hilary Le Cornu, *A Commentary on the Jewish Roots of Romans* (Baltimore: Lederer, 1998); David Sedaca, "Lifting the Veil of an Archaeological Mystery," *Messianic Jewish Life,* 72 (1999), 4-7, 22-31. The leading theme of this issue of *MJL* was phrased as follows: "Dead Sea Scrolls – Unveiling the Hidden Mysteries of First-Century Messianic Judaism" (sic!); "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Community – Part 2: The Qumran Community," *Chai,* 205 (1999), 7; Amy Smith, "The Dead Sea Sect and the New Testament Messianic Connection," *The Messianic Outreach*, 19 (2000), 17-20; Zvi Sadan, "*Qumran* by Eliette Abecassis," Book Review, *Kivun*, 34 (2003), 15 (Hebrew); Michael Tuval (in Hebrew), "On Hanoch Ben Yered, the Sins of the Irim, the Corpse of Moses and Yehuda the Brother of Yeshua," *Kivun*, 38 (2004), 11; Yeshayahu Yeshurun, "David Flusser and his Books *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* and *Second Temple Judaism, Its Sages and Literature*," *Kivun*, 40 (2004), 18; Michael Tuval, "To Whom did God Reveal His Secrets?" *Kivun*, 40 (2004), 7.

2 Cf. the insistence of the rabbinic scholar Jacob Neusner that one should talk about the Judaisms of the late Second Temple period. See J. Neusner, W. Scott Green, E.S. Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1996), ix-xiii.

Jewry. Therefore, when today these two "excommunicated groups" relate to Qumran, they adopt a pre-rabbinic precedent which existed more than 2000 years ago. Thus, after many centuries that the Messianic and Karaite movements have challenged the theological monopoly of Rabbinism as the *only* normative Judaism,[3] they take advantage of the Qumranic heritage to express their identification as authentic Jews. In other words, the originality and genuineness of the ancient Jewish boundaries that shaped the first-century communities are now "resurrected" in the modern national consciousness of Karaites and JBY.

Today, in the State of Israel, there are approximately 5,000 Messianic Jews[4] and 25,000 Karaites.[5] While Karaism survived during the past 1,100 years, the modern movement of Messianic Jews has existed only during the past 200 years. Through their parallel yet unequal 'extension' to the Qumranic authors and scrolls, Karaites and Messianic Jews try to bridge two historical gaps. Karaism, from its own perspective, searches for Karaite roots and literary remains *before* the eighth century in order to maintain a Karaite claim of antiquity which goes back to the Second Temple period. Actually, the Karaites find in the ancient people of the Scrolls their Jewish predecessors.[6] Thus, according to Daniel Lasker of the Ben-Gurion University in the Negev, some Karaites even argue that:

> the Karaites are the direct biological or spiritual descendants of the Dead Sea sect, whose writings were preserved (underground as it were) from the first until the eighth or ninth centuries until the flowering of what is known today as Karaism. Karaism is not, therefore, a medieval aberration but rather an ongoing expression of an alternate Judaism that has existed at least from Second Temple times.[7]

Yet Messianic Jews today do not really need Qumran, as the Karaites do, in order to prove their antiquity. David Sedaca, former Executive Secretary of the International Messianic Jewish Alliance, argues as follows:

3 Concerning the topic of "Jewish-Reformation" see J. Van Den Berg, "Proto-Protestants? The Image of the Karaites as a Mirror of the Catholic-Protestant Controversy in the Seventeenth Century," in J. Van Den Berg and Ernestine G. E. Van Der Wall, eds., *Jewish-Christian Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer, 1988), 33-49; Gershon Nerel, "Torah and Halakhah among Modern Assemblies of Jewish Yeshua-Believers," in S. N. Gundry and L. Goldberg, eds., *How Jewish is Christianity: Two Views on the Messianic Movement* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2003), 152-165.

4 Guesstimates vary from 4,000 to 7,000, in about 100-120 Messianic congregations and fellowships. See Baruch Maoz, *The Jewish Christian Church in Israel: Now and in 2010* (Rishon LeTsion: HaGefen, 2001?), 1; Aviel Schneider, "Israel's Messianic Community and the Nations," *Israel Today*, 74 (2005), 20.

5 Yaakov Geller, "The Karaites, Their Calendar and Customs," *Bar-Ilan University's Parashat Hashavua Study Center* (July 3, 2004), 5 note #1, at www.biu.ac.il/JH/Parasha/eng/emor/gel.html.

6 See Yoram Erder, *The Karaite Mourners of Zion and the Qumran Scrolls: On the History of an Alternative to Rabbinic Judaism* (Tel-Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuhad, 2004), 12-23, 421-429 (Hebrew).

7 Daniel J. Lasker, "The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Historiography and Self-Image of Contemporary Karaites," *Dead Sea Discoveries*, 9 (2002), 285.

> In essence, the Dead Sea Scrolls are the only direct documents from the time when Messianic Judaism and rabbinical Judaism went their separate ways… the Dead Sea Scrolls help us to focus more on the person of the Messiah than on the religious body that his followers developed in time… With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we now have something to help us compare the early Christian writings with Hebrew and Aramaic literature… Now we have contemporary verbal expressions in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Thus, we can understand more of the language of Yeshua, the Gospels and even the Epistles, because we now know the meaning of these words and phrases.[8]

As it turns out, Messianic Jews[9] and Karaites[10] relate individually to the Dead Sea Scrolls in order to demonstrate *their* Jewish counterbalance to Rabbinism. Additionally, from a linguistic perspective, JBY view the Qumranic documents as a witness to the Hebraic infrastructure of the Gospels. Consequently, they find no reason to disagree with the hypothesis of the late Prof. David Flusser that the earliest Gospel prototype was written in Hebrew, not Aramaic.[11]

Qumran, the Old Testament, and the Gospel

The late Moshe Immanuel Ben-Meir (1905-1978)[12] reasoned how the Dead Sea Scrolls confirm the Messianic interpretation that the 53rd chapter of Isaiah points to Yeshua.[13] Concerning the verse "For the transgression of *my* people [*ami*] was he stricken" (53:8b), Ben-Meir highlighted the fact that the difference between the two words *ami* (my people) and *amo* (his people) is in their being written with a Hebrew *wav* or *yod*. A *wav* can be made into a *yod* by cutting off half of its foot.[14] Thus, he concluded, the discovery of the Isaiah scroll furnishes strong evidence that the *wav* is correct and that the Masoretes, i.e. rabbinic Judaism, have shortened the *wav* in their text to make it appear to be a *yod*. Namely, to leave the *wav* unmutilated would amount to a concession on their part that Yeshua is the Messiah of Israel.

According to Ben-Meir, the discovery of the great Isaiah Scroll removes

8 Sedaca, 23, 31-32.
9 Benhayim, 69.
10 J. Lasker, 286.
11 Gershon Nerel, "The 'Flagship' of Hebrew New Testaments: A Recent Revision by Israeli Messianic Jews," *Mishkan*, 41 (2004), 56.
12 Moshe Immanuel Ben-Meir, *From Jerusalem to Jerusalem* (Jerusalem: Netivyah, 2001; Hebrew); Gershon Nerel, *'Messianic Jews' in Eretz-Israel (1917-1967): Trends and Changes in Shaping Self Identity* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1996), 248-261, 284-290 (Hebrew).
13 On this subject, see articles by Bartelt, Elgvin, and Santala in *Mishkan,* 43 (2005).
14 Some Qumran scribes do not discern between yod and wav, others only have a slight difference, while others again discern clearly between these letters. Thus, an original wav could easily and incidentally be changed into a yod in the process of scribal transmission.

the confusion and eliminates the possibility of reading into the text a word which would support a false theory. Therefore, he concluded, in their Hebrew Bibles Messianic Jews should not hesitate to correct the word *ami* to read *amo,* by restoring the missing portion of the *wav*. Then, instead of reading "for the transgression of *my* people was he stricken," one would read "for the transgression of *his* people was he stricken."[15] So, then, Ben-Meir 'recruited' a Qumran text in order to introduce a Messianic exegesis about the Messiah. He opposed the rabbinic hermeneutical tradition with a polemical attitude, yet without any apologetic excuses.

Before Ben-Meir's criticism of the Masoretic text based on Qumranic Isaiah, the late Abram Poljak (1900-1963), editor of *Jerusalem*,[16] used the Qumranic Isaiah in an affirmative way – to prove the harmony between the Masoretic text and the Gospel. In his magazine, Poljak published an article by Raymond Chasles on the value of the Qumranic Isaiah for verifying the Gospel's message. According to this argument, the Qumranic Isaiah contains all 66 chapters which form the book of Isaiah in the Hebrew Bible, without additions and without gaps. Because all these chapters are presented under the name of the prophet Isaiah without any differentiation, it is claimed, the theory of modern Bible critics loses considerable credibility.[17] Thus, Messianic Jews also employ the Qumranic Isaiah to authenticate the evangelists, who quote in the gospels *one* prophet Isaiah. In other words, such JBY ignore the modern critical theories of a "second" and a "third" Isaiah.[18]

Qumran and the Jewishness of the New Testament

In *Kivun,* an Israeli Messianic magazine, Michael Tuval promotes the thought that Qumran literature produces substantial evidence about the Jewish roots of the New Testament. Tuval argues that the fragments of the apocryphal book of Enoch discovered at Qumran shed a special light on the background of the Epistle of Jude (*Yehuda*). In his opinion, 1 Enoch is the "key" to understanding the Jewish message of the Epistle of Jude.[19] Tuval also argues that both the Qumran group and Yeshua's early disciples originated from the sectarianism of the Second Temple period. As such, both communities searched the Old Testament to legitimize their

15 Ben-Meir 1956, 5.

16 See, for example, Gershon Nerel, "A Marginal Minority Confronting Two Mainstreams: Jewish Followers of Jesus Confronting Judaism and Christianity (1850-1950)," in Shulamit Volkov, ed., *Being Different: Minorities, Aliens and Outsiders in History* (Jerusalem: Shazar, 2000), 283-297 (Hebrew).

17 Chasles, 7.

18 Cf. Gershon Nerel, "The Authoritative Bible and Jewish Yeshua-Believers," *MJL,* 73 (2000), 16-19. For some comparisons see also Serge Ruzer, "Who is unhappy with the Davidic Messiah? Notes on biblical exegesis in 4Q161, 4Q174, and the Book of Acts," *Cristianesimo Nella Storia*, 24 (2003), 229-255.

