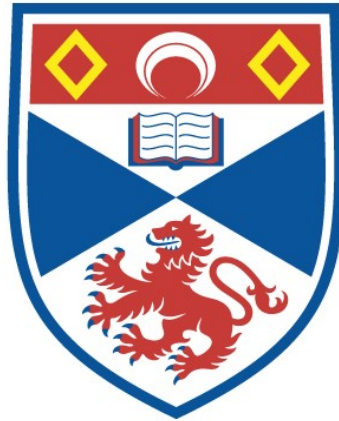# THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF IQM

Philip Roper Davies

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THE LITERARY STRUCTURE OF IQM

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STATEMENT OF HIGHER STUDY

I matriculated as a research student under Ordinance
General No. 12 in October 1968 having graduated from Oxford
University with a Bachelor of Arts (subsequently Master of Arts)
degree in July 1967. The subject of my research was initially
"Holy War in the Old Testament" but after a year of study in
this field, under the supervision of Professor William McKane,
it was agreed that the field would need restriction. At the
suggestion of Professor Matthew Black, I then concentrated on
the Qumran War Scroll, under the joint supervision of Professors
Black and McKane.

The research was undertaken in St. Andrews and at the
British School of Archaeology, Jerusalem, where I spent six
months from October 1970 to March 1971, as the annual Travelling
Scholar of that institution. I have therefore fulfilled the
requirement of nine terms' residence, under Ordinance No. 16.

I hereby declare that the following thesis is my own
composition, that it is based on the results of research
carried out by me, and that it has not previously been
submitted for a Higher Degree.

                              Philip R. Davies.

I certify that the candidate, Philip Roper Davies,
has fulfilled the conditions of the Ordinance and
Regulations governing the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

. . . .
Matthew Black, D.D., F.B.A.
Professor of Biblical Criticism

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SUMMARY

Previous research on the Qumran scrolls, and in particular, IQM, has only recently involved the use of the most stringent literary - and form - critical techniques. These are of great value to Qumran studies; the history of the sect and its ideas can be learnt only when the texts are properly understood.

IQM has been recognised by most scholars as a composite work, and XV-XIX has long been regarded as a unit. To this must be added II-IX which also comprises a single document. Both these documents are themselves composite. II-IX is a war-rule written in the Hasmonean period, and drawing on sources which originated in the Maccabean and immediate post Maccabean period. XV-XIX is a dualistic war-rule, which has developed from an earlier non-dualistic rule, of which col. XIV, 2-16a represents a small fragment.

Cols. X-XII consist of a collection of liturgical pieces which have been found to reflect a Maccabean context in many cases. Col. XIII represent a fragment of liturgy probably associated with a covenant ceremony.

Cols. II-IX, X-XII, XIII, XIV, and XV-XIX were collected and probably copied together; XV, 4-6a seems to refer to two documents which were independent at the time of writing, but have subsequently been incorporated into IQM - these are identified as II-IX and X-XII. XIII and XIV existed as fragments when they were brought together with the rest of the material from cols. II-IX, X-XII and XV-XIX.

XV-XIX probably attained its present form in the second half of the first century B.C. In the first half of the first century A.D. a compiler produced from the collected documents

a war-rule which included an introduction (col. I) written by
the compiler. The final result is the War Scroll, the manu-
script of which was written soon after the composition (= IQM).
Its purpose is to prepare for the imminent war against the
Romans.

I. AN OUTLINE OF THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON IQM

The purpose of this first introductory section is to set the present study in perspective by briefly reviewing the major contributions to the study of the War Scroll (IQM) from its publication until the present time. The review is extremely selective, its purpose being essentially to show how the War Scroll has been subjected over the years to analysis of ever-increasing intensity, culminating in the application of literary-critical and form-critical techniques. It is intended that the brief review which we are about to undertake will also warn against hasty conclusions which are not firmly grounded in the most careful scrutiny of the text. The present study has been undertaken in the belief that no adequate literary-critical or form-critical analysis has been achieved in the case of IQM, and that such an analysis is needed before wider conclusions can be drawn regarding the history of the sect and the development of its theology - conclusions which have frequently been offered in the past.

There exist to date four major commentaries on IQM. In order of publication, these are as follows:

Yadin: The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness, Jerusalem, 1957. (All references will be to the revised edition in English, Oxford, 1962.)

Carmignac: La Règle de la Guerre, Paris, 1958. A second commentary appeared in 1961 in the series "Autour de la Bible", (Paris; pp.81-185 of Les Textes de Qumran, I.) (Unless otherwise stated, references to Carmignac indicate the former.)

van der Ploeg: Le Rouleau de la Guerre, Leiden, 1959,

      (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, II.)

Jongeling: Le Rouleau de la Guerre, Groningen, 1962.

In addition to these, there are two annotated translations, those of Dupont-Sommer in RHR CXLVIII (1955), pp.24-43, 141-180 and van der Ploeg in VT 5 (1955), pp.373-420. Although an anno- tated translation by Dupont-Sommer is available in English in The Essene Writings from Qumran, Oxford, 1961, it is to the earlier French version that reference will be made in the present work.

