

has actually happened is that the idea of restoration has served as a vehicle for putting forth various eschatological, even apocalyptic dreams. In these cases the entire notion of restoration has been subverted into a vehicle for messianism, usually of a highly sectarian variety. In texts such as the *Scroll* and related literature, this utopia can only be achieved by violent means. We have come full circle, therefore, from restoration to utopia.

## CHAPTER 18

## Jerusalem in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The literature gathered by the Dead Sea sect included biblical and apocryphal compositions, many of the latter previously unknown, and compositions that reflected the teachings of the Qumran sect itself.<sup>1</sup> This study will survey the references to Jerusalem and Zion in the latter two groups of Qumran texts, evaluating at the end the role of Jerusalem in the thought of the sect. Although many of the references will be to scattered sections of larger texts, we will deal at length with the concept of Jerusalem in the *New Jerusalem* texts and in the *Temple Scroll*.

Material for this study is of two types. There is a substantial body of materials that mention Jerusalem or Zion by name. Yet among the most prominent of our texts will be those that either for literary reasons or because of accident of preservation do not explicitly mention the city, while alluding to it extensively. In these materials we will find that Jerusalem plays three roles. We will encounter (1) the Jerusalem of history, that city actually experienced by the authors of our texts and reacted to by them, (2) the Jerusalem of the ideals of Jewish law, and (3) the Jerusalem of the age to come.

1. See D. Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Content and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990*, ed. Dimant and L. H. Schiffman, 23-58 (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

## The Jerusalem of History

While most mentions of Jerusalem in the scrolls pertain to the Jerusalem of Hasmonean times, there is some allusion to the destruction of the First Temple for which Jews continued to mourn even after the construction of the Second Temple. 4QLamentations (4Q179) is such a text, adapting the biblical Lamentations with exegetical expansions.<sup>2</sup> We hear in this text of the destruction of Jerusalem and the cessation of its sacrifices (frg. 1, col. 1) as well as of the suffering of the "children of Zion," the inhabitants of the city (col. 2). Jerusalem is seen as mourning the destruction of its suburbs (col. 3). This text has no element in it peculiar to the Qumran sect and may represent the general sorrow of the Jewish people for the loss of the ancient glories of First Temple times. The pseudoprophetic texts mention Jews being taken into captivity by the Babylonians (4Q385b, formerly 4Q385 16 i 3-4)<sup>3</sup> and the worship by "priests of Jerusalem" of other gods (4Q387 3 iii 5-7).<sup>4</sup> The latter, however, may be a reflection of the author's views of the priests of his own time.

The destruction of Jerusalem is also the theme of 4QTanhumim (4Q176),<sup>5</sup> which is essentially a series of biblical passages, mostly from Isaiah, that comforts the people of Israel and refers to the future rebuilding of Zion. In this text as well there are no sectarian elements, and we can take it as reflecting the typical sentiment of the committed Palestinian Jew of Second Temple times.<sup>6</sup> We should also call attention to the explicit mention of "the exile of Jerusalem" in the time of Zedekiah in 4QMMT (C 19).<sup>7</sup>

2. J. M. Allegro, *Qumran Cave 4. I (4Q158-4Q186)*. DJD 5 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 75-77. See also the corrections of J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1970) 250-52.

3. D. Dimant, "An Apocryphon of Jeremiah from Cave 4 (4Q385<sup>B</sup> = 4Q385 16)," in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992*, ed. G. J. Brooke, 14. STDJ 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), cf. p. 181. See *Qumran Cave 4. XXI: Pseudoprophetic Texts, Part 4: Pseudo-Prophetic Texts*. DJD 30 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2001) 71-75.

4. Dimant, DJD 30:191.

5. Allegro, DJD 5:60-67; Strugnell, *RevQ* 7 (1970) 229-36.

6. Similar motifs appear in 4Q372 1 7-8. This text also refers to the temple as the "tent of Zion" (line 13). See E. M. Schuller, "4Q372 1: A Text about Joseph," *RevQ* 14 (The Texts of Qumran and the History of the Community: Proceedings of the Groningen Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls 3, 1990) 349-76. Also relevant is 4Q434a 1+2 6, one of the so-called Barkhi Nafshi texts, which speaks of the comforting of Jerusalem, a well-known biblical motif. See M. Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals in Qumran," *JBL* 111 (1992) 427-40. We do not, however, agree with Weinfeld's thesis that this is a Grace after Meals, let alone that it is specific to the house of a mourner.

7. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4. V: Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah*. DJD 10 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 60.