19 M. Tuval, "On Hanoch Ben Yered, the Sins of the Irim, the Corpse of Moses and Yehuda the Brother of Yeshua," *Kivun*, 38 (2004), 11; Tuval, "A Great Miracle was There," *Kivun,* 42 (2004), 8 (both Hebrew).

admired teachers. Therefore, when the Synoptic Gospels, and Matthew in particular, talk about Yeshua "fulfilling the prophecies," they actually reflect the same Jewish method of biblical commentary (*pesher*) which prevails in Qumran.[20]

Additionally, Tuval also claims that Qumranic leaders, such as the *Teacher of Righteousness*, were presented as divine, and this idea/reality influenced Yeshua, who affirmed his own divinity.[21] However, one must add that although Tuval aims to prove that the New Testament sprang up within a genuine Jewish environment, i.e. is not a gentile production, he actually criticizes the primitive disciples of Yeshua, who went, in his eyes, "too far" in *worshiping* their lord as God. In other words, Tuval actually protests against Yeshua's disciples who placed him alongside YHWH. For that, Tuval insists, there is no precedent within the Qumran literature.[22] So through his analysis of Qumran documents, Tuval de facto expresses his personal discontent that Jews, past and present, dare to accept the full divinity of Yeshua.

Refutation of "New Testament Antisemitism"

Through an analysis of the vocabulary and style of the Dead Sea scrolls, Michael Tuval also discusses the alleged antisemitism in the New Testament. Scriptural verses such as "you are of your father the devil" (Jn 8:44) and "brood of vipers" (Mt 3:7), according to Tuval, reflect the common mode of parlance among the rival sects of the Second Temple period. The use of blunt words against the opponents of the Qumran people, Tuval argues, was common, even including terms such as evil, corrupt, and hypocrite. Thus, he explains, if the attacks against the Pharisees/Jews in the New Testament are understood within the *internal* context of a sectarian and provocative Judaism, then one can easily understand the sources of this passionate mode of expression.[23]

However, I would like to add that Tuval treats these issues mainly from a textual perspective, and totally ignores two other points: first, the possibility of a unique divine self-consciousness in the speeches and status of Yeshua; and second, the sharp "anti-Jewish" remarks spoken by the Old Testament prophets. Furthermore, Tuval's explanation is not original. Other Messianic Jews, for example the late Ludwig Dewitz, have noted the fact that the Dead Sea Scrolls open a linguistic door to Second Temple Jewry with their "enthusiastic" language – like those passages in which they condemn the High Priest as wicked and belonging to the sons of darkness, while they regard themselves as the sons of light, the true Israel. This apparent "anti-Judaic" attitude is a clash of opinions *within*

20 Tuval, "To Whom did God Reveal His Secrets?" *Kivun*, 40 (2004), 7 (Hebrew).
21 Tuval, "When the Logos was God," *Kivun,* 41 (2004), 8 (Hebrew).
22 *Ibid*.
23 Tuval, "On the Sons of Satan, Children of Hell and Descendants of Vipers," *Kivun,* 43 (2005), 8 (Hebrew).

Jewry, and the New Testament has nothing to do with gentile antisemitism stemming from prejudice and hatred.[24]

Essenes: Anti-Model for Early and Modern Kehila

Messianic Jews make use of the Qumran discoveries in different ways. For example, in the writings of Joseph Shulam, leader of the Messianic *Roeh Israel* congregation and *Netivyah* Center in Jerusalem, the Essenes appear as a negative model of dissidents. Shulam actually views the Essenes as schismatics who unilaterally distanced themselves from the other groups of first-century Judaism, including the Pharisees and the early disciples of Yeshua. Consequently, by a historical-social analogy, Shulam dismisses the Essenes as a model because of their negative attitude about the Jerusalem Temple. In other words, Shulam wishes that modern JBY would follow in the footsteps of the early *Talmidei Yeshua*, Yeshua's disciples, who, *unlike* the Essenes, continued to worship in the Temple and observed the basic Pharisaic/rabbinical traditions.[25]

Therefore, Shulam places both ancient and modern JBY on one side, and contrasts them with the Qumran Essenes on the other. Unlike the Essenes, who considered the Second Temple, its priests, and the synagogues of the time to be evil and defiled, Shulam argues that modern JBY are part and parcel of Jewry, both halachically and nationally.

Shulam also contrasts the book of Acts with the Epistle to the Hebrews in the New Testament for contemporary practical purposes. He argues that the Acts of the Apostles reflects a "positive" model for modern Messianic Jews, since first-century JBY did observe the oral law of the Jewish sages alongside the Torah of Moses, and even Paul did nothing against the normative practices and services in the Temple. Moreover, Shulam highlights the fact that the early *kehila* (church) did not see any conflict between the validity of Yeshua's sacrifice on the cross and the continuation of worship in the Temple. "Yeshua's sacrifice must have been considered the completion or perfection of the sacrificial system of the Temple," Shulam writes, "but not the annulment of it."[26]

At the same time Shulam also points to the fact that the late and influential Prof. Yigael Yadin held the opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written to a group from the Essene community who accepted Yeshua as the Messiah, yet were disappointed and desperate almost to the point of giving up their faith. Although Shulam is careful not to fully ascribe to Yadin's theory, it is nevertheless clear that he does accept Yadin's view that the attitude of the Epistle to the Hebrews on the Temple in Jerusalem reflects the Dead Sea sect's views. And, therefore, according to

24 Ludwig Dewitz, "Is the New Testament Anti-Jewish?" *The Hebrew Christian*, 57 (1984), 52-53.

25 J. Shulam, "The Early Church and the Jerusalem Temple," *Teaching From Zion,* 10 (1997), 22-24.

26 Shulam 1997, 24-25.

Shulam, "these views of the Essene community [as reflected in Hebrews – G.N.] could have been different from those of the Pharisees who became believers."[27] Therefore, the implication of the first-century situation for Messianic Jews today, according to Shulam, would categorically focus on the differentiation between the desirable model of the Acts of the Apostles and the undesirable model of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Acts is presented with the "positive" examples of enduring connection and observance of normative Jewish heritage and lifestyle, while Hebrews is portrayed with a sectarian nonconformism which does not "fit" a modern Messianic Jewish group – like the one led by Shulam – that is committed "to the restoration of the First Century Church."[28] Shulam thus uses Qumran texts and scholarship in a radical critique of the New Testament canon. Further, Yadin's view of Hebrews has not received much support in the following generation of scholarship.

Qumran and Paul's Epistle to the Romans

In his commentary on the Jewish roots of Paul's epistle to the Romans, Joseph Shulam refers widely to Qumranic literature. In fact, he quotes largely from the Dead Sea Scrolls and presents manifold comparisons with these documents, which range from the *Commentary (Pesher) on Habakkuk* [1QpH], the *(Community) Rule* [1QS], and the *(Thanksgiving) Hymns* [1QH], up to the *Florilegium* [4QFlor.] and the *War Rule* [1QM]. De facto, Shulam's basic aim is to prove that Paul was immersed within Second Temple Jewish thought, and therefore Paul's theological outlook is very close to that of the Qumran authors.[29]

Shulam openly admits that he treats the Qumran documents more textually and theologically than historically, and that he follows the scholarship and methodology of David Flusser.[30] Thus, following Flusser, Shulam explains that Paul's argument about God's election of Israel (Rom 11:5) is strongly influenced by the idea of "His choice of grace" found in the Qumran literature.[31]

Epilogue

Both Qumran and Masada still hold great symbolic value. Just as the heritage of the Zealots at Masada continues to shape the identity of

27 Shulam 1997, 25 n.10.

28 Shulam 1997, 27. See also Joseph Shulam, "The Temple, Synagogue, and Early Community," *Teaching From Zion*, 16 (2004), 15.

29 Shulam and Le Cornu, 9-11 and passim.

30 Shulam and Le Cornu, 10-11, 69. See also David Flusser, "The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity," *Judaism and the Origins of Christianity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1988), 23-74.

31 Shulam and Le Cornu, 365-366. Cf. also recently Hilary Le Cornu with Joseph Shulam, *A Commentary on The Jewish Roots of Galatians* (Jerusalem, Netivyah/Academon, 2005), 507-512.

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modern Israeli patriotism, the heritage of Qumran is employed by modern Messianic Jews in order to reevaluate their identity. For modern Jewish Yeshua-believers, who are a marginal minority vis-à-vis the rabbinic establishment, Qumran stands nowadays as an authentic and legitimate "identity reference." In a way analogous to early Qumran Judaism, Messianic Judaism today manifests the pluralism that characterizes the diverse religious expressions of the Jewish people, alongside Karaite, Reform, Conservative, Orthodox and secular Judaism.

Recently two Israeli archaeologists, Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg, questioned the prevailing theory that the Dead Sea Scrolls were scribed at Qumran by monastic Essenes. Magen and Peleg rather assume that the Scrolls were smuggled from various libraries – not only from Jerusalem – to the Judean Desert, in order to save them from the suspected violence and destructiveness of the Roman legions.[32] Whether the ancient Scrolls originated in Qumran itself, in Jerusalem, or elsewhere in Judea, they remain a cardinal issue for the identity-building of many Messianic Jews (and Karaites).[33] Through these authentic and unprecedented documents from the Second Temple period, they have found new support for stressing their self-identity.

Interestingly, between the years 1961–1983 the Southern Baptists in the State of Israel irregularly published a magazine in three languages – Hebrew, English, and Arabic – titled *Hayahad.*[34] This name comes from the Dead Sea Scrolls and means "The Community." Modern Baptists actually "resurrected" ancient Qumran – in order to identify, by literary means, a distinct religious minority inside the Jewish State, a brotherhood where gentile Christians, expatriates and locals, coexist together with Messianic Jews. Eventually, however, *Hayahad* survived merely as a relatively brief episode.

32 Lauren Gelfond Feldinger, "A Crack in the Theory," *Jerusalem Post Online Edition* (Dec. 16, 2004).

33 About "theological archaeologists" and the conflict of identity among Hebrew Catholics and Jews who adopted Russian Orthodox Christianity, see recently Judith Deutsch Kornblatt, *Doubly Chosen: Jewish Identity, The Soviet Intelligentsia and the Russian Orthodox Church* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2004), 112-128.

34 *The Hayahad Digest*, P.O.B. 11174, Tel Aviv, Ed. Chandler Lanier. The last issue, vol. 8, no. 32, appeared in June 1983.