Two further articles which deal essentially with the literary structure of IQM ought to be mentioned: Rabin, The Literary Structure of the War Scroll in Essays on the Dead Sea Scrolls in memory of E.L. Sukenik, Jerusalem, 1961, pp.31-47 (in Hebrew), and, in the same volume, Grintz, The Scroll of Light and Darkness: its Time and Authors, pp.11-17.

Finally, two more recent monographs ought to be considered: Becker, Das Heil Gottes, Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments 5, Göttingen, 1964, and Osten-Sacken, Gott und Belial, in the same series, 6, 1969. Both of these monographs deal with aspects of Qumran theology but are important in bringing literary - and form - criticism to bear on the WarScroll. The study by Osten-Sacken is especially important and has already been reviewed by the writer in RB LXXVIII (1971), pp.447-450.

We may now turn our attention to some of these studies in a little more detail.

Yadin

The commentary of Y. Yadin on IQM is detailed and lengthy. The text and translation are prefaced by eleven chapters of

introduction which deal with numerous aspects of the manuscript. The work's major flaw is its author's assumption, nowhere apparently questioned or justified, that IQM is the product of a single hand. It is admitted that the writer of the scroll used sources (pp.14-17), but no attempt is made to discuss the provenance of these sources or to show how and why they were used. This assumption of literary unity has the unfortunate consequence that Yadin's treatment of such complicated issues as the organisation of the army in IQM (pp.38-86) or the trumpets mentioned (pp.87-113) is frequently restricted to unsuccessful attempts to reconcile conflicting information.

Yadin's thesis that IQM was composed after the Roman conquest of Palestine but before the end of Herod the Great's reign (p.224f.) is defended at some length, and based more or less exclusively on military evidence; certain manoeuvres and weapons described in the scroll are held to reflect Roman practice and armoury. There are objections to this view, and several scholars believe that Hellenistic warfare rather than Roman is indicated by the descriptions in the scroll.[1] In any case, one should not seek to determine the date of the scroll from such controversial evidence. Driver has recently examined the evidence offered by Yadin and concluded that the arms and manoeuvres clearly point to an imperial Roman date.[2] Clearly, such ambiguous evidence is of little use.

At this stage we might mention that Dupont-Sommer also assigns a Roman background to IQM, recognising the Kittim of the scroll as the Romans.[3] On the other hand, Dupont-Sommer did not regard the scroll as the product of a single hand, but held XV-XIX to be a supplementary rule, added to an earlier rule, which comprised II-IX and X-XIV. Col. I was seen as an

introduction to the whole.[4] From a relatively early stage,
therefore, the literary unity of the scroll was questioned and
the distinctive character of XV-XIX recognised.

In spite of Yadin's refusal to follow Dupont-Sommer, his
commentary makes a number of valuable contributions to our
understanding of IQM. He demonstrates that the system of
recruitment and the organisation of the army in IQM is based on
historical practice (pp.7-86). The commentary is filled with
references to Rabbinic and pseudepigraphic literature which
clearly represent a great deal of careful research; and, perhaps
most importantly, Yadin raises nearly all of the basic questions,
although they are rarely answered satisfactorily. It is perhaps
to be regretted that the English edition of the commentary,
which appeared in 1962, failed to take any real account of the
research which had been undertaken since the Hebrew edition.
Amongst the most notable advances during this period was the
commentary of J. van der Ploeg.

van der Ploeg

Van der Ploeg's commentary is more modest in scope than
Yadin's, and displays throughout a typical caution and thorough-
ness. Perhaps its single most valuable contribution to the
study of IQM is its discussion of the literary structure of
the scroll (pp.11-22). Van der Ploeg offers an impressive list
of objections to the theory of unity of authorship. These object-
ions are sufficiently powerful to virtually destroy that theory,
and are worthy of summary here.

1. There are parallel passages in XII, 8-16 and XIX, 1-8.
Between these two there exist a few differences of a minor
nature, but the difference in orthography at one or two points

suggests a different writer for each passage.

2. There are certain passages in IQM which suggest that the final war will last for only one day, and comprise only one battle, in seven stages, after which the forces of evil will be destroyed for ever (e.g. 1,6.9f; XI,11; XIV,1-14). Other passages either state or imply that the final war will consist of a lengthy campaign or series of campaigns between Israel and the other nations of the earth, of forty years' duration (e.g. col.II).

3. In X,3ff. is given the text of a speech delivered by "the priest" to the troops, which is derived from Deut. xx, 2-4. In XV, 7bff. occurs another version of the speech, delivered by the "priest ordained for the appointed time of vengeance". But the text of this second version of the speech is quite different from the earlier version.

4. The names and numbers of the trumpets used during the battles in IQM are inconsistent with each other and cannot be explained on the assumption of a single author.

5. Cols. VIII and XVI contain very similar accounts of the progress of battle, but important differences are also present. For instance, the names of the trumpets do not coincide, and the version in col. XVI, unlike that in col. VIII, has no mention of cavalry. The battle in col. XVI is one of seven which together make up the final war, in which the sons of light are victorious. In the case of col. VIII, it seems that the battle is a single engagement, with no mention of the sons of light.