At the same time, it is apparent that the members of the Qumran sect stood apart from the Jerusalem of their own times, which they saw as the seat of an illegitimate priesthood. 1QpHab 9:4 speaks of:

The recent (or last) priests of Jerusalem who will amass great property and wealth from the booty of the gentiles. But in the end of days their property will be delivered along with their booty into the hands of the army of the Kittim.<sup>8</sup>

The Kittim are the Romans, whose imminent attack on the land of Israel is expected by the pesher. The end of days is therefore about to dawn. Then, these priests will pay their just penalty, losing all the wealth they had gathered by attacking non-Jews. These same priests lead the people astray according to the fragmentary 1QpMic 11:1.<sup>9</sup> The punishment of these priests is probably described in the continuation of the fragment.<sup>10</sup>

It is likely that these priests are the same as the "men of scoffing who are in Jerusalem" described in 4QpIsa<sup>b</sup> 2:6-8 as "those who despised the Torah of the Lord and reviled the word of the Holy One of Israel" (Isa 5:24).<sup>11</sup> These are probably the allies of the wicked priest who may also be the "man of scoffing" described in the Qumran sectarian compositions.

Another group inimical to the sect's approach to Judaism was also centered in Jerusalem. 4QpIsa<sup>c</sup> 23 ii 10-11 locates the *דורשי החלקות*, the "seekers of smooth things," in Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup> This group is in actuality the Pharisees, and their sobriquet should be understood as "those who derive false laws through exegesis."<sup>13</sup>

4QpNah 3-4 i almost in its entirety refers to Jerusalem, which, according to this text, has become a place of dwelling for Gentiles.<sup>14</sup> The author re-

8. B. Nitzan, *Megillat Pesharim Habakkuk: mi-Megillot Midbar Yehudah (1Qp Hab)* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1986) 180. All translations in this article are mine except in a few cases where noted.

9. M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books*. CBQMS 8 (Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979) Part I: texts, 11; commentary, 61-62.

10. This seems to be the case in light of the citation from Mic 1:8-9 that the pesher could only have interpreted in that manner.

11. Horgan, *Pesharim*, texts, 19; commentary, 92-93.

12. Horgan, *Pesharim*, texts, 29; commentary, 120; S. L. Berrin, *The Peshar Nahum Scroll from Qumran: An Exegetical Study of 4Q169*. STDJ 53 (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 91-99.

13. Cf. L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994; repr. ABRL [New York: Doubleday, 1995]) 250-51.

14. Horgan, *Pesharim*, texts, 47; commentary, 171-82; Berrin, *Peshar Nahum Scroll*, 130-92.

counts the alliance of the Pharisees (דורשי החלקות) with the Seleucids under Demetrius III Eukairos (96-88 B.C.E.) who together attempted to overthrow the Hasmonean Alexander Jannaeus (76-103 B.C.E.), termed "the man of wrath," and his *gērouisia* (council of elders). Specific reference is made to Jannaeus's garrison in Jerusalem as well as to the large amounts of money accumulated by the "priests of Jerusalem," no doubt a reference to the Sadducees who are elsewhere in this text described as wealthy.<sup>15</sup>

In 4QTestimonia (4Q175 21-30)<sup>16</sup> and 4QApocryphon of Joshua (4Q174 22 ii 7-14)<sup>17</sup> there appears an identical passage ascribed pseudepigraphically to Joshua.<sup>18</sup> In it he foretells, based on the canonical Josh 6:26, the rebuilding of Jericho and the attendant results. There we hear that some Hasmonean ruler, the identity of whom has been widely debated,

will [spill blood] like water upon the barrier of the Daughter of Zion and in the precincts of Jerusalem (4QTest 29).

This reflection of the author's view would be in line with the sect's generally negative views on the Hasmoneans and their military exploits.

The city itself is spoken about in 1QpHab 12:7 as:

the city in which the evil priest has undertaken abominable actions so as to render the temple impure.<sup>19</sup>

This passage clearly refers to Hasmonean Jerusalem and its temple, which were also regarded by the sect as impure. Its destruction at the hands of the Kittim seems to be foretold in 1QpPs 9:1-2.<sup>20</sup>

All in all, the sect continued to mourn the destruction of the First Temple as did other Jews in this period. It regarded the present city of Jerusalem, its priestly government, and its temple as totally unacceptable. Yet an exceptional passage mentions Jerusalem in a positive context. Jerusalem in Mic 13 is taken by 1QpMic 10:4-7 as referring to the Teacher of Righteousness and the

15. See "Second Temple Literature and the Cairo Genizah," chapter 24 below. Josephus (*Ant.* 13.298) states that the Sadducees were supported by the rich.