A Short Annotated Bibliography to the Dead Sea Scrolls

By **Torleif Elgvin**

A. General Introductions

Two excellent recent introductions distinguish themselves for the general reader:

J. C. VanderKam and P. W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002).

P. R. Davies, G. J. Brooke, P. R. Callaway, *The Complete World of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002).

B. Translations

Two quality English translations which include good introductions to the texts:

M. Wise, M. G. Abegg, E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 2nd ed. 2005).

G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 5th ed. 1998).

M. G. Abegg, P. Flint, E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1999). An English edition of the extant biblical fragments from the Judean desert, which at times differ more or less from the traditional Hebrew text of the Bible.

C. Archaeology

J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). The only updated work representing mainstream scholarship.

Y. Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context* (Peabody, Hendrickson, 2005). In contrast to Magness and the majority of the scholars, Hirschfeld argues that Qumran was a manor house and center of an agricultural estate, without relation to the scrolls found nearby.

D. Other books

J. Charlesworth, *The Pesharim and Qumran History. Chaos or Consensus?* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002). A good introduction to Qumran history and the biblical interpretation of the pesharim commentaries.

N. A. Silberman, *The Hidden Scrolls. Christianity, Judaism, and the War for Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Heinemann, 1995). A journalistically written introduction to the findings and the controversies of the early decades of Scrolls research.

E. Speculative books

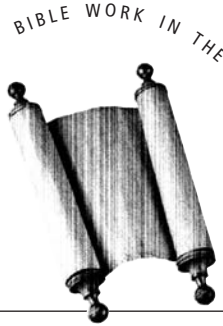
A number of speculative books have sold well. Those mentioned below are controversial and their conclusions not highly regarded among the majority of the scholars.

M. Baigent, R. Leigh, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Deception* (London: Cape, 1991).

R. Eisenman, M. Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered. The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years* (Shaftesbury: Element, 1992). While Wise's early translation of texts was fine in 1992, Eisenman's introductions are rather fanciful.

I. Knohl, *The Messiahs before Jesus. The Suffering Servant of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000). Israel Knohl is a respected Israeli biblical scholar. Here he interprets Jesus too much in the image of the Teacher of Righteousness.

Further, a number of books by R. Eisenman and B. Thiering are characterized by speculative identifications of figures and nicknames in the Scrolls with central figures in the New Testament. Both C-14 dating of the parchment and content analysis show that the relevant scrolls were written well before the mid-first century BCE, and thus can hardly refer to New Testament figures.



First "Organized" Bible Work in 19th Century Jerusalem (1816-1831)

Part III: James Connor in Jerusalem, 1820

By **Kai Kjær-Hansen**

In the second article in this series it was shown that Christoph Burckhardt was the first Protestant Bible-man to visit Jerusalem, in May 1818, and distribute Scriptures there. In his own day there were different opinions of how successful the visit was. One thing is certain: Burckhardt did not succeed in "organizing" a Bible work in Jerusalem. When he left Jerusalem less than ten days later, a Bible Society had not been set up, as he and others had hoped. Nor had a Bible depot been established, and no arrangements had been made with local church leaders to further the Bible cause in the city.[1]

So we can leave Christoph Burckhardt out of our discussion of an organized Bible work in Jerusalem, but as will be shown in this article, James Connor did manage to organize a Bible work during his visit to Jerusalem in the spring of 1820. In this context organized work is not synonymous with the establishment of an actual Bible Society in Jerusalem.

Apart from describing Connor's work in Jerusalem, this article will attempt to explain why James Connor managed to do what Christoph Burckhardt failed to do. This means that we cannot immediately accompany Connor to Jerusalem.

James Connor: Malta – Naples – Constantinople

James Connor, a graduate of Oxford,[2] had been appointed by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) to assist William Jowett in the latter's research of matters in the Levant that might be relevant for the Protestant missionary work. With a common base in Malta, they were to undertake

1 See *Mishkan,* no. 42 (2005), 57-67. Part I is to be found *Mishkan,* no. 41 (2004), 21-30.

2 Cf. A.L. Tibawi, *American Interests in Syria 1800-1901* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 19. Tibawi writes, inaccurately, that Connor "From the beginning of 1819 ... had been touring the Near East..." Connor initiated that tour on October 31, 1819. Peter K. Kawerau, *Amerika und die Orientalischen Kirchen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1958), 173, states, inaccurately, that Connor came to Malta in November 1817 and that Connor's missionary journey took place in the years 1818-1821, which gives a wrong impression of the length of the journey, which was "only" about twelve months.

joint journeys. This did not happen, however. Connor's failing health put an end to these plans.

Connor came from Marseilles to Malta on January 4, 1818; Christoph Burckhardt arrived the next day.[3] Their simultaneous arrival in Malta did not stem from an overall plan, and at that time no one could know which of them would first reach Jerusalem. Nor was there any talk of cooperation between the two of them.

After less than two weeks in Malta Burckhardt set out on his Bible Mission tour, setting sail from Malta on January 17, 1818. Connor fell ill shortly after his arrival at Malta, and a time of convalescence on the small island of Goza off Malta did not help. The illness was aggravated, and the doctor advised him to go to Sicily or Naples "without delay." He left Malta on March 3, 1818.[4] Connor's Bible Mission in the Levant had to be postponed indefinitely.

Jowett was also ill in the beginning of 1818. Having recovered his health he undertook a short journey, which took him to e.g. Smyrna and Athens. Back in Malta he realized, however, that he would need to plan his trips without considering Connor. Jowett writes, in a letter dated July 17, 1818, "I cannot tell what part in it, or in any plan, Mr. Connor could take. I feel, much as it is a matter of concern to me, obliged to think and act independently of him, in a great degree."[5] This meant that Connor was somehow sidelined.

In a letter from Naples dated June 30, 1818, however, Connor writes that he is getting better. He has spent the time on Arabic and Hebrew studies, and he looks forward to returning to Malta – and adds, "I hope in the beginning of August to be ready for Egypt. I long to be at my work."[6] But he is not back in Malta until October 30, 1818.[7] Due to his fragile health it is decided that he should be stationed in Constantinople, to which city he comes on January 25, 1819; for the sake of his health he settles in Therapia, 12 miles from Constantinople. Jowett leaves for Egypt on December 10, 1818, without Connor. In May 1819 Connor goes to Smyrna in the hope of meeting Jowett, but Jowett does not show up in Smyrna at that time. As in Naples, Connor busies himself in Constantinople with language studies – "Arabic and Persian, as a necessary introduction to Turkish" – and he makes himself "acquainted with the Clergy and other Members of the Greek and Armenian Churches." But he feels very much alone in Therapia:

> Here, indeed, I am in a barren land. I stand much in need of a watchful spirit and a stronger faith. Often do I exclaim, 'Oh that I had a brother Missionary for a companion!' Here I know not one individ-

3 *Missionary Register* (1818), 296.
4 *Missionary Register* (1818), 297.
5 *Missionary Register* (1818), 390.
6 *Missionary Register* (1818), 298.
7 *Missionary Herald* (1819), 129.

ual, who is at all interested in my work, or with whom I could enter into religious converse.[8]

Not until the autumn of 1819 – more than eighteen months after his arrival in the Levant and more than a year after Burckhardt's death in Aleppo on 14 August, 1818 – is Connor ready to set out on his first real missionary journey. He plans a shorter tour to the Greek islands during the winter months. This plan is also shelved, due not to illness but to the fact that Robert Pinkerton has come to Constantinople towards the end of September 1819.

Pinkerton and Connor in Constantinople, Autumn 1819

Robert Pinkerton is the reason why Connor changes his plans; one consequence of this is that Connor does actually make it to Jerusalem. This has already been documented and clarified in Part I of this series. But Pinkerton is an important key to the understanding of Connor's subsequent strategy and success in other respects as well.

First, when Pinkerton came to Constantinople he had already experienced success. As an agent for The British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS) he had managed, on his journey from London back to his home in St. Petersburg, to establish the Ionian Bible Society at Corfu, Auxiliary Societies in Cephalonia and Zante, and the Athens Bible Society – all this in the short period between July 20 and August 20, 1819.[9] Pinkerton's success in the Greek islands made Connor's *planned* journey to the Greek islands superfluous.

Secondly, Pinkerton travels with *letters of introduction*. And those he did not already have, he would receive in the course of his journey.[10] These letters of introduction issued *by* influential people in that time, and intended to be presented *to* influential people, pave the way for Pinkerton so he can establish the necessary contacts with civil as well as ecclesiastical authorities wherever he goes.

Thirdly, Pinkerton is a man who is not slow to draw up *written contracts*. In this way he manages to involve the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities in various places and make them commit themselves to the advancement of the Bible cause.

Fourthly, in Constantinople Pinkerton secures understanding and recognition of the cause of the Bible Society from the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. And that to such a degree that Pinkerton, in his last letter from Constantinople, dated October 27, 1819, can write: "May we not

8 *Missionary Register* (1820), 28-29.

9 Cf. BFBS *Sixteenth Report* (1820), lxviii-lxix; 8-14.

10 In Malta, e.g., he receives recommendations from Prince Alexander Galitzin (St. Petersburg) "to the Russian Consuls in the Mediterranean, the Ambassador at Constantinople &c." Cf. BFBS *Sixteenth Report* (1820), 3-5.

now say, that the Greek Church has made the glorious cause of the Bible Society *her own* cause?"[11]

Fifthly, and not least, in Constantinople Pinkerton *prepares* Connor's visit in Jerusalem (and Syria) through his contact with the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, who at that time also resides in Constantinople.[12] Pinkerton's summary of his conversations with the Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem will be reported here in their entirety because they help explain why Connor was so well received in Jerusalem by the chief *agent* of the Greek Patriarch. Pinkerton writes:

> Among other personages in this city [Constantinople] whose acquaintance I have made, and to whom I have endeavoured, by word and letter, to recommend our sacred and benevolent cause, is the Patriarch of Jerusalem. From this venerable dignitary of the oriental church I obtained information of an interesting kind, respecting the present state of his own patriarchate, and of the Christian inhabitants of Palestine. From the details which he gave me, I was led to make the following observation, That as he stated the number of pilgrims, who annually visit Jerusalem, belonging to the Greek communion, to be upwards of 2,000, and as these resort thither from every quarter of the East, an excellent opportunity was afforded for promoting a more general circulation of the written Gospel. I therefore suggested to the Patriarch how desirable it would be, and how beneficial to the best interests of his people, were he to give in charge to one of the most respectable of the Monks who attended at the Holy Sepulchre, a number of New Testaments, in different languages, for distribution among the motley multitudes of far-travelled pilgrims, who come to seek spiritual nourishment at that sacred place. This suggestion seemed to excite the most lively feelings in the venerable Polycarp, and he gave it a most cordial welcome. "This proposal," said he, "is in exact accordance with my own thoughts on the subject, and what I have wished to see realized." We therefore came to an immediate agreement, that this good work should commence with 1,000 copies of the modern Greek Testament, and 500 copies of the ancient and modern Greek Testament, and 500 copies of the Arabic Testament, and that, for the first year, this supply of the word of life should be bestowed by the British and Foreign Bible Society, upon the poor pilgrims assembled around *the place where the Lord lay,* without money and without price."[13]

It is uncertain if this shipment of Scriptures reached Jerusalem before Connor's arrival, but it is not very probable. Anyway, Connor does not men-

11 Cf. BFBS *Sixteenth Report* (1820), 26.
12 See *Mishkan,* no. 41 (2004), 25.
13 BFBS *Sixteenth Report* (1820), 21.

tion it. There is reliable evidence that they were sent to Constantinople.[14] However, it is very likely that information of this arrangement would have reached the patriarchate in Jerusalem *prior* to Connor's arrival.