These observations, as already contended, amount to a fairly comprehensive rejection of the case for the unity of authorship of IQM.[5] But van der Ploeg's own account of the structure of IQM does not successfully overcome the problems which he describes. He detects a "primitive scroll", written

under the influence of the book of Daniel, more specifically xi,40-xii,3, and Ezekiel xxxviii-xxxix. This "primitive scroll" comprised more or less cols. I,X-XII and XV-XIX of IQM, and has been expanded by a second author who has introduced the notion of a forty years' war which will take place after the destruction of the forces of Belial. This expansion was inspired partly by themes in the primitive scroll, such as the seven stages of battle, the battle procedure itself, and the names of the trumpets. The work of this second author is represented by cols. II-IX, but van der Ploeg also allows that some revision of material in X-XII might have taken place, and suggests that cols. XIII and XIV might have been in some way represented in the primitive scroll.

The difficulty which this proposed solution encounters is basically that of explaining the inconsistencies within IQM. Would a second author, in attempting to expand an earlier work, simply allow obvious contradictions between his own work and the original to stand? Would he not reconcile these differences? The differences, in fact, are far from trivial. Whereas cols. I and XV-XIX tell of a war between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, cols. II-IX speak of the tribes of Israel. The Chief Priest of XV-XIX is omitted in II-IX. Furthermore, the extraction of II-IX from the material in IQM does not seem to leave a coherent document. For XV-XIX seems fairly self-contained. What might have been the relation between these columns and col. I or cols. X-XII?

A close examination of IQM reveals other objections. If cols. II-IX are a late element in IQM, why does it seem that the document contained in these columns has been curtailed at both beginning and end?[6] Why do we find glosses within cols. II-IX

which refer to the "sons of light" and other terms character-
istic of cols. I and XV-XIX?[7] These and other considerations
raise serious doubts about the validity of van der Ploeg's
account of IQM's structure.

Carmignac

Although J. Carmignac's commentary appeared before that of
van der Ploeg, a second commentary by the same author was pub-
lished in 1961, and afforded an opportunity for Carmignac to
take into account the objections raised against the unity of
authorship of IQM by van der Ploeg. For in Carmignac's earlier
commentary, the view had been expressed that IQM was undoubtedly
the work of a single hand, and probably the Teacher of Righteous-
ness himself (p.XIII). The date of composition was placed at
about 110 B.C., a little after IQS and IQSa, before some of the
Hymns and contemporary with the other Hymns. (The dating was
arrived at by identifying Alexander Jannaeus as the Wicked Priest.)

In his second commentary, Carmignac maintains this view. He
dismisses the arguments of van der Ploeg as "quite tenuous and
hardly convincing" (p.85). This statement acquits Carmignac of
the obligation to discuss the arguments at all. In view, there-
fore, of the lack of serious argumentation in either of
Carmignac's commentaries, no discussion of his views is required
here.

Jongeling

The commentary on IQM by B. Jongeling is in two parts. The
first is a detailed description of the state of the text of the
manuscript and the second a commentary with translation (pp.1-44
and 45-386 respectively).

In his introduction, the author says

> "The initial plan of our study was to present
> a commentary with translation, and to add a
> few chapters on the character of the contents
> of the scroll, its language, date, relation-
> ship to the O.T. and post-Biblical literature:
> but as the commentary grew larger and larger,
> we had to decide to restrict our study."

The result is a book which serves excellently as a companion to the text of IQM. It discusses, line by line, the interpretation of the text, with detailed consideration of the views of other scholars. It is what might be called a philological commentary. As such it does not deal directly with questions of overall literary structure, date or theology. From our point of view, it is questionable how far one may proceed in clarifying the meaning of the text without attempting to discover the meaning of the scroll as a whole, by examining the relation between the various elements and the manner in which they have been assembled. In short, a study of IQM as a literary phenomenon, as the sum of its parts, is needed.

These qualifications notwithstanding, the work is an invaluable aid to the elucidation of particular problems of translation and interpetation, and its thorough treatment of such problems will earn it frequent reference in the present study.

Having dealt briefly with the commentaries on IQM, it is proposed that we should examine two recent works in which advanced critical techniques have been applied to IQM. Although neither work deals explicitly with problems of the literary structure of IQM, each makes a valuable contribution and issues a challenge to further research.

Becker

J. Becker's Das Heil Gottes contains a section in which a

discussion of the literary - and form - critical problems of the major Qumran documents is presented. Pp.43-50 are devoted to the War Scroll.

To a certain extent, the discussion might be seen as representing the fruits of German scholarship in the field of Qumran literature.[8] Becker is convinced that IQM is a composite work and he cites in the first instance the evidence afforded by the fragment 4QMa which C.H. Hunzinger had published in 1957.[9]

This fragment had been cited also by van der Ploeg as evidence of the existence of stages in the history of the text of IQM. But, it seems, neither van der Ploeg nor Becker is able to evaluate this piece of evidence. The fragment is, in the opinion of Hunzinger, part of an earlier recension of a hymn or hymns contained in IQM XIV, 4b-16.[10] The question which really concerns us is whether 4QMa is part of an earlier recension of the War Scroll, or merely of one or two hymns which were subsequently incorporated into IQM. (For 4QMa does not contain the rubric which is found at XIV, 2-4a and which sets the following hymns within the context of a battle-liturgy). Since this question cannot be answered, the existence of 4QMa remains interesting but not tremendously helpful.