16. Allegro, *DJD* 5:58. Cf. Strugnell, *RevQ* 7 (1970) 226-27.

17. C. A. Newsom, "The 'Psalms of Joshua' from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 39 (1988) 56-73.

18. See the detailed study of H. Eshel, "The Historical Background of the Pesharim Interpreting Joshua's Curse on the Rebuilder of Jericho," *RevQ* 15 (Mémoires Jean Starcky, 1992) 409-20; and Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 235-36.

19. Nitzan, *Pesharim Habakkuk*, 194.

20. Horgan, *Pesharim*, texts, 14; commentary, 69. This may also be referred to in the difficult 4QpIsa<sup>a</sup> 2-6 ii 24-29. Cf. Horgan, commentary, 81.

city that will be saved from the final destruction.<sup>21</sup> We will see that, despite the condemnation by the sect of virtually every feature of "present-day" Jerusalem of their times, the city remained at the center of the sect's halakhic and eschatological ideals.

### The Jerusalem of Religious Law

For all groups of Jews in the Second Temple period, Jerusalem had special sanctity in Jewish law, as the temple located within it was the religious center of the Jewish people. Needless to say, those who left us the Dead Sea Scrolls had a particular view on this topic. At the outset it must be understood that despite the sect's condemnation of and abstention from the temple rituals of their own day, the Judaism they espoused in no way eschewed these rituals in principle. Rather, their position stemmed from specific objections to the conduct of affairs at the temple that they expected would change both in the present and in the eschatological future.

Jerusalem's centrality in Jewish ritual stemmed from the fact that it was understood to be God's chosen place that had been alluded to in Deuteronomy. Further, it was the place where God had directed that his ark of the covenant come to rest. Indeed, a passage in 4QDivre ha-Me'orot (4Q504) 1-2 iv 2-4<sup>22</sup> refers to the placement of the ark and temple in Jerusalem as follows:

Its ta[ber]nacle [. . .] rest in Jerusa[lem, the city that] you [ch]ose from the entire land so that y[our name] would be there forever.

In this text, the placing of the ark and tabernacle in Jerusalem in the time of David secured the city's role as the spiritual center of the Jewish people. The passage goes on to recount the political and economic effects of the establishment of the religious capital in Jerusalem (1-2 iv 8-13):

Then all the nations saw your glory in that you were sanctified among your people Israel, as well as your great name, and they brought their gift of silver and gold and precious stone(s) with all the treasure of their country(ies) to honor your people and Zion your holy city, and your glori-

21. Horgan, *Pesharim*, texts, 10; commentary, 60-61.

22. M. Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4, III (4Q482-4Q520)*. *DJD* 7 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) 143; E. G. Chazon, "Te'udah Liturgit mi-Qumran ve-Hashlekhoteha: 'Divre ha-Me'orot'" (Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University, 1991) 226, 255-56. See also M. R. Lehmann, "A Re-interpretation of 4Q Dibrê Ham-Me'oroth," *RevQ* 5 (1964) 106-10; and Chazon, "4QDibHam: Liturgy or Literature?" *RevQ* 15 (Mémoires Jean Starcky, 1992) 447-55.

ous temple. And there was no adversary or misfortune, but rather peace and blessing. . . .<sup>23</sup>

To this author the Davidic period was an ideal one in which Jerusalem, the city of Zion, was the religious, political and economic capital all in one.

The chosenness of Jerusalem is also the theme of a noncanonical psalm, part of which reads (4Q380 1 i 1-8):<sup>24</sup>

[Jeru]salem the city that the Lo[r]d [chose] from eternity,  
[As a place of residence for<sup>25</sup>] the holy ones.  
[For the na]me of the Lord has been invoked upon it,  
[And his glory] has appeared over Jerusalem [and] Zion.

Who can declare the renown of the Lord,  
And announce all of [his] praise?

The fragment containing the prayer for Jonathan the King, probably to be identified with Alexander Jannaeus, also includes a section that is paralleled in "Psalm 154" from the *Psalms Scroll*<sup>26</sup> and that has been restored as follows:

His habitation is in Zion,  
He ch[oo]ses Jerusalem forever.]<sup>27</sup>

A very similar notion is found in the poem at the end of Ben Sira in the Hebrew version:

Give thanks to the One who chooses Jerusalem,  
For his mercy endures forever.<sup>28</sup>

23. Baillet, DJD 7:143-44; Chazon, "Te'udah Liturgit," 227-28, 258-60.

24. E. M. Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms from Qumran: A Pseudepigraphic Collection* (HSS 28 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1986) 248. The translation is mine, however. Our line divisions are those of the poem, not of the MS. Cf. Schuller's commentary, 248-57.

25. This is not advanced as an exact restoration, but rather to convey the sense that the passage must have had in its entirety.

26. Cf. J. A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11*, DJD 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) 64. The text is not preserved, but would have been found on col. 18:17 (below the last line on p. 39).