Connor's Tour Before His Visit to Jerusalem

On October 31, 1819, Pinkerton and Connor both leave Constantinople. "After a few miles they parted – Dr. Pinkerton making his way toward Odessa, and Mr. Connor setting forward for Smyrna."[15] This is the beginning of what was to become a missionary journey of almost twelve months.[16]

The actual itinerary and purpose of Connor's tour

The plan for Connor's "journey of investigation" was as follows: Via Smyrna to Candia on Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus. Then along the Southern Shores of Caramania [the southern part of Asia Minor], by Sataliah and Anemur, to Tarsus – and thence to Antioch, Aleppo, Damascus, Mount Lebanon, and Jerusalem. "His ulterior steps would depend on circumstances."

The *task* which has been set for Connor was described in this way: "He was to take Introductory Letters from the highest Ecclesiastical Authorities at Constantinople. His object would be, To disperse the Scriptures – to open channels for the wider circulation – to distribute Tracts – and to investigate the state of those countries. He hoped that his visit to the Syrian Archbishop would tend to further his plans for the good of his people. His aim was to spend the Passover at Jerusalem."[17]

The actual itinerary *prior* to his visit to Jerusalem became this (Connor changed his plans because he wanted to be in Jerusalem at Easter): Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus [pp. 413-420]. He arrives at Beirut on February 13, 1820, and continues to Saide/Sidon, Sour/Tyre, Acre, Nazareth, Napolose/Nablus, and Jaffa – and then up to Jerusalem, arriving there on March 6, 1820 [pp. 420-427].

When Connor left Constantinople he took with him 384 ancient and modern Greek Testaments and an unspecified number of Bibles and Testaments in different languages.[18]

In Smyrna he supplies himself with more Scriptures through, as he puts it, "thinning" Mr. Williamson's depot there [p. 413]. The material at our

14 *See Mishkan,* no. 41 (2004), 27.

15 *Missionary Register* (1820), 30.

16 Connor's letters of travel were first published as extracts in *Missionary Register* (1820), 166-169; 261-262; 384-398. Later on they were included as an appendix in William Jowett, *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean* (London: Church Missionary Society, second edition, 1822), 413-454. In this article the quotations are from Jowett's book. In order to avoid a large number of notes I have inserted the page references from the appendix in square brackets in my text.

17 *Missionary Register* (1820), 28-29. On the meetings with the Syrian Archbishop, see below.

18 See *Mishkan,* no. 41 (2004), 30.

disposal does not allow us to give a more precise figure for the number of Scriptures that Connor carried with him.

Connor's method and success

I have to leave out many interesting details and be content to make the following observations, which are relevant for the understanding of Connor's success in Jerusalem.

Connor has learnt an important lesson from Pinkerton. In his luggage he now carries not only Scriptures but also letters of introduction. And what he does not already have, he gets during his tour. In Cyprus Connor writes this about the Greek Archbishop: "The Archbishop has given me an Introductory Letter to the Patriarch of Antioch, who resides at Damascus, and another to the Agents of the Patriarch of Jerusalem" [p. 419].

Connor has learnt an important lesson from Pinkerton. In his luggage he now carries not only Scriptures but also letters of introduction

Connor makes contact with the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities wherever he comes. He seeks out and stays with the local British consul, where this is possible, and arranges with him to administer a Bible depot. His objective is to get high-ranking ecclesiastical dignitaries to superintend sales and distribution. If this fails, the consul is persuaded to do so. After having visited Crete, Rhodes, and Cyprus Connor has managed to set up three depots and make written arrangements for the future work [pp. 413-420].

In Sidon, where there is no British consul, Connor has to be content with staying at an inn. The French consul refuses to take responsibility for a depot ("he was prohibited from engaging in any commerce"). But in his stead Sidon's chief physician, a Mr. Bertrand, is engaged. The latter was familiar with the Bible cause through Burckhardt. "I wrote on the spot a set of Instructions for him. He undertakes, with the assistance of his brother, who is Physician to the Prince of the Druses, to sell and distribute the Scriptures throughout the whole of Lebanon, Anti-Lebanon, Damascus, and the coast of Syria from Beirout to Sour" [pp. 421-422].

In Acre Connor obtained a Firman (travel permit) for himself and a servant [p. 436]. About the Bible work it is said: "Our Consul, Signor Malagamba, undertakes willingly to promote the circulation of the Arabic and Hebrew Scriptures, in Acre, Nazareth, Tiberias, Safed &c. &c." [p. 423]. In Jaffa an arrangement is made with Consul Damiani to promote the object of the Bible Society in Jaffa and the surrounding area, and "through his hands, the Scriptures will regularly pass into Jerusalem" [p. 426]. Even before Connor has been to Jerusalem, he is so sure of a positive result that he, beforehand, arranges for the correspondence between Jerusalem and Malta to go via Alexandria with Consul Damiani as the go-between.

Against the background of this success – and with introductory letters in his bag – Connor goes up to Jerusalem filled with optimism.

Connor in Jerusalem

Connor and his servant come to Jerusalem on the afternoon of Monday, March 6, 1820,[19] and begin a visit that was to last for about six weeks [pp. 427-443]. They take lodgings with the Latin Convent of San Salvadore. In contrast to what was the case with Burckhardt, preparations and plans have been made for Connor. He is to contact Procopius, the superintendent or representative in Jerusalem for Polycarp, the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Jerusalem (resident in Constantinople). In other words: Contact is to be made with the highest authority, the *Locum Tenens* of the Patriarch. In Connor's words about Procopius: "His character as chief Agent of the Patriarchate places him high, in point of power and influence." (Part IV will contain a more detailed description of Procopius.)

Connor's encounter with Procopius
Connor writes this about his first encounter with Procopius:

> The Archbishop of Cyprus having given me an Introductory Letter to Procopius, the chief agent of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, I waited on him at the Greek Convent, two or three days after my arrival. He received me in the most friendly manner. He expressed his warmest approbation of the plan and objects of the Bible Society; and acceded immediately to my proposal, of leaving a considerable portion of the Scriptures which I had brought with me, in his hands, for sale and distribution among the Pilgrims and others. [pp. 427-428]

Procopius is serious about his promises. In a letter of April 11, 1820 – one week before Connor leaves Jerusalem and after the Easter celebration – Connor makes an account of what Procopius has received and done until then: "The Books I gave to Procopius for sale were the following: 83 Arabic Psalters, 2 Arabic Bibles, 3 Arabic Testaments, 34 Greek Testaments: all these he has sold. I gave him also a large quantity of Greek Tracts: these he has distributed" [pp. 429-430]. Even more important than the sale of these 122 Scriptures was the agreement that was made between Connor and Procopius (see below).

Other aspects of Connor's missionary activities in Jerusalem
A few days after his arrival, Connor visits the Armenian Patriarch and discusses with him the cause of the Bible Society and "the object of my visit to Jerusalem. Both pleased him." The Patriarch immediately requested 66 Armenian Testaments, which he paid for. "He took them, he said, to present to his friends. He would give me no encouragement, however, to

19 In *Mishkan,* no. 41 (2004), 28 I wrote, erroneously, that Connor came to Jerusalem in *May* 1820. On p. 30 in the same article the correct date is mentioned: "March 6, 1820."

sell them openly. Before he would permit the public sale of them, he must have authoritative proof that the Edition is sanctioned at Constantinople. This I will procure for him when I return thither" [p. 431].

In the Armenian Convent he finds (on a later occasion?) a pilgrim from Calcutta and a member of the Calcutta Bible Society. In his room he had "some English Religious Tracts, printed at Serampore, which had been given him by Dr. Carey. He took twenty-three Armenian Testaments from me, to distribute in Jerusalem" [p. 438].

The Convents of the Syrians, Copts, and Abyssinians are visited by Connor "more than once" [pp. 432-433].

The Church Library for the *Syrians* ("who are Nestorians from Mesopotamia") is given one Syrian Testament; and two pilgrims get one copy each.

About a visit to the *Abyssinians* ("The Abyssinians reside in the same Convent with the Copts") it is said, "I put twelve Ethiopic Psalters into the hands of the Priest, desiring him to distribute them gratuitously among his people: this he did immediately, while I was sitting with him: they all manifested their gratitude." In the library Connor also finds two Ethiopic Psalters given to them by Burckhardt.

In addition to the 122 copies of Scriptures which Procopius received, Connor has now accounted for a further 104 copies. Whether or not he sold more copies of Scriptures in Jerusalem cannot be deduced from the available material. In this connection it is worth noting that Connor, as a Bible-man, does not seem to have been out in the streets *himself* selling Scriptures. This is put into the hands of local people in the respective convents or in the hands of the anonymous pilgrim from Calcutta – who then distributes them! Later, in Aleppo, Connor succeeds in selling a considerable number of Scriptures. But this is because he "engaged a man to offer the Scriptures, which I have brought with me, for sale in various parts of the city" [p. 451].