Becker divides 1QM initially into two major parts, I-IX and X-XIX. The former are concerned with tactics, arms, manoeuvres, laws, etc., and the latter are mainly liturgical. A further division may be made at the end of col. XIV where, it is suggested, a well-defined break in subject-matter occurs, as demonstrated by the beginning of col. XV, which introduces a new war-rule. Becker feels that X-XIV and XV-XIX cover the same ground. He supposes that X-XIV contain several rubrics, introducing the liturgical pieces, but these are missing due to the

damaged state of the manuscript. (These missing rubrics would
have to have occurred at the foot of the columns in this case,
which in our opinion is too much of a coincidence to expect.)
The main difference between X-XIV and XV-XIX, Becker maintains,
is that the former describes a single attack and victory, but
the latter a seven-stage engagement. Both, however, are war-
liturgies, and both happen to contain one hymn in common - hence
the parallel passages in cols. XII and XIX.[11]

The similarity between the outline of the war contained in
I,11ff. and the account in XV-XIX means, for Becker, that they
belong to the same strand of material, and that the liturgy in
XV-XIX is built on the framework of I,11ff. But Becker does not
isolate I,11ff. within col. I. He claims that col. I displays
an unbroken, continuous thought process ("geschlossenen, fort-
laufenden Gedenkengang") such that literary-critical methods
cannot work on it. It is not totally clear what Becker means
at this point; but the claim is unjustified, to say the least.
Of all the columns of IQM, it is col. I which displays the least
continuity of subject-matter, vocabulary and style.[12]

The wide contrast between cols. I and IIff. is clear to
Becker. He takes II, 1-14 as a single unit, followed by a
section on trumpets beginning at 11,15 and continuing into
col. III. There follows a string of rules for and descriptions
of battle, which are not composed "ad hoc" (Becker's phrase) but
constructed out of material already to hand. Thus we find doub-
lets such as IV, 6-8 and 9-14. VII, 9-IX, 19 seems to be homo-
geneous; closer inspection, however, shows it to be built from
two parallel sections, VII, 9-VIII, 19 and IX, 1-9. VII, 9-VIII,
19 Becker would tentatively assign to the same hand as XV-XIX on

the rather flimsy grounds that only these two parts of IQM contain the words שופרות and עצרים . On the structure of cols. II-IX Becker is rather vague, and his conclusions not easy to follow. The same is true of X-XIV. He suggests that these columns might perhaps be a continuation of II, 3-VII, 7.

Finally, Becker summarises his discussion with the following tentative proposal of two recensions which together make up IQM:

A.   I; VII, 9-VIII, 19; XV-XIX(ff.?)

B.   II; III-VII, 7 (?); X-XIV

(It is not clear where col. IX should be assigned in this scheme).

Within these broad divisions, Becker is able to suggest a number of smaller subdivisions. Within X-XIV he finds several small and originally independent units; here he is fairly successful in his analysis.[13] Subdivisions are also made within XV-XIX, but no systematic account of the composition of these columns is offered.

Our own reaction to Becker's analysis of IQM is that of frustration. The technique which Becker uses and the results themselves are considerable. Unfortunately, Becker's argumentation is usually sketchy and his conclusion rather tentative. It is perhaps unfair to offer a criticism on these lines, since Becker's intention was clearly to present a brief review rather than to undertake a major exercise. Nonetheless, Becker has not fully come to terms with some of the implications which his treatment raises. If IQM is the product of two recensions, one ought to ask why, and how, and when these were put together, and by whom? If a compiler is responsible for the present document, are there any traces of redactional material in IQM? Becker is

content merely to conclude that IQM "has shown itself to be the end-product of a considerable process of compilation and tradition". No attempt is made to date IQM; Becker in fact claims that this is not possible beyond establishing a "terminus ad quem" for the manuscript, which palaeographical evidence has furnished.[14]

The rather cursory treatment which Becker has undertaken is nonetheless sufficient to indicate the shortcomings of previous exercises and to illustrate the possibilities of further research in this direction. The value of literary - and form - critical techniques in dealing with the Qumran scrolls has been established. Becker has indicated several smaller units within the larger complexes which make up IQM and to some extent prepared the way for a thorough and rigorous treatment of IQM.

Osten-Sacken[15]

The theme of P. von der Osten-Sacken's monograph "Gott und Belial" is the dualistic tradition at Qumran. The earliest expression of this tradition in the Qumran writings he finds in the "eschatological war-dualism" of col. I of the War Scroll, where three major influences are present: the Holy War tradition of the O.T., the book of Daniel and the Day of Yahweh tradition. Daniel is especially influential in I, 1-6 although col. I as a whole is orientated in accordance with the eschatology of Daniel (p.33).

Osten-Sacken's assumption of the antiquity of col. I is nowhere given sufficient justification. But having made this initial assumption, he proceeds to erect upon it an impressive theory of the development of the dualistic tradition at Qumran, much of which is traced through IQM. For instance, Osten-Sacken

follows Becker in regarding I,11ff. as the framework on which
XV-XIX has been constructed. Parallel to XV-XIX is another war-
rule in VII-IX,9, and both the war-rules are compared (not very
fully) with Maccabean practices, and the conclusion reached
that the war-rules have their origin in Maccabean warfare. In-
deed, the whole dualistic confrontation of light and darkness
(IQM I, XV-XIX) is an interpretation of the struggle of the
Jews under the persecution of Antiochus IV early in the second
century B.C. (pp.55-69) Osten-Sacken even proceeds as far as to
identify Belial with Antiochus himself (pp.73ff.)