27. Adapted from E. Eshel, H. Eshel, A. Yardeni, "A Qumran Composition Containing Part of Ps. 154 and a Prayer for the Welfare of King Jonathan and His Kingdom," *IEJ* 42 (1992) 199-229. Their translation appears on p. 207.

28. *Sefer Ben Sira: Ha-Maqor, Qanqordansiah, ve-Nittuah ha-Millim* (Jerusalem: Academy of the Hebrew Language and Shrine of the Book, 1973) 65. The poem appears in the medieval genizah MS B after Ben Sira 52:12, and is followed in MS B with 52:13. Because the poem is

Perhaps the most direct statement on the halakhic status of the city of Jerusalem comes from 4QMMT, the Halakhic Letter, that appears to be a foundation document for the Qumran sect.<sup>29</sup> This text must have been composed shortly after 152 B.C.E. when the Hasmoneans took over control of the temple and priesthood. At that time, as we can gather from this document, they put into effect many halakhic rulings that are known to us to be Pharisaic, against which the document polemicizes. In the course of this polemic, 4QMMT gives its own views on these halakhot that turn out to be those we know as Sadducean.<sup>30</sup>

The writers criticize their opponents in the Jerusalem establishment for "slaughtering [animals] outside the camp" (MMT B 27-28),<sup>31</sup> a reference to profane slaughter outside the temple yet in close proximity to Jerusalem. The text states that all slaughter is to take place "in the north of the camp." This law must refer to Lev 17:3-4. Yet the continuation of the text in B 28 is clearly dependent on Lev 1:11, where the sacrifice is to be offered "on the north side of the altar, before the Lord."<sup>32</sup> The authors of MMT apparently thought that even *shelamim* sacrifices offered in close proximity to the temple for eating purposes had to be sacrificed at the north. This ruling is in direct opposition to tannaitic law (*m. Zebah. 5:6-7*) that permits these offerings to be offered anywhere in the inner court.<sup>33</sup> Thereupon the writers state (B 29-31):

an imitation of Psalm 136 and because it is missing in the Greek version, some have seen it as a medieval addition. But cf. M. Z. Segal, *Sefer Ben-Sira Ha-Shalem*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1971/72) 356, who takes it as authentic. Cf. also Sir 36:18; 47:11 (Jerusalem), and 36:19; 48:18, 24; 51:12 (Zion).

29. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran," in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984*, ed. J. Amitai, 400-7 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, in cooperation with ASOR, 1984); and (a different article by the same title) *IMJ* 4 (1985) 9-12. See also Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:113-21.

30. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 83-89; "The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," Chapter 6 above; Y. Sussmann, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Talmudic Observations on *Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (4QMMT)," in Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:179-200.

31. Cf. the halakhic commentary of Qimron in DJD 10:156-57; L. H. Schiffman, "Sacral and Non-Sacral Slaughter According to the Temple Scroll," in Dimant and Schiffman, *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness*, 69-84; E. Eshel, "4QLev<sup>d</sup>: A Possible Source for the Temple Scroll and *Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah*," *DSD* 2 (1995) 1-13.

32. So Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:157.

33. As opposed to sacrifices of the highest level of sanctity, termed by the Tannaim *קדשי קדשים*, which must be offered at the north of the temple court (*m. Zebah. 5:1-5*). Cf. J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16*, AB 3 (New York: Doubleday, 1991) 164-65.

But we hold the view that the temple [is the (equivalent of) the tabernacle of the tent of meeting, and Je]rusalem is the camp, and outside of the camp [is (equivalent to) outside of Jerusalem]; it is the camp of their cities.<sup>34</sup>

The text then has a lacuna, followed by the complaint that the opponents of the sect do not slaughter in the temple, presumably directed at those who, despite proximity to Jerusalem, perform nonsacral slaughter.

This passage sets up a basic equivalency between the camp of Israel in the wilderness period and the sanctuary. It places the temple in the center as the equivalent of the tabernacle and the entire camp of the desert as equal to the city of Jerusalem. Since it was permitted to slaughter in the camp, and not outside, it is permitted to slaughter only in the city of Jerusalem. Those outside, presumably those living close by (cf. Deut 12:20-21), had to offer their animals as *shelamim* sacrifices in Jerusalem.