And finally, about the distribution of Scriptures among the Jews of Jerusalem: Whereas Burckhardt did succeed in selling one (sic) Hebrew New Testament to a Jew in Jerusalem, Connor did not, a fact that he does not try to conceal. He writes:

> Among the Jews I have not been able to do any thing. The New Testament they reject with disdain, though I have repeatedly offered it to them for the merest trifle. As for the Prophecies, they say, the Book is imperfect, and therefore they will not purchase: and, as for the Psalters, they tell me there is no want of them in Jerusalem. Had I brought a complete Hebrew Bible with me, I could have sold many. [p. 433]

Connor as traveller and researcher

In the published material Connor draws attention to the fact that schools are rare at the Patriarchate of Jerusalem; "consequently, reading is not a very common attainment" [p. 431]. He mentions an interesting statistic

about pilgrims in Jerusalem at the Passover of 1820. Connor estimates the total number at 3,131, which, although smaller than usual, nevertheless appears realistic.[20] Again he notes that few of the Greek and Armenian pilgrims can read – a circumstance that does not exactly make the Bible work easier.

He also gives a detailed description of the Easter celebration in 1820.[21] Connor spends the night between the Greeks' Good Friday and Easter Saturday (April 7-8) in the Holy Sepulchre, where he witnesses the ceremony of the Holy Fire and the tumult surrounding it; it is all seen as a "profanation" [pp. 433-437]. Later Protestant missionaries were not more sympathetic in their descriptions of these things.

He furthermore gives a vivid description of the procession of 2300 pilgrims and guards on their way to the Jordan; he also goes to the Dead Sea together with a small group [pp. 439-440]. He stays in Bethlehem a couple of days [pp. 441-442].

It is remarkable that in the descriptions of the Easter celebration, the tour to the Jordan, and the time in Bethlehem there is no mention of distribution of Scriptures. The reason could be, of course, that Connor can no longer supply them.

The Agreement Between Connor and Procopius

Back to the agreement between Procopius and Connor [pp. 428-429], printed *in toto* below. It is the first written agreement regarding distribution of Bibles in Jerusalem made between a highly placed Greek Orthodox person and a Protestant Bible-man. The agreement reads as follows, in Connor's translation:

"1. Procopius will keep, in his Convent, a Depôt of the Scriptures, for the Greek Christians in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood; and will exert all his influence, to diffuse these Scriptures throughout the Patriarchate of Jerusalem."

"2. Procopius will also keep, in his Convent, a Depôt of the Scriptures, in various languages, for the Pilgrims of the Greek Church that visit Jerusalem; and, when these Pilgrims arrive, he will cause them to be informed of the existence of the Depôt, and will encourage them to purchase."

"3. The Metropolitan, Archbishops, and other Ecclesiastical Dignitaries of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, will perhaps encourage, by Letter or by word of mouth, the people of their respective Churches to purchase Scriptures, and will commit the distribution of them to men of judgment and fidelity."

20 Greeks, 1600; Armenians, 1300; Copts, 150; Catholics chiefly from Damascus, 50; Abyssinians, 1; Syrians, 30 [p. 438].

21 For the Latins, Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday in 1820 fell on March 26 and April 2 respectively; the Greeks, etc. celebrated the Feast one week later, so that their Palm Sunday fell on the Latins' Easter Sunday.

"4. Perhaps Procopius will be able to find a faithful and trust-worthy man to whom he might confide the sale of the Scriptures, in various languages, in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. It would, I think, be the best plan to expose these book for sale, during the Passover, in the Square*[22] which fronts the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on account of the frequent assembling of the Pilgrims there."

"5. The Books, thus sold, must be sold at a stated moderate price; and the Bible Society grants a commission of ten per cent upon the money received for the Books, to the person whom Procopius will employ to sell them."

"6. All the money received for the Books will be put into the hands of Procopius, who will examine the accounts of the Vender, and pay him his commission. Procopius will also deduct from the money received, any expense that he may have incurred for the carriage of the books from Jaffa to Jerusalem &c. He will transmit the remainder of the money to the Rev. W. Jowett, Strada San Giovanni, Malta, through the hands of Signore Damiani, British Consul in Jaffa. Mr. Jowett, who keeps the great Depôt in Malta, will supply Procopius with whatever Scriptures he may want for the Pilgrims and others."

"The dissensions which unhappily subsist among the different bodies of Christians in Jerusalem, oppose an insuperable obstacle to the establishment there, at present, of any efficient Institution for the circulation of the Scriptures."

"7. It will afford peculiar pleasure to the Bible Society, if Procopius would correspond with Mr. Jowett; and would give him, from time to time, especially after each Passover, an account of the mode in which the Scriptures have been distributed, specifying the number of those sold in each language."

Presented with this plan Procopius gives, according to Conner, "his full assent to every thing that it contained. 'Send me the Books,' said he, 'and I shall immediately begin; and when I shall have furnished the Patriarchate with the Scriptures, I will circulate them elsewhere.'"

It should, however, be stated that this agreement did not entail the establishment of a Jerusalem Bible Society. If – and if so in what terms – Connor has discussed the matter with Procopius cannot be determined on the basis of the sources at our disposal. But the following words seem to indicate that the matter was raised: "The dissensions which unhappily subsist among the different bodies of Christians in Jerusalem, oppose an insuperable obstacle to the establishment there, at present, of any efficient Institution for the circulation of the Scriptures." Connor emphasizes that the "Greeks and Armenians are friendly to the diffusion of the

22 The asterisk refers to the following note: "This Square is filled, during the whole Passover, with venders of crucifixes, beads, and other trinkets, and is the chief resort of the Pilgrims. All who enter the Church of the Sepulchre must necessarily pass through it."

Scriptures." The following comment is, however, no less important: "nor do the Latins seem hostile to the circulation of their Authorised Versions" [p. 430]. What Connor may have had in the way of contacts to the Latins in Jerusalem is not said.

Channels Opened for the Circulation of the Scriptures

Connor is content when he leaves Jerusalem on April 19, 1820 [p. 443]. His mission was a success. He now resumes his missionary journey and heads north through the following main stations: Acre, Saide, Mount Lebanon, Beirut, Damascus, Tripoli, and Aleppo [pp. 442-454]. Late June 1820 marks the beginning of the return journey to Constantinople, which he reaches on October 13, 1820 after another visit to e.g. Cyprus and Rhodes (see below).[23]

Having arrived in Beirut around May 1, 1820, Connor finds a new shipment of Scriptures, from which the newly established depot in Jerusalem gets its share. He writes: "Here I found eight Cases of the Scriptures, which Mr. Jowett had sent me from Alexandria: part of these I sent to Jerusalem, part to Saide, and part I forwarded to Latichea, to await my arrival there" [p. 447].

In Aleppo – a few days before Connor sets out on his return journey to Constantinople – he makes an account (in a letter dated June 26, 1820) of his tour in Syria and writes the following, among other things:

> ... the Channels are now opened for the introduction of the Scriptures into these parts, and for the general circulation. By means of our friends in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Acre, Saide, Beirout, Damascus, Tripoli, Latichea, Scanderoon, and Aleppo, they will be offered for sale in every part of the country. So far well! The Channels, as I have said, are open; but I am afraid we shall be obliged to wait some time before the waters begin to flow. [pp. 453-454]

Connor's task has been completed successfully. The fact that he was more successful than Burckhardt is due not least to the planning preceding the journey and to the introductory letters he could present when he came to Jerusalem. He is the first Protestant Bible-man to organize the Bible work not only in Jerusalem, but also in Lebanon and Syria.

Against this background it is not so strange that the Bible Societies in Lebanon and Syria today, on their websites, give "1820" as the year of "the first organised work." If the same criteria are used for the work in Israel, there are good reasons why the Israeli Bible Society should change "1816" to "1820" as the "Beginning of organised work in Israel."[24]

One could stop here, and yet one cannot help wondering what Connor

23 BFBS S*eventeenth Report* (1821), 64-65.
24 See *Mishkan*, no. 41 (2004), 22.

has in mind when, in the quotation above, he says that he is afraid "we shall be obliged to wait some time before the waters begin to flow." Why does he say this?

Unfulfilled Expectations and Agreements

Of course it is not necessarily Connor's fault if the open channels were blocked or never functioned according to plan. Not everything during his journey was a success, but this is no reflection on Connor's work as an organizer. During his return journey to Constantinople it became possible for him to check the progress of the work in the interval. Certain changes had taken place. Let us take a brief look at them.

Lack of success with the Syrian Roman Catholic Archbishop/Patriarch

In the spring of 1819 Peter Giarve, at that time Syrian (Roman Catholic) Archbishop of Jerusalem (resident at Mount Lebanon), had been in London, where he had negotiated with BFBS and CMS about the Bible work in Syria. He was able to return with the promise of a printing press and a major donation to the work.[25] The meeting with Giarve was considered very important and was accompanied by great hopes for the furtherance of the Bible cause in Syria. Therefore it was important that Connor meet him, which he did – even twice – but without much success.

Giarve and Connor arrive in Beirut in February 1820 at an interval of only one day – Giarve from Europe, by way of Egypt. They have an opportunity to converse "about our friends in England, and of the object of my Mission," Connor writes. But Giarve is busy with many things and exhausted after the journey, so "that I judged it best to defer any further conference with him, till I shall see him in his Convent on Mount Lebanon ... His Printing Press is not yet arrived. The Archbishop gives me but little hopes of success in selling the Scriptures in Syria" [pp. 420-421].

They meet again in the beginning of May 1820 – now at Giarve's convent, one month after he had become Patriarch. Connor gets a friendly reception, but Giarve is "indisposed, in consequence of a recent fall from his horse"; his printing press has not arrived and, what is worse, it had been seriously damaged in the voyage to Smyrna. Under those circumstances Connor considers it "fruitless" to stay at Giarve's convent [pp. 447-448].

Was Giarve at this time already closing the channels that had been opened in London? Perhaps. Connor seems to have received no backing from him, even though he was kindly received. Later on, some maintained that the money that had been entrusted to Giarve in London had been used by him to buy the title of patriarch.[26] A few years later Giarve

25 Cf. Jowett 1822, 317-318; *Missionary Register* (1819), 180-182; (1820), 27.

26 Cf. Isaac Bird, *Bible Work in Bible Lands* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1872), 73: "It was the outdoor report that the present patriarch [Giarve] had supplanted Simon, the late patriarch, by means of the money he obtained in England."

was to become one of the fiercest opponents of Protestant Bible distribution in Syria – a story that cannot be told here.[27]

Back in Constantinople Connor can see, in retrospect, that open channels are no guarantee of success. He writes quite candidly:

> In many instances, I found it difficult to convince the Syrians of the purity of motives and sacredness of principle, which prompt the exertions of the Bible Society: they can scarcely conceive how a people, whom the majority of them look on as heretics, can, without some sinister object, propose to perform an act of religious charity to their church. Whenever I perceived any such suspicions lurking in the minds of those to whom I addressed myself, I dissipated them by the assurance, that they should receive the Scriptures, word for word, as they are sanctioned by their church, without any note, or commentary, or explanation whatever. This satisfied them.[28]

Obstacles and changes of agreements

In the same retrospect Connor mentions other obstacles and changes of previous agreements.