A secondary stage in the dualistic tradition at Qumran
sees the introduction of ethical considerations into the struggle
of light and darkness, and this process can be discerned even
within IQM itself. Osten-Sacken ultimately attempts to trace
several distinctive Qumran ideas back to the War Scroll, such
as a blessing and curse ritual, community with angels, and the
term סרך.[16]

The impression is gained, however, that Osten-Sacken's
theory of the development of dualism at Qumran has been allowed
to dictate the terms of the literary investigation of IQM.
Several of Osten-Sacken's conclusions in this respect are
invalid. He brings together VII-IX, 9 and XIV, but whereas the
former contains no liturgy or any mention of liturgy, the latter
is clearly liturgical. Again, Osten-Sacken regards II-IX or at
least II-V, 2 as a late element because of similarities with
IQSa, which itself is to be dated after IQS.[17] There are other
instances of faulty analysis which will be referred to at approp-
riate points.

In spite of the above criticisms, this work is important.

Many of the suggestions which it contains are valuable, and these, too, will be acknowledged where relevant. In many respects, this work is a valuable contribution to an understanding of the history of IQM, inasmuch as it attempts to provide an historical background to some of the material and carefully distinguishes those parts of IQM which differ in concept, theology, vocabulary and style.

In conclusion, we may return to our original observation that a thorough appreciation of the literary history of the Qumran documents is an indispensable prerequisite to any profound investigation of the history and theology of the sect which produced and preserved them. An investigation such as that of Osten-Sacken is, in our opinion, somewhat premature. It is at the same time an impressive indication of the progress which can be made towards a better understanding of the whole Qumran phenomenon. The gateway, however, lies through the texts themselves.

NOTES

1. Cf. especially J.G. Février, La Tactique hellenistique dans une texte de ʿAyin Fashkha, Sem. III (1950), pp.53-59; K.M.T. Atkinson, The Historical Setting of the "War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness", BJRL (1958), pp.272-297; M.H. Segal, The Qumran War Scroll and the Date of its Composition, Scr. Hier. IV^2 (1965), pp.138-143. Also M. Avi-Yonah, The "War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness" and Maccabean Warfare, IEJ 2 (1952), pp.1-5.

2. G.R. Driver, The Judean Scrolls, the Problem and a Solution, Oxford, 1965, esp. pp.180ff.

3. A. Dupont-Sommer, Règlement de la Guerre des fils de Lumière: traduction et notes, RHR CXLVIII (1955), p.29.

4. Ibid, p.26.

5. Not all the objections listed by van der Ploeg have been given here, since not all are, in our opinion, valid.

6. For further discussion of this point, see below, pp.25f. 52ff.

7. Cf. below, pp.34f. 37f.

8. Cf. for example K.G. Kuhn, Beiträge zum Verständnis der Kriegsrolle von Qumran, TLZ (1956), cols. 25-30; C.H. Hunzinger, Aus der Arbeit an der unveröffentlichen Texten von Qumran, TLZ (1960), col. 151.

9. C.H. Hunzinger, Fragmente einer älteren Fassung des Buches Milḥāmā aus Hohle 4 von Qumran, ZAW (1957), pp.131-151.

10. For discussion of this fragment in relation to IQM XIV, see below, pp.118ff.

11. Cf. above, p.6f.

12. For an analysis of col. I, see below, pp.168-180.

13. Cf. below, pp.129ff.

14. Cf. F.M. Cross, jnr., <u>The Development of the Jewish Scripts</u>, in The Bible and the Ancient Near East, ed. G.E. Wright, London 1961, pp.133-202. According to Cross, IQM exhibits an "Herodian" script, which would date the manuscript approximately in the early part of the first century A.D. Cf. also N. Avigad, <u>The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents</u>, Scr. Hier. IV^2, (1965), pp.56-87, esp. pp.71ff.

15. We have already reviewed this work in a little more detail in RB LXXVIII, (1971), pp.447-450.

16. Osten-Sacken, op. cit., pp.223ff.

17. Ibid., p.236 n.4.

II. ANALYSIS OF IQM - PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

The foregoing discussion will have demonstrated the variety
of approach and of conclusions which previous studies of IQM have
offered. A certain consensus has emerged, however, regarding
certain basic divisions within the scroll. For instance, between
cols. I and II there are wide differences. The former deals with
a war between sons of light and sons of darkness, who struggle
through seven engagements until God grants victory to the sons
of light. In col. II we encounter the scheme of a forty years'
war between Israel, consisting of the twelve tribes and the
levites, and the nations of the earth. Here no sons of light
or darkness are mentioned. The influence of Daniel, in col. I,
is replaced by the influence of Num. i-x, 10 in col. II. For
this reason most scholars who are convinced of the composite
nature of IQM have agreed that cols. I and IIff. belong to
different strands of material.

Another division is generally made at the beginning of col.
XV. Cols. XV-XIX have been widely recognised as self-contained,
whereas the material preceding is difficult to connect together.
Between cols. XIV and XV there are significant differences as
well as similarities, and these can be readily shown.[1] There is
perhaps some disagreement as to the exact point at which the war-
rule of XV-XIX should begin, whether at XV,1 or XV,2b or even at
XIV, 16. For the sake of convenience, however, we shall from
the outset refer to cols. XV-XIX as comprising a single document
and a more exact delimitation may be deferred for the present.[2]

A division between cols. IX and X is also recognised. Col.X
begins abruptly with liturgy, whereas the previous columns are
concerned with military tactics and related topics.