There is a second reference to this same matter in MMT B 59-62. After forbidding the bringing of dogs into the "camp of holiness," because they eat the bones and may therefore come to eat of sacrificial meat, the text states:

For Jerusalem is the camp of holiness, and it is the place which he (God) chose from all the tribes of Israel, for Jerusalem is the chief of the camps of Israel.<sup>35</sup>

Here we find that it is only Jerusalem that has this exalted status since God chose it. Further, it is the equivalent for legal purposes to the wilderness camp. All offerings and restrictions that pertained to the entire camp here pertain to the entire city of Jerusalem.<sup>36</sup>

It is difficult to determine whether this is, in fact, the same view as that expressed in the *Temple Scroll*. The scroll also had to deal with the manifold laws of the Torah that referred to the "camp." To understand this issue, however, it is necessary first to discuss the more general question of the scroll's expectations for a rebuilt sanctuary.

The *Temple Scroll* presents a vision for reform of the religious and political life of Hasmonean Judea, calling, among other things, for a new temple of enormous proportions. The scroll is not messianic in character, but rather

34. Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:48, 50.

35. Qimron and Strugnell, DJD 10:52. Cf. the halakhic commentary by Qimron, DJD 10:143-45.

36. Cf. 4QTohorot A 1 i 6, as restored in J. Milgrom, "4QTohora": An Unpublished Qumran Text on Purities," in Dimant and Schiffman, *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness*, 59. The complete text appears in J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4. XXV: Halakhic Texts*, DJD 35 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1999) 99-109.

seeks to create an ideal society for the present pre-messianic age. Yet it puts itself forward as a Torah, with the author's views stated as the word of God. Because of this literary device, like the book of Deuteronomy, the scroll never mentions Jerusalem, speaking instead of the "place which I will choose to make my name dwell therein" (11QT<sup>a</sup> 52:16; 56:5; 60:13-14; cf. 52:9 [restored]).<sup>37</sup> Yet we can confidently take this scroll as directly referring to Jerusalem because of the language reminiscent of Deuteronomy. Here the author/redactor hoped to see a new temple constructed in his own day.

If so, a description of that "Jerusalem" will be helpful for our study. But already at this point we find ourselves in the midst of a scholarly controversy. The scroll speaks of the temple as the central building not only of the city but of the nation as a whole. As opposed to the temple of his day, which had two courts arranged one within the other, our author expected a temple with three concentric courts. Like the author of Ezekiel 40-48, he intended the third court as a means of increasing the stringency of the purity regulations for the temple so as to further limit access to those who did not attain the necessary levels of purity.

Our detailed analysis of the architecture of this temple complex, and specifically of its gates and chambers, has shown that it was conceived by its planner as a replica of the desert camp.<sup>38</sup> Accordingly, the temple and the inner court were taken as equivalent to the tabernacle, the middle court to the area in which the Levites dwelled immediately around the tabernacle, and the outer court as the equivalent of the entire camp where the tribes of Israel dwelled.<sup>39</sup> We may add that for the scroll it was assumed in an idealistic manner that the tribes of Israel would dwell symmetrically around the central sanctuary in what must have been imagined as a square land of Israel.<sup>40</sup>

This temple complex is termed עיר המקדש, "the city of the sanctuary," in the scroll. There has been a debate since publication as to whether this term covers the entire city of Jerusalem or the temple complex only, what the

37. Cf. L. H. Schiffman, "The Theology of the Temple Scroll," *JQR* 85 (Qumran Studies, 1994) 118-21.

38. L. H. Schiffman, "Architecture and Law: The Temple and Its Courtyards in the Temple Scroll," in *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism: Intellect in Quest of Understanding: Essays in Honor of Marvin Fox*, ed. J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs, and N. M. Sarna, 1:267-84. BJS 159 (Atlanta: Scholars, 1989).

39. L. H. Schiffman, "Exclusion from the Sanctuary and the City of the Sanctuary in the Temple Scroll," *HAR* 9 (1985) 301-20.

40. Cf. L. H. Schiffman, "Sacred Space: The Land of Israel in the Temple Scroll," in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*, ed. A. Biran and J. Aviram, 398-410 (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993).

rabbis called the Temple Mount. Yigael Yadin, who first published this scroll followed by Jacob Milgrom, took it as referring to the entire residence area of Jerusalem and, therefore, thought that the temple purity restrictions would be observed there.<sup>41</sup> Hence, we would have the earthly Jerusalem elevated to the status of a temple with the attendant rules and regulations.

Baruch Levine and I understand the עיר המקדש to refer to the *temenos* itself, in which case the residential area of Jerusalem was not part of the "city of the sanctuary."<sup>42</sup> That residential area would have surrounded the temple complex in the author/redactor's view but would not have been required to maintain the same high degree of purity as the temple itself. We should note here that if one looks at the dimensions of the enlarged *temenos* that the scroll calls for, it is to be close to the same size as Jerusalem was in his own day.<sup>43</sup> In our view, the author of that section of the scroll and the planner of the future temple expected the entire city of Jerusalem to be turned into the temple complex that was to be built so as to represent the wilderness camp of Israel.<sup>44</sup> This biblical ideal of the desert period in Israel's history<sup>45</sup> reflected the pristine era of Israel's uncompromising loyalty to God and his law.