Connor had, as already mentioned, managed to sell a "considerable number of Hebrew Testaments to the Jews" in Aleppo. But in retrospect it is now said: "The day before my departure, the Chief Rabbi issued a prohibition against the purchase of the Book." Yet he also states that "A cheap edition of the Hebrew Old Testament would have an easy sale in Aleppo." So one cannot expect the Jews to be standing with arms open wide to receive the Hebrew New Testament.

On his return journey from Aleppo to Constantinople, Connor has several opportunities to check what has been done in the way of distribution of Scriptures in light of the written agreements that were made on the outward journey. In Cyprus the consul informs him that "the numerous and pressing avocations of the Archbishop had rendered it inconvenient to him to superintend the distribution of Scriptures. The Consul, himself, therefore, undertakes it." The Archbishop did not fulfill the contract.

And on his arrival at Rhodes the following is noted: "The plague has been in Rhodes the whole of the summer; which has, in a great measure, prevented our Consul and Archbishop from exerting themselves in our cause."[29] The plague apparently prevented the implementation of the plans they had made.

27 See however Kawerau 1958, 529-530.
28 BFBS *Seventeenth Report* (1821), 65.
29 BFBS *Seventeenth Report* (1821), 64-65.

Concluding Remarks

Against this background, the question of whether Procopius honored his promises after Connor had left Jerusalem suggests itself. Did he also change his mind or become too busy with other matters? This question will be dealt with in Part IV.

Back in Constantinople, Connor chooses to leave his Bible work in the Levant. In mid-February 1821 he returns to London, even though H.D. Leeves has just arrived in Constantinople as an agent for BFBS.[30]

Before his departure from the Levant, Connor sends a letter to two newly arrived American missionaries who were then staying in Smyrna, namely Levi Parsons and Pliny Fisk. These also had their minds set on Jerusalem. What did Connor enclose in his letter to the Americans, received in Smyrna on December 3, 1820? A "letter of introduction" to Procopius, of course! On December 5, Parson left for Jaffa.[31]

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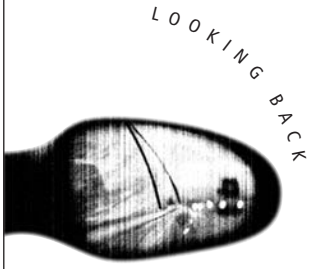
30 BFBS *Seventeenth Report* (1821), 65-67.
31 Cf. *Missionary Herald* (1821), 273-275.



Looking Back

– An Interview, More or Less

By **Moishe Rosen**

I've been asked what or who inspired me to get involved in Jewish evangelism and mission – and what kept me going. I was also asked to reflect on the Messianic movement and Jewish missions/evangelism today, including what challenges and concerns face us. Here are my answers . . .

When I became a believer in Jesus in 1953, I was delighted with the new life and purpose God gave me. My wife, Ceil, came to Christ shortly before I did. She and I were well instructed by a missionary, Hannah Wago. Mrs. Wago had been trained as a Lutheran deaconess and was a very systematic and meticulous teacher. We also had the benefit of belonging to Trinity Baptist Church in Denver, which I now realize was a very proactive congregation.

At the time, I worked at a sporting goods store. The hours were long, and so were our lunch breaks. I had purposed to read through the Bible, and I used those long breaks to do so. A nearby church, called "The Pillar of Fire Church," was always open for people to come in and pray. Each day, I would go to the front, kneel, and read my Bible – an American Standard Version that I had picked up in a second-hand store.

One day, I came to Acts 20:21: "Testifying both to Jews and to Greeks repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." When I read those words, God spoke to me in what was more real than an audible voice, and said that this verse was my future. Somehow, my life's purpose was to be a witness to Jews and gentiles.

That night, I told Ceil about my experience and how I felt that God had spoken to me about what I was supposed to do. I asked her what she thought, and she said, "Well, I'm sure that you feel that God has called you," which was neither an affirmation nor a denial. But I knew that I was called, and she would stand by me. However, I didn't know what that meant or that I should do anything about it.

Being a new believer, everything was wondrous to me. I loved church and attended all services. I really liked being able to pray to God and feel that He was hearing and answering prayer. I enjoyed nothing more than witnessing.

I left the sporting goods store and became a pre-need sales manager for Fairmount Cemetery in Denver. I hired four students from the

Conservative Baptist Seminary and told them that they were there to serve the Lord. Their job was to present the cemetery lots, but I pointed out that this gave them a good chance to witness and tell of the Lord. Together we won almost as many people to the Lord as we sold cemetery plots. The managers of the cemetery were delighted that the sales had gone up so much. One of the seminary students, Harold Deinstadt, who recognized what was happening, encouraged me to look beyond my present circumstances for ministry opportunities.

About that time, Emil Gruen, who was an associate of Hannah Wago and the American Board of Missions to the Jews, came to Denver. He invited me to consider becoming a missionary. I will always be grateful for the part he played in bringing me along. I was able to go to school through the generosity of the American Board of Missions to the Jews; they sent me to a Bible college in New Jersey, paying my tuition, room, and board, and providing a stipend for us to live on. In return, I helped with the mission's work in New York City, which was also a training ground for me.

My school years were somewhat difficult; I was a few years older than the other students and, unlike most of them, I had a wife and child (Ceil and I already had our first daughter, Lyn). During those difficult years, I hung on to Acts 20:21 and the fact that God had called me to ministry. These things got me through. When one receives what he regards as a divine call, he can't do anything but answer that call. Giving up was never an option, unless I were to lose my faith entirely. When I graduated, the mission offered me an opportunity to serve in Los Angeles.

I've heard a lot of talk about missionary work damaging the family, but my wife and I have always had a very good relationship, and she has always respected the fact that I was following God's call. Our family seemed rather normal, except that we were alienated from my parents because of Christ. Ceil's adopted parents abandoned us altogether; her mother had died shortly after she and her twin brother were born. We found her birth father and were able to bond with what should have been her family.

Certainly ministry had its ups and downs. The "ups" were meeting some of the giants in the field – people I greatly respected, like Rachmiel Frydland, Moses Gitlin, and Herman Newmark. The downs were mostly about my own realization that I did not have the initiative to study, nor the intellect or character to be like the people I respected so much.

I found inspiration in several plainspoken ministers of the gospel. I was just starting out when I met Abe Schneider. Abe was not an impressive person. For example, he wore a plaid flannel shirt and a color-clashing necktie. He explained that he had to dress that way because it was warmer, and he didn't want to wear an overcoat. Abe had been a bread delivery man, a common person who had no special education to prepare him for the field of Jewish evangelism. Yet he went door-to-door in all of the Jewish sections of Los Angeles.

His approach was facile. When someone would answer the door, he

would say, "Could I ask you one question? If an atom bomb were dropped on Los Angeles now, and everything that we know, including you, would disappear, where would you go?" He kept talking about atom bombs when they had long been replaced by hydrogen bombs. But Abe was not exactly a nuclear scientist. Nevertheless, he won many, many people to the Lord.

I spent a couple of days going door-to-door with Abe, and then I spent 18 months doing it on my own, three times a week. I didn't talk about the atom bomb, but I used Abe's grid method, which meant that I had to come back at least three times to every house where I didn't get an answer at the door.

Of course, scheduled visits were preferable to the door-to-door canvassing. But even when I had appointments to visit in people's homes to share the gospel, more than half the time they wouldn't answer the doorbell. I wanted to tell a lot more than people wanted to hear. Nevertheless, many did hear, and during the decade that I worked in Los Angeles hundreds came to Christ. I personally baptized 240 Jewish people.

It may surprise you, but I never had great satisfaction over people initially coming to Christ. My satisfaction came from those I later saw walking with the Lord, attending church, becoming givers in the church, and witnessing to others.

As far as the main challenges for the Messianic movement and for Jewish missions/evangelism today, I wonder if we will see leaders who possess the heroic qualities of those I've known in the past.

At the time that I became involved in Jewish evangelism, we had giants in understanding to look up to. I think of Solomon Birnbaum, Rachmiel Frydland, Moses Gitlin, and the level of Yeshiva understanding that they represented. These and others like them were scholars, fluent in Hebrew, Yiddish, and European languages.

Perhaps the quality of leaders has not changed since those days. Maybe it is just in retrospect that pioneers in the field look so heroic to me. But I can't help feeling that these people stood head and shoulders above the best of men and women in our century. That is not to say that we don't have some who are doing excellent work. I am grateful for the high caliber contributions of scholarly people like Michael Brown. But I don't believe that even he would compare himself with some of those who have gone on before.

Also of great concern, I see a shift in thinking among those who would be involved in or support Jewish evangelism. It seems that more and more are giving themselves to things that might be called "social gospel"; that is to say, people want to do good, but are reluctant to speak up and be forthright about sin and the need for salvation, for fear of disapproval.

I'm also concerned with the field of evangelism in general, that church planting, like the social gospel, is crowding out the ministry of proclamation. We are continually losing the hearts of people to those who merely want to show friendship to the Jews, or want to establish Jewish congregations. Too often the planting is actually "transplanting." A

person or group of people declare that they are going to start a new congregation, and then they do it by seeking out others who are already believers. Then they urge these Jewish (or gentile) believers to leave their congregations in order to join them in starting a new congregation. Sometimes I feel that the present emphasis on starting Messianic congregations has been at the expense of proclaiming the gospel to those who need to be saved. There certainly are Messianic congregations that do have good outreach and proclamation to the lost, but for too many others, evangelism does not have a high priority.

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Sometimes evangelism takes a much more courageous effort than starting or presiding over a congregation. Where are those who are willing to go door-to-door, or stand on a street corner to preach the gospel? Some say these practices are outdated. I would be happy to see creative up-to-date versions of "old school" methods that take as much courage and offer the same straightforward gospel. Thus far I have been disappointed that those who disparage such tactics haven't offered any comparable alternatives. Rather, what they do offer instead of direct evangelism tends to be comfortable and comforting. It is easy to make popular suggestions that do not take us beyond our comfort zone. I have never found any easy way to evangelize Jews, and I would certainly welcome any method that drew less opposition and caused less friction. But I must always ask of any outreach method: "Does it help people understand that they are lost without Christ?"