These three divisions, widely recognised, provide us with

four sections into which IQM may be split for purposes of analysis. Two further questions remain: are there any other divisions which can be made at this stage? and In what order should we deal with the sections we have just recognised? Both of these questions are capable of being answered only after a fairly thorough analysis of the whole scroll, and so it is necessary, in dealing with them at this juncture, to anticipate the results of our analysis. This is unfortunate but unavoidable. Our conclusion is that no further subdivision of IQM can be justified at this point; and that the order in which the sections are treated ought to correspond more or less to the various stages of growth through which IQM has passed. Another consideration is that those sections which may most easily and effectively be analysed ought to be examined before those where conclusions are less certain or are dependent on conclusions reached in respect of other sections.

Col. I, in our opinion, is largely redactional, and represents the latest stage in the development of IQM. The most difficult section to understand as a whole is X-XIV, where no clue is offered as to the purpose of the contents, and there is little obvious connection between the various hymns and prayers which are contained therein. It is proposed, therefore, to examine the contents of IQM in the following order: II-IX, XV-XIX (with col. XIV, which can be related to XV-XIX, although it is not part of that war-rule itself), X-XIV and finally col.I. Each section as far as possible is analysed independently of the others, so that the first three parts of the analysis are self-contained, apart from one or two instances where similarities between two sections have to be investigated (e.g. cols. VIII and XVI, where the language is almost identical in places).

Before proceeding with the analysis, we might consider briefly XV,4-6, which has some bearing on the divisions of IQM which we have just outlined.

ועמד כוהן הראש ואחיו הכ[והנים] והלויים וכול אנשי הסרך עמו
ויקרא באוזניהם / את תפילת מועד המלח[מה ככתוב בס]פר סרך עתו
עם כול דברי הודותם וסדר שם את / כול המערכות כ[כתוב בספר]
המלח[מ]ה

"The Chief Priest shall stand, together with his brother-pr[iests] and the levites, and all the men of the ranks[3] with him, and he shall read in their hearing the prayer for the appointed time of wa[r, as is written in the bo]ok "Serekh ^cItto", together with all the text of their thanksgiving hymns. Then he shall array the troops as[cording to the "Book of the Wa]r"."

It is very unfortunate that the text at this point suffers from lacunae, so that conjecture is necessary.[4] It is widely held that this passage refers to two books from which the Chief Priest reads the appropriate liturgy and arrays the troops. The first is called the "Serekh ^cItto" (= "rule of God's appointed time"?), and is so far unidentified among the Qumran writings. Jongeling[5] has suggested that the Serekh ^cItto may have been incorporated into IQM itself. The source of the information on arraying the troops - if a source is referred to - is also unknown at Qumran. Yadin[6] has supposed that the reference here may be to another part of IQM.

The fullest use of this passage is made by Rabin in an essay on the literary structure of the War Scroll.[7] He argues that no documents of the kind implied in the above passage have been found at Qumran, but that IQM itself contains the appropriate material. Hence, the two books, which were once independent, have been incorporated into IQM. Rabin identifies IQM

X-XIV,15 as the "Serekh Itto" and I-IX,16 as the "Book of the War", with the suggestion that these titles once stood before the beginning of col. X (the end of col. IX, as of all the columns in IQM, is missing) and at the beginning of col. I, where Rabin would restore זה ספר[ה המלחמה.

IQM is thus composed of three documents, the third of which, XIV,16-XIX, is called by Rabin the "Book of Testing". This is regarded as the latest of the three, since it refers to the other two as already in existence as independent docu- ments. Indeed, the "Book of Testing" takes over certain themes from these other books, adding texts and prayers on the theme of testing, introducing the idea of casualties and turning the contents of the Book of the War into a description of an eschat- ological battle, which the material in I-IX does not really describe. The seven גורלות of 1,13f. are taken to mean seven stages of battle, instead of seven parties, the original meaning.[8]

Rabin is certainly wrong in assigning cols. I and IIff. to the same document. He may also be incautious in building a theory on a passage whose restoration is a matter of conjecture. It will be seen, however, during the course of our own analysis, that certain of Rabin's suggestions can be confirmed. One example of this is the importance of the theme of testing in XV-XIX and the view that the seven-stage battle in XV-XIX is modification of an original scheme involving only one battle. This idea, it will be remembered, had occurred to van der Ploeg also.[9]

The interesting point about XV,4-6 is that it suggests a division of the contents of IQM similar to that to which we have already committed ourselves. We must now commence our analysis along the lines indicated above.

NOTES

1. See below, pp.91ff.

2. See below, pp.181ff.

3. On this translation of the word סרך see below, p.102,n.3.

4. The restoration adopted follows Yadin. The restoration in
   line 4 is agreed upon by all scholars, and is virtually
   certain. In line 5 התגלחה is read by all scholars also, but
   over the following word there is disagreement. ספר is
   generally agreed on. The sense of the passage is not here
   in question; for the alternatives cf. Jongeling pp.327ff.