We now return to the question of how the evidence of the *Temple Scroll* accords with the passages we cited from 4QMMT. Yadin was of the opinion

41. Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983) 1:277-83, 411-16; J. Milgrom, "'Sabbath' and 'Temple City' in the Temple Scroll," *BASOR* 232 (1978) 25-37.

42. B. A. Levine, "The Temple Scroll: Aspects of Its Historical Provenance and Literary Character," *BASOR* 232 (1978) 13-17; Schiffman, *HAR* 9 (1985) 317-18. See also L. R. Fisher, "The Temple Quarter," *JJS* 8 (1963) 34-41 on this usage of Hebrew עיר. The same issue was already debated after the discovery of the *Zadokite Fragments*, where this phrase appears in CD 12D 2. Cf. L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976) 73-74.

43. Cf. M. Broshi, "The Gigantic Dimensions of the Visionary Temple in the Temple Scroll," *BAR* 13/6 (1987) 36-37.

44. These three courtyards are quite similar to the way in which the Tannaim later understood the halakhic problem posed by the "camp" in biblical law. The Tannaim understood the various laws pertaining to the "camp" to refer to one of three concentric camps: the camp of the divine presence (i.e., the tabernacle), the camp of the Levites (the area of their encampment), and the camp of Israel (the rest of the desert camp). It is our view that the *Temple Scroll*, while holding different views on some of the particular regulations for the three camps, adopted the very same system as that held by the tannaïc sources.

45. S. Talmon, "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature," in *Biblical Motifs: Origins and Transformations*, ed. A. Altmann, 55-63 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966); repr. in Talmon, *Literary Studies in the Hebrew Bible: Form and Content: Collected Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1993) 216-54. Related issues are raised in D. R. Schwartz, "Temple and Desert: On Religion and State in Second Temple Period Judaea," in *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1992) 29-43.

that the camp of MMT was the equivalent of the "city of the sanctuary" in the *Temple Scroll*.<sup>46</sup> Accordingly, MMT would prove that the scroll intends the entire city of Jerusalem to be bound by the laws of purity of the camp, even beyond the walls of the *temenos*. It is equally possible that these documents, despite their many points of agreement, do not correspond here. In this case the purity of the camp would be demanded by both documents only for the temple complex itself.

The authors of these documents certainly saw Jerusalem as the religious center of their universe, the place God had chosen to be his own. Accordingly, worship was to be conducted there according to their interpretation of the Torah. Even if this aspiration had not yet been achieved, it would take place even before the coming of the final age. It was to this end that the sectarians continued to study sacrificial laws and to dream of a new temple purer and more holy than that which they had abandoned.

### The Eschatological Jerusalem

The Qumran sect expected that the end of days would be initiated by a great war in which they would be victorious both over the nations and over their Jewish opponents. This war is described in the *Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, a document that can be seen as a military manual for this expected struggle. The text includes sections that outline the tactics and rituals of the war as well as liturgical-poetic sections that constitute praises to be recited as part of the military campaign.

According to 1QM 1:3 the war is to start

when the exiles of the Sons of Light return from the Wilderness of the Nations to encamp in the Wilderness of Jerusalem.<sup>47</sup>

Presumably this means that the first phase of the war will begin with deployment of the sectarians, now located at Qumran, to some position in the Judean wilderness in proximity to Jerusalem. This base of operations, or perhaps Jerusalem itself after its conquest, is alluded to in the scroll's description of the battle trumpets that serve to signal "the way of return from battle with the enemy so as to come unto the congregation to Jerusalem" (1QM 3:10-11).

46. "Discussion," in Amitai, *Biblical Archaeology Today*, 429.

47. The translation is from Y. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness* [hereafter: *War Scroll*], trans. B. and C. Rabin, 356 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962); cf. p. 7.

These trumpets were inscribed with the words "Rejoicings of God in peace and return."<sup>48</sup>

A similar motif appears in 4QCatena (A) (4Q177), which is a "chain" of verses pertaining to the messianic era as interpreted by the sectarians. In a passage that seems to speak of the victory of the Sons of Light in the eschatological battle, the text states, "and they shall enter Zion with gladness and Jerusalem [with eternal joy]," paraphrasing Isa 35:10 and 51:11. There they will destroy Belial and the people of his lot and the Sons of Light will all be gathered, presumably to the Holy City (12-13 i 10-11).<sup>49</sup>

Further on in the *War Scroll*, in describing the purity rules for the military camp, we find that there is a prohibition to the effect that "no young boy and no woman shall enter their encampments when they go forth from Jerusalem to go to battle" (1QM 7:3-4). Again, the battle starts from Jerusalem.