To me, the most important thing is to win people to Christ and help them live dedicated lives. I know that is what I was called to do. I believe that God is still calling others to do the same. I hope and pray to see people heed that call and follow that call with their whole hearts. I hope that they may find people and organizations to give them the kind of help I received, and that they may persevere through the ups and downs with courage and confidence until their ministry is fulfilled or the Lord returns.

Books by the Author:
Christ in the Passover, 1977
Y'shua. The Jewish Way to Say Jesus, 1982
The Universe is Broken: Who on Earth Can Fix It?, 1991
Witnessing to Jews, 1998

Paul Didn't Eat Pork: Reappraising Paul the Pharisee

There are many things to admire in Derek Leman's latest book, privately published and aimed at the general reader. Leman, a non-Jew and leader of a messianic congregation, recounts some of his early experiences as a Christian which ultimately led to this publication. As the author tells it, his experience—no doubt familiar to others—was of a church where the Old Testament was rarely taught and where a negative view of the Law, and even of some of Jesus' teachings, predominated. Paul, in the author's Christian circles, was considered to be an innovator quite discontinuous with the Old Testament and Jesus. This book, then, attempts to be a corrective.

The author's goals (laid out on p. 7) are admirable. Unfortunately, the route to realizing them is fraught with weaknesses. But the good things first: The book is creative and easy to understand. The study questions after each chapter nicely recap the points being made. The chapters on Romans and Galatians, notwithstanding the matters noted below, are stimulating and give an idea of what it could be like to view Paul's writing thru the "grid" of Jewish-Gentile relations. And if only more in the messianic movement showed interest in interacting with established scholars, as Leman does when he draws on the work of Mark Nanos!

Sadly, there are serious weaknesses that undermine the good intentions of the author. One is that Leman seems to think that the views of his early Christian acquaintances are representative. Paul, he tells us, "did not see the cross as replacing the need for obedience to God. It is *chiefly on this point* that people misread him" (p. 6). And again, in a study question, "What does the attitude of *most teachers and preachers* seem to be regarding the authority of Paul as compared to Jesus, other apostles, or the Hebrew Bible?" (p. 8) (my emphasis in both quotes). There can be no question that these misreadings of the Bible are commonly found; whether they are so universal is another question. As far as antinomianism is concerned, the author fails to consider those church traditions (e.g. Reformed, Presbyterian) that place a high value on the Law of God, even if the practical outworking is different than what the author has in mind. Regarding authority, any view that

Paul Didn't Eat Pork: Reappraising Paul the Pharisee

Derek Leman
Stone Mountain, GA:
Mt. Olive Press, 2005

sees Paul as of greater authority than the rest of the Bible is seriously sub-evangelical, and a properly trained pastor will see to it that the whole Bible is brought before the church. As a result of seeing these problems as endemic to the church, the initial premise is skewed and leads to an overreaction—namely, the author's teaching that Jewish believers today are required to observe the Law of Moses.

Another serious weakness is the virtually exclusive reliance on Mark Nanos, a scholar whose work has made itself more and more known in the past several years. The author, though, does not appear to have interacted with Nanos' critics or with alternative (more traditional) views, which are rather summarily dismissed rather than discussed. Leman pronounces himself "thoroughly persuaded" by Nanos (p. 57), and specially includes him in the acknowledgements. Yet nowhere is there any indication that Leman has seriously considered other ways of looking at the text.

Why is this? Have we got a case of Martin Luther's horseman falling off the left side, having previously fallen off the right? Well, yes, I think there is something to that. But there are other reasons for (what I would consider) the imbalance. Scholars such as Nanos give high priority to exploring the Jewish background of Paul, and read his letters from the perspective of Jewish-Gentile interactions that has tended to get lost in the Pauline shuffle. Nanos and other newer scholars give the impression that they just might have more exegetical validity than other approaches because they are not starting from the presuppositions that remove Paul from his Jewishness. And if someone has not interacted sufficiently with alternative views, really tried to understand them sympathetically, then someone like Nanos can indeed come across as thoroughly persuasive. It is quite instructive to read J. Ligon Duncan's judicious and balanced piece on "The Attractions of the New Perspective(s) on Paul," because I think many of the same considerations will apply to up-and-coming younger scholars in the messianic movement.[1]

And herein lies the most serious flaw of the book: the lack of attention to—or even awareness of—theology, which impacts the entire discussion. What Leman does is draw a straight line from Paul to today: if Paul obeyed the Law, so should modern Jewish believers, something which in fact the author teaches in the messianic congregation that he leads.

But can one draw such a line so easily? Leman criticizes the arbitrary dividing of the Law into moral, civil, and ceremonial, yet in his final chapter recognizes the need to find *some* distinguishing principle if one is to seriously seek to follow the Mosaic code. But nowhere is there a discussion of the theology of covenants, or of discontinuity/continuity issues. He far too easily dismisses traditional evangelical scholars, crucially failing to appreciate that one can hold a high view of the Law and yet still insist that in its Mosaic form it is not applicable as a body of code to be followed today.

If this were all a theoretical exercise, these weaknesses might be acceptable; as an agenda for a practical lifestyle, they are not.

Some specific good points:

- It is a good heuristic exercise to read Paul through the "grid" of the verses in the chart on p. 16, as opposed to those on pp. 14-15. Ultimately, of course, both sets of verses need to be taken together.

1 J. Ligon Duncan, "The Attractions of the New Perspective(s) on Paul," available online at such a long URL that the reader will more easily find the article by inputting the author and title in Google. See especially Section IV, "Why is the New Perspective so Attractive to Young Evangelicals?"

- The book offers plausible social settings as the occasion of Paul's writing.
- The remarks on the term "Judaize" are well-taken (p. 45).
- There are good and helpful comments, e.g. that in Christ he now shares something with gentile believers "that goes even deeper than his relationship with Israel" (p. 73; contra some new ideas circulating in the messianic movement).
- There are some thoughts on pp. 79-80 that could be turned into a wonderful sermon!

On the minus side:

- Specific exegetical questions are handled too much in black and white, alternatives not being discussed: the meaning of *telos* as "goal" rather than "end" (p. 18); the meaning of the "strong" and the "weak" in Romans 14 (p. 57).
- The author has quite an unusual view of the relation of Jesus' sacrificial death to the Old Testament sacrifices. Following Jacob Milgrom (and I'm not sure that he has read Milgrom properly), he tells us that the animal sacrifices were only to purify the tabernacle and temple, not to bring forgiveness, thus Jesus' sacrifice has an entirely different purpose. This, of course, would quite change the picture of how Jesus' death *fulfills* the Old Testament sacrifices, and again, alternative views are not dealt with (certainly Gordon Wenham, who has interacted quite a bit with Milgrom, should have been consulted).

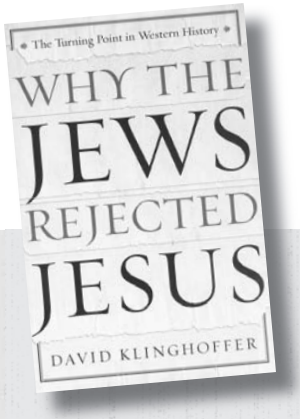
All in all, *Paul Didn't Eat Pork* is an interesting read, with much stimulating food for thought, but is ultimately a book whose practical results outrun their justification.

Rich Robinson

Why the Jews Rejected Jesus

In this slender but wide-ranging volume, David Klinghoffer, a highly literate, Orthodox Jewish journalist, puts forth a bold, pioneering thesis: People should be thankful that the Jews rejected Jesus, otherwise, there would have been no Christianity, in which case the world today would be a far worse place. Simply stated, "The Jewish rejection of Christ made possible the sublime culture of Europe in which Felix Mendelssohn flourished, as well as the sublime politics of America whose blessings we enjoy. … For this, thank the Jews" (220).

And what would have happened if the Jews *had*, in fact, embraced Jesus as



Why the Jews Rejected Jesus

THE TURNING POINT IN WESTERN HISTORY
DAVID KLINGHOFFER
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Messiah? "Had the Jews embraced Jesus … in every key respect, the Jesus movement might have remained a Jewish sect" – by which he clearly means an Orthodox Jewish sect, as if later rabbinic halakha was extant in the first century (7). As a result, "Christianity would not have spread wildly across the Roman Empire and later across Europe, as it did. … A 'Jewish' Christianity would have stood as much chance of taking hold of huge numbers of people as a church nowadays that asks all members to earn a master's degree in theology. … Because the Jews rejected Paul, there is such a thing as Christian civilization" (8, 99).

After a brief Introduction ("Thank the Jews," 1-10), Klinghoffer argues that "Judaism in the Year 27" was predominantly Pharisaical – note that he consistently and anachronistically refers to the Pharisees as "the rabbis" – with a pronounced (and also anachronistic) emphasis on the centrality of the oral law (11-38). The person of Jesus is then introduced in a non-hostile fashion, typical of the tone of the entire volume. (That is to say, where Klinghoffer disagrees, he does so graciously.) Unfortunately, in a discussion that could have easily occupied scores of full-length monographs, covering aspects of Jesus' life, message, and self-awareness, Klinghoffer, like an investigative reporter, lets us know what is and is not believable about the Gospel accounts, but with no hint of any guiding methodological principles (39-71; see, e.g., 43, "I present neither an ethical nor an apocalyptic but instead a foxy, ambiguous Jesus"). In similar fashion, the reader is left to guess just how the author knows exactly how "any biblically literate Jew" would have responded to Jesus or the claims made about him by his followers, a concept raised repeatedly (see, e.g., 65).

The chapters that follow deal with the death and resurrection of Jesus (72-89, acknowledging some Jewish complicity in Jesus' death, as per the Talmud and Maimonides); the apostle Paul, presented as not Jewish by birth and ignorant of Hebrew, and as someone who distorted the teachings of Jesus – indeed, he presented a non-Jewish Jesus! – and made the new faith acceptable to the gentile world (90-118); Jewish-"Christian" interaction before Constantine (119-149); medieval Jewish-Christian debates (150-181); the modern debate (182-212); and a concluding chapter on the priesthood of the Jews (213-222) claiming that, "It would seem the Christian church now plays the role of congregation, as the Muslim *ummah* also does, with the Jews serving in the ministerial position" (219).