   Over the lacuna in line 6 there is wider disagreement, and
   not all scholars are convinced that a document is referred
   to. Amongst other possibilities are כרול דברי הסרך
   זזה (Dupont-Sommer, van der Ploeg) and ככול משפטי המלחמה
   (Carmignac). Dupont-Sommer thinks that הודות indicates
   the Hodayoth (IQH), but there are no hymns in IQH suitable
   for warfare.

5. Jongeling, p.327.

6. Yadin, p.332.

7. The Literary Structure of the War Scroll, in Essays on the
   Dead Sea Scrolls in memory of E.L. Sukenik, Jerusalem, 1961,
   pp.31-47 (in Hebrew).

8. Carmignac, p.18, interprets גורלות in the same way in
   col. I.

9. See above, p.7f.

PART ONE

COLS. II-IX

I. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF COLS. II-IX

Cols. II-IX as a unit

Although a thorough demonstration of the unity of cols.
II-IX is impossible at this stage, there are several indications
of this fact which can be introduced at the outset. Certainly,
we ought not to speak so much of a single author of cols. II-IX,
since the material is obviously from many different hands. But
we may regard this section as a compilation made by a single hand
from sources available. There exist some slight discrepancies
and even contradictions within these columns, but there are no
fundamental differences within II-IX such as exist between this
section and other sections of IQM.

The whole document is held together by a series of headings,
found at II,16; III,13; IV,9; V,3; IX,10, which all follow the
same pattern, containing the word סרך [1]. Such headings are
not found elsewhere in IQM. Again, we find in col. III mention
of trumpets of ambush. In col. IX the ambush is described. But
no ambush is recorded elsewere in IQM.

Because of the strong influence of Num. i-x,10 which is
common to them, cols. II, III and IV ought to be regarded as
emanating from either the same hand or the same "school". The
rather more diverse material in cols. V-VII,7 follows a very
clear and logical plan, which systematically provides information
on the position, weaponry and ages of the various parts of the
army. That VII,9-IX,9 is a unit has already been suggested[2] for
very good reasons; it is concerned with the behaviour of priests.
It can also be shown that IX,10ff. is taken from the same source
as much of cols. V and VI.

Such observations do not prove that II-IX have been compiled

into a single document, but they make it difficult for any
other theory to be sustained. It is impossible to break up II-IX
into many small units, independent of each other; and it is
equally impossible to explain otherwise how the material in
II-IX displays a coherent structure unless we assume coincidence.
This structure, it is hoped, will become clear in due course.

The contents of this section, as already stated, are con-
veniently grouped under headings, and in our analysis we shall
observe these headings when subdividing the material. The sub-
divisions leave us with seven sub-sections, as follows:

II,1-14	general plan of the final war
II,16-III-11	trumpets of the congregation
III,13-IV,E*	banners of the congregation
V,1-2	prince of the congregation
V,3-VII,7	the army - disposition, weapons, qualifications
VII,9-IX,9	procedure for the pitched battle
IX,10-E*	procedure for other manoeuvres

(* E indicates end of column here and throughout)

The document thus begins with a general outline of the course
of the war, proceeds to describe the men and equipment, and ends
with descriptions of the manoeuvres to be executed.

II,1-14 General Plan of the Final War

This passage opens with a description of the Temple service
during the sabbatical year of the war, (1-6a) followed by details
of conscription for the last thirty three years (6b-10a) and ends
with a list of the nations who are to be fought during this time,
and the length of each campaign. For a table giving a plan of
the war, cf. Yadin, p.36f.

The first six years of the war raise a problem. We are told ex-
actly how the war proceeds for the last thirty three years, but
of the first six we know only that it is fought by the whole

congregation together, as opposed to the remainder of the war, which is fought in "separate divisions" (9b.10a)[3]. We are not told who are the enemies during the first six years, and since col. II opens with an account of the Temple service in the sabbatical year it is conceivable that the description of the first six years, which preceded it, has been lost or removed.

What might this account have told us? Presumably it would have mentioned the nations to be fought. Since the nations who are attacked in the last phases of the war are all outside the borders of Israel, it could well be that the first enemies attacked were those living in Israel's territory or immediately on its borders.

At this point we should consider I,1f., where we are told that at the beginning (ראשית) of the conflict, the enemies to be attacked are

> "Sons of darkness, the army of Belial, the
> troop of Edom and Moab, the Ammonites, the
> army of.........Philistia, the forces of
> the Kittim of Asshur, assisted by the
> offenders against the covenant."

If we subtract from this the "sons of darkness" and the "army of Belial" which are evidently terms describing the whole group of nations, and are not original[4], we are left with a list of nations living in or around the territory of Israel. Is this the "lost" beginning of col. II? If so, why has it been removed? The answer will be provided more fully in due course[5] but we may at present suggest that when col. I was composed, the first six years of the forty years' war were in need of revision, and that col. I represents a revised account of these years.