A beautiful poetic passage, actually a pastiche of biblical phrases (much in the same style as the larger "Apostrophe to Zion"),<sup>50</sup> is found in 1QM 12:11-14:

Zion, rejoice exceedingly,  
and shine forth in songs of joy, O Jerusalem,  
and be joyful, all (you) cities of Judah.

Open [your] gates forever,  
to let enter into you the substance of the nations,  
and their kings shall serve you.

All those who afflicted you shall bow down to you,  
And the dust [of your feet they shall lick].<sup>51</sup>

Then follows the notion that in the end of days Jerusalem will rejoice as its children are victorious over their enemies, and it will become an international trade emporium.<sup>52</sup>

48. Trans. from Yadin, *War Scroll*, 270.

49. Allegro, DJD 5:71; cf. Strugnell, *RevQ* 7 (1970) 246. A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat<sup>ab</sup>)*. STDJ 13 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), takes Catena A and Florilegium to be one text. Her reconstruction (p. 74) places our passage in col. 11:15-16.

50. There are additional Zion hymns in the scrolls as well, and a full study of this "genre" is needed. See Schuller, *Non-Canonical Psalms*, 257.

51. Trans. adapted from Yadin, *War Scroll*, 318. The same passage appears below in the scroll where the entire poem is repeated in col. 19. There the mention of Jerusalem (19:9) is omitted, leaving a more balanced line mentioning only Zion. Such duplications indicate that the poems were introduced into the *War Scroll* after being separately composed.

52. The reference to Jerusalem in 1QM 12:16 is too fragmentary to yield any data for this study.

But most important, Jerusalem is to be a spiritual center to the sect in the end of days. 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) describes the rebuilding of the temple by God himself and the increased severity of the purity standards for admission to it.<sup>53</sup> It is expected that the Shoot of David, certainly a messianic figure (in accord with Amos 9:11<sup>54</sup>), will (4QFlor 1:11-12)

arise together with the Interpreter of the Law who [will rule] in Zi[on in the] end of days.<sup>55</sup>

A number of important Aramaic manuscripts, mostly very fragmentary, and one Hebrew fragment are designated the *New Jerusalem* texts because they describe an idealized version of the city, presumably that of the end of days.<sup>56</sup> The name of the city never appears in these texts, but the title of the text was given based on the New Testament parallel in Rev 21:1-22:5. The *New Jerusalem* texts are most probably part of the literary heritage that the sect had before it in its early years, but cannot have been composed before the Hellenistic period.<sup>57</sup>

This text, written in the form of a guided tour under the direction of a heavenly figure, seems to describe an ideal city plan for a rebuilt Jerusalem of gargantuan proportions.<sup>58</sup> All measurements are minutely recorded. The tour

53. G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context*. JSOTSup 29 (Sheffield: JSOT, 1985) 175-205; D. R. Schwartz, "The Three Temples of 4QFlorilegium," *RevQ* 10 (1979) 83-92; M. O. Wise, "4QFlorilegium and the Temple of Man," *RevQ* 15 (1991) 103-32. The same notion is found in *Jub.* 1:27-28 that is preserved in *Jub<sup>a</sup>* 4:5-10 (J. VanderKam et al., *Qumran Cave 4. VIII, Parabiblical Texts, Part 1*. DJD 13 [Oxford: Clarendon, 1994] 11-120) and in *11QT<sup>a</sup>* 29:7-10. Cf. also *Tob* 14:5.

54. Cf. *CD* 7:16.

55. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran*, 87. According to the reconstruction of Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie*, 25, our passage is col. 3:11-12.

56. See the thorough discussion of F. García Martínez, "The 'New Jerusalem' and the Future Temple of the Manuscripts from Qumran," in *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, 180-213. STDJ 9 (Leiden: Brill, 1992); "The Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. J. C. VanderKam and P. W. Flint, 2:431-60 (Leiden: Brill, 1998-99). For text references, see García Martínez, "The 'New Jerusalem,'" 180 n. 1. A new edition has since appeared for 11Q18 in García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11. II (11Q2-18, 11Q20-31)*. DJD 23 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 305-55.

57. M. Broshi, "Visionary Architecture and Town Planning in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in Dimant and Schiffman, *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness*, 9-22.