How should we respond to this thesis? Since space precludes a fuller analysis, the following critique of his most salient points will have to suffice. But first, the positive:

1) Although the survey is, at times, anachronistic, Klinghoffer does provide a useful, cogent summary of why so many Jews have rejected and continue to reject Jesus as Messiah.
2) He accurately points out Judaism's love for the commandments of the Torah, contrasting this with his reading of Paul's aversion to the commandments. This again provides a useful perspective.
3) He paves the way for further dialog by being irenic in tone as well as transparent, admitting a valid point when he sees one. Indeed, he invites further dialog and disputation.
4) He brings to light the primary Talmudic texts that seem to speak of Jesus (with great disparagement, of course), recognizing that these texts are readily available to "Jew haters" and scholars.
5) He paints a broad historical picture in roughly 200 pages, bringing the reader up to the present day and showing the contemporary relevance of an ancient controversy. His summary of the medi-

eval debates, although naturally biased, makes for good reading.
6) He appreciates Christianity's contributions to Western society.

The book's weaknesses, however, outweigh its strengths:

1) His overall analysis of history is superficial, making broad assumptions. For example, he asks whether Islam's "armies would have confronted a Europe that was a spiritual vacuum, which Muhammad's teachings would likely have filled" (218). But how do we know that, without Christianity, there even would have been an Islam that arose in the seventh century? And how do we know what would have happened if many more Jews actually accepted the Messiahship of Jesus while recognizing that the gentiles were not required to come under the full yoke of the Torah? What would have happened if the Church had not lost sight of its Jewish roots?
2) Klinghoffer notes that a more accurate – albeit less felicitous – title of the book might have been, *Why the Jews Who Rejected Jesus Did So* (90). This is correct. However, as will be seen shortly, the *real* key to the "turning point in Western history" was the Jewish *acceptance* of Jesus, since it was only through that Jewish acceptance that the good news of the Messiah made a worldwide impact.
3) Klinghoffer's presentation of pre-70 CE Judaism in strongly Pharisaic terms is too monolithic, with later rabbinic concepts of "oral Torah" also painted back into that earlier setting. Not only does this minimize the opposition Jesus had from the Sadducees during his lifetime (see Matt 3:7; 16:1, 6, 11-12; 22:23, 34; see further Acts 4:1; 5:17 for later developments), but it overly simplifies the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees, a conflict that many scholars understand to be an in-house conflict.[1] As for the concept of oral law, while there is no doubt that Jesus differed with some (or many) of the *traditions* of the Pharisees, there is not a hint in the Gospels – or in most early rabbinic literature – of the concept of a binding, authoritative, oral law passed on from Sinai.[2] In truth, there *was* a conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees, but passages such as John 5: 1-18, the Sabbath healing of lame man who is then instructed to carry his mat, deal more with Jesus' exposing how the traditions had blinded the leaders to the spirit of the Torah rather than presenting a complete rejection of all traditions. (See, e.g., 56: "The rabbis took such matters [speaking of the prohibition against carrying on the Sabbath] seriously. Jesus didn't.")
4) Klinghoffer fails to grasp the depth of Matthew's hermeneutic (along with the hermeneutic of other NT authors), noting, "Pointing out the imprecision of proof texts like these, one feels almost unsporting. It's too easy" (66). To the contrary, as top Matthew scholars have observed, "Matthew was not above scattering items in his Greek text whose deeper meaning could only be appre-

1 For a convenient summary, see William E. Phipps, *The Wisdom and Wit of Rabbi Jesus* (Louisville: John Knox/Westminster, 1993), 8-30, where Jesus is presented as a "Prophetic Pharisee," with reference to other scholarly literature.
2 Cf. Jacob Neusner, *What, Exactly, Did the Rabbinic Sages Mean by "the Oral Torah": An Inductive Answer to the Question of Rabbinic Judaism* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism, 196; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1998).

ciated by those with a knowledge of Hebrew. Indeed, it might even be that Matthew found authorial delight in hiding 'bonus points' for those willing and able to look a little beneath the gospel's surface."[3] At times it is clear that Klinghoffer simply failed to get the NT author's point (see again 66, citing Matt 2:23 and Isa 11:1).

5) In treating Paul, Klinghoffer is greatly influenced by Hyam Maccobby's *The Mythmaker*, one of the more marginal works in Pauline scholarship in the last twenty years.[4] (Ironically, Maccobby also wrote a volume entitled *Jesus the Pharisee*, which undermines one of the major premises of Klinghoffer's study.[5]) First, Klinghoffer rejects the increasing scholarly consensus that sees Paul as thoroughly Jewish in thought, not even interacting with Jewish scholarship about Paul. Cf., e.g., Joseph Klausner: "It would be difficult to find more typically Talmudic expositions of Scripture than those in the Epistles of Paul."[6] More recently, cf. Alan Segal, "Without knowing about first century Judaism, modern readers – even those committed by faith to reading him – are bound to misconstrue Paul's writing. … Paul is a trained Pharisee who became the apostle to the Gentiles."[7] See also Daniel Boyarin, "Paul has left us an extremely precious document for Jewish studies, the spiritual autobiography of a first-century Jew. … Moreover, if we take Paul at his word – and I see no a priori reason not to – he was a member of the Pharisaic wing of first-century Judaism…"[8] How, one must ask, did this ignorant deceiver manage to debate in the synagogues for weeks on end? Second – and this is one of the most fatal flaws to the entire volume – he does not believe that Paul refused to reject the Torah for Jews; the book of Acts goes out of its way to remove this false accusation (see Acts 21:17-26; note also 18:18!). Rather, Paul preached that for all people, salvation came through repentance towards God and faith in Jesus (see Acts 20:21), but God did not require the gentiles to follow all the Torah's obligations. And Paul understood his mission to the gentiles because he understood the priestly calling of the Jews! See Romans 15:16 where he speaks of his "priestly duty" to proclaim the gospel of God to the gentiles. (For more on this, see the concluding remarks.) Third, as Romans 9-11 makes clear, Paul did not give up on Israel. Rather, he continued to see Israel's ultimate salvation as the key to world redemption (Rom 11:11-27). Fourth, as other scholars have demonstrated, the teachings of Jesus and Paul are in complete and funda-

3 W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr., *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, Vol. 1 (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), 279, with reference to R. T. France.

4 *The Mythmaker: Paul and the Invention of Christianity* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986); note that Maccobby's views are normally not even treated in comprehensive, multi-faceted reviews of Pauline interpretation and scholarship, such as surveys by Stephen Westerholm, *Perspectives Old and New on Paul: The "Lutheran" Paul and His Critics* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2004); idem, *Israel's Law and the Church's Faith: Paul and His Recent Interpreters* (repr., Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 1998).

5 Hyam Maccobby, *Jesus the Pharisee* (London: SCM Press, 2003).

6 *From Jesus to Paul* (Eng. trans., New York: MacMillian), 453-454.

7 Alan F. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostolate and Apostasy of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), xi-xii.

8 Daniel Boyarin, *A Radical Jew: Paul and the Politics of Identity* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1994), 2.

mental harmony, with the latter rightly building on the former.[9]

6) Klinghoffer delineates the prophetic requirements for the Messiah's mission in Maimonidean clarity. (In reality, the clear and systematic understanding put forth by Klinghoffer is hardly found in any rabbinic texts prior to Maimonides in the 12th century.) Thus, he claims that the Jewish contemporaries of Jesus, based on the messianic prophecies of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and others, would have understood that, among other things, all the exiles would have to be regathered and the present temple replaced by a messianic temple (34, 71). Not only does this present an overly simplistic interpretation of first-century Jewish thought,[10] it also fails to place those prophecies in their historical context, one in which the first temple had just been destroyed by the Babylonians and many Jews had been exiled. By the first century, many of those exiles had long since returned and the temple had already been rebuilt, giving a context to the messianic expectation that was extant at that time.[11] Klinghoffer does note that a contemporary apologetic work proves "it is possible to *construe* the Hebrew prophets as pointing to Jesus" – albeit, according to Klinghoffer, in a highly strained and unlikely manner (210) – yet at times he fails to grasp the force of the arguments he refutes (see, e.g., 204).[12]

7) Because Klinghoffer is neither a biblical nor rabbinic scholar – he makes no claims to this at all – the work is marred by highly unlikely interpretations, misreading of sources, and even wrong citations. This undercuts the book's credibility as a whole. For just a sampling see 94, which claims, quite remarkably, that during Paul's final visit to Jerusalem (see Acts 21) he was seized and almost murdered by "Certain Jewish believers in Jesus [sic!], apparently taking a different view of Judaism from Paul's"; 97, where it is claimed that Acts admits that "the Jews regarded Paul as 'uneducated,'" citing Acts 4:13 (which, of course is the charge against Peter and John, long before Paul was on the scene; for a statement in Acts on Paul's learning, see Acts 26:24b); 230, n. 19, where E. P. Sanders is cited "For a telling example of how Paul's Hebrew illiteracy shaped his understanding of the Bible," whereas in reality Sanders was simply treating Paul's use of the LXX in Gal 3:10. Given the very serious nature of Klinghoffer's proposal, more careful, scholarly editing would have allowed for more serious discussion of his ideas.

To Klinghoffer's credit, his well-received volume has stimulated fresh dialogue and

9 See, e.g., David Wenham, *Paul: Follower of Jesus or Founder of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995).

10 Cf. Jacob Neusner, William S. Green, and Ernest Frerichs, eds., *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (Cambridge: Cambridge, 1987); James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992); John J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (New York: Doubleday, 1995); Craig A. Evans and Peter W. Flint, eds., *Eschatology, Messianism and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997); see also the important collection of older material in Leo Landmann, ed., *Messianism in the Talmudic Era* (New York: Ktav, 1979).

11 For further discussion of this, see my commentary on Jeremiah, forthcoming in the new edition of the *Expositor's Bible Commentary* (Zondervan).

12 He is referring to the first three volumes of my four-volume work, *Answering Jewish Objections to Jesus* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000-2006); I do, of course, appreciate the effort he has taken to interact with my writing (see 203-210), and that in the most gracious, complimentary terms.

debate, which is always healthy, and the spirit in which he has written certainly causes one to put down his or her defenses. Yet it is only by standing his thesis on its head – thus, *Because Jews Accepted Jesus: The Turning Point in Western History* – that truth emerges. Once this is understood, especially with regard to Paul's role, Klinghoffer's volume actually serves as an apologetic for the *opposite* of what he was trying to prove. For this, I, as a Jewish follower of Jesus, thank this fellow Jewish author.

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