58. The description that follows is based on García Martínez, "The 'New Jerusalem,'" 193-203. Cf. J. Licht, "An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran — The Description of the New Jerusalem," *IEJ* 29 (1979) 45-59; B. Z. Wacholder, "The Ancient Judeo-Aramaic Literature (500-164 BCE): A Classification of Pre-Qumranic Texts," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The*

begins with the exterior walls that are fitted with gates bearing the names of the tribes of Israel, like the outer court of the *temenos* of the Temple. This Jerusalem is to be laid out in symmetrical manner, like the Hippodamian cities of Late Antiquity. The gates of the city are also described in detail. Major and minor cross streets are apportioned throughout, creating large blocks of houses in the style of *insulae* with smaller houses within them. The visionary leads the visionary into one of these, beginning with a detailed account of the gate complex. Winding staircases of the type called *מסיבה* lead to the upper story of each house. While the city is of great proportions, the houses are of normal size. This description is followed by an account of the temple located within this ideal city. The visionary actually sees the sacrificial practices of the temple being performed in his vision.<sup>59</sup>

This text is clearly eschatological in nature, describing the city that will be built in the end of days. It does not seem to reflect the ideals of the sect in any specific manner, yet it in no way contradicts their views.<sup>60</sup> What we have here is the aspiration that Jerusalem would fulfill the visions of the prophets and constitute a giant metropolis in the end of days. We can easily see that those who expected the defeat of all evil and the return of the temple into their hands after a great messianic battle would have longed for such a city in the future age.

Messianic Jerusalem was to be a place of sacrificial perfection and ritual purity. Its temple was to be built by God himself. The city of Jerusalem would spread out in enlarged proportions, having been designed with perfect architectural planning.

### Conclusion

The city of Jerusalem was for the Dead Sea sect three things. It was a polluted society and sanctuary from which they chose to withdraw because of the transgressions of its leaders. It was the object of specific legal requirements

<sup>59</sup> See F. García Martínez, "The Last Surviving Columns of 11QNJ," in *The Scriptures and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A. S. van der Woude on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst, and C. J. Labuschagne, 178-92 and pls. 3-9. VTSup 49 (Leiden: Brill, 1993).

<sup>60</sup> García Martínez, "The 'New Jerusalem,'" 211-13.

regarding the temple and its service, making it the place where the divine presence was supposed to dwell. Finally, it was the place to which the sectarians themselves would return in the end of days. There a perfect temple would be built by God, and a perfect city would stretch beyond that of the present. We can be certain that the members of the sect would have shared, with their fellow Jews in every age of Jewish history, in the prayer of the author of the "Apostrophe to Zion" included in the *Psalms Scroll* (11QPs<sup>a</sup>) found at Qumran:<sup>61</sup>

I will remember you for a blessing, O Zion,  
I have loved you with all my might.  
May your memory be blessed for ever!

Great is your hope, O Zion,  
That peace and your longed-for salvation will come.

Generation after generation will dwell in you,  
And generations of the pious will be your glory.

Those who yearn for the day of your redemption,  
That they may rejoice in your great glory.

They are nourished from the abundance of your glory,  
And in your beautiful squares they walk.

You will remember the kindness of your prophets,  
And in the deeds of your pious ones you will glory.

Purge violence from your midst,  
Falsehood and dishonesty should be eradicated from you.

Your children will rejoice in your midst,  
And your friends will join together with you.

How many have hoped for your redemption,  
And have mourned for you continuously.

61. The translation is mine and previously appeared in *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 392-93; and "Apostrophe to Zion (11QPs<sup>a</sup> Scroll 22:1-15)," in *Prayer from Alexander to Constantine*, ed. M. Kiley, 18-22 (London: Routledge, 1997). The translation of Sanders, DJD 4:87-88, who first published this psalm was of help in preparing this version. This translation is revised in light of H. Eshel and J. Strugnell, "Alphabetical Acrostics in Pre-Tannaic Hebrew," *CBQ* 62 (2000) 441-58.



RELIGIOUS OUTLOOK OF THE QUMRAN SECTARIANS

Your hope, O Zion, shall not perish,  
Nor will your longing be forgotten.

Who is it who has ever perished in righteousness,  
Or who is it that has ever escaped in his iniquity?

A person is tested according to his way(s),  
One will be requited according to his deeds.

All around your enemies are cut off, O Zion,  
And all those who hate you have scattered.

Praise of you is pleasing, O Zion,  
Cherished throughout the world.

Many times will I remember you for a blessing,  
With all my heart I will bless you.

May you attain everlasting justice,  
And may you receive the blessings of magnates.  
May you merit the fulfillment of the vision prophesied about you,  
The dream of the prophets which was sought for you.

Be exalted and spread far and wide, O Zion,  
Praise the Most High, your redeemer.  
May my soul rejoice at (the revelation of) your glory!

The Pharisees and Their Legal Traditions  
QUMRAN SECTARIANS AND OTHERS