This suspicion is heightened by the fact that col. I does not elsewhere speak of the "Kittim of Asshur" as in line 2, but of "Kittim" alone (lines 6,9). Thereafter in col. I the names

of nations do not occur, and the enemy are referred to as forces
of Belial (lines 5,15?) or sons of darkness (lines 7(?),10.16).
The list of nations in I,1-2, then, does not seem quite natural
in col. I, but fits exactly the requirements of the scheme of
col. II. We conclude that the beginning of the present document
has been removed and all or part of it incorporated in col. I.
<u>The Temple service</u> is administered by priests, levites and lay-
men, as the following diagram illustrates:

Chief Priest[6]
|
Deputy
|
12 chiefs of levites   12 chiefs   12 chiefs of tribes
| | plus elders
26 chiefs of   26 chiefs of   26 chiefs of courses
courses   courses   plus officers

LEVITES   PRIESTS   LAYMEN
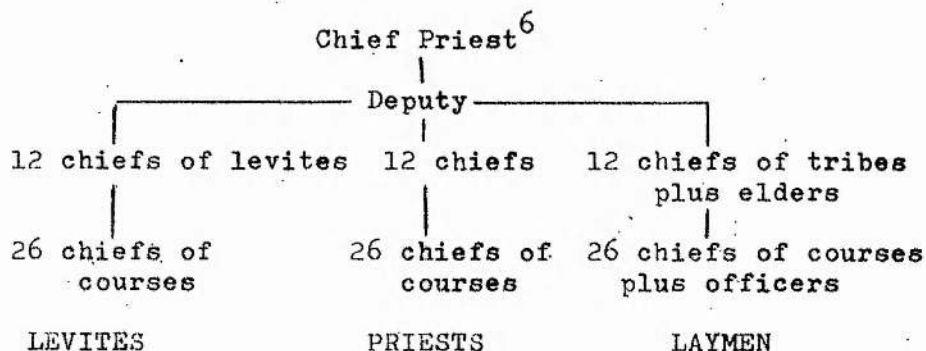
The age limit of fifty imposed on the lay "officers"(פקודים)
corresponds with the limit of active service given at VII,1ff.,
which provides another indication of the unity of II-IX.

It is interesting that the laymen have such a prominent part
in the cult. For the word "these" (אלה) in line 5 must refer
either to the last-named (laymen) or to all three groups.[7] Cur-
iously, the levites appear to have no task at all assigned to
them. The priests' task is to "be offering the Tamid before God"
(להיות משרתים בתמיד לפני אל). The chiefs of the levites
simply "serve continually" (לשרת תמיד) and the lay leaders
"stand continually" (להתיצב תמיד). The difference between תמיד
and בתמיד ought to be insisted upon, since the two occur within
such a short space that the distinction is probably intended, re-
inforced as it is by the use of a continuous tense in the case
of the priests.

According to I Chron. xxiii,28ff., the levites were "to wait on (מעמד על) the sons of Aaron for the administering of the house of Yahweh, in the courts and the chambers....and to offer all burnt sacrifices (עולות) to Yahweh at sabbaths, new moons and festivals, according to the orders they are given, continually (תמיד) before Yahweh".

Here, however, it is the laymen who are present at the festivals, new moons and sabbaths, and stand continually within the gates of the sanctuary. If אלה in line 5 applies solely to the laymen, it is they who in fact assist at the burnt offerings and sacrifices, not the levites. It is somewhat curious that in IQM II the laymen are given no specific tasks, whereas the tasks they might be expected to have performed are undertaken by laymen. It is also curious that whereas the numbers of priests and levites correspond at each stage - twelve chiefs and twenty-six course chiefs - the laymen are represented in greater numbers, with fathers of the congregation (אבות העדה) and "officers" (פקודים) to be added to the chiefs and course chiefs.[8]

It is thus possible that the present account of the Temple service has undergone some revision, and that laymen have been introduced into the scheme, to whom the tasks originally allotted to levites have been assigned. Also to be noted is the number of courses, differing from the Biblical total of twenty-four and agreeing with the solar calendar found in Jubilees.[9]

According to lines 6-7 the Temple service is set up in the sabbatical year (שנת השמטה), and in the remaining thirty-three years the war is pursued in the lands of the gentiles.[10] The Temple ministry described here is thus presumably set up in the seventh year of the war and is to remain in operation for the

rest of the period. Why is it set up in the seventh year, and
not in operation during the first six years of the war? Since,
as we have shown, the first six years were almost certainly oc-
cupied in fighting within the borders of Israel, it may be that
the occupation of the Temple is one of the objectives of this
phase of the war; at the outset of hostilities the Temple is in
improper hands. To this point we shall return later when we
consider the dating of cols. II-IX.[11]

The scheme of the war rests on Num. i-x,10, where the organis-
ation of the twelve tribes of Israel prior to entry into Canaan
is portrayed. There are many close verbal parallels between
Num. i-x,10 and IQM II-IV, as we shall demonstrate, but there
may be a deeper relationship. It is probable that the war which
cols. II-IX describes is seen as a new "entry into a promised
land" which, like the original entry, involves a period of
forty years.[12]

The verbal parallels between col. II and Num. i-x,10 may
be seen from the following:[13]

IQM II,6b-7;	אנשי השם קרואי המועד וכול ראשי אבות העדה
IQM II,3;	ראשי השבטים ואבות העדה
Num. i,16;	אלה קרואי (קריאי Q)העדה נשיאי מטות אבותם
	ראשי אלפי ישראל
Num. x,4;	נשיאי ראשי אלפי ישראל
Num. xvi,2;	נשיאי עדה קראי מועד אנשי שם

Just as we have observed in the case of the Temple ministry,
the role of laymen in II-IX's scheme is much greater than in Num.
There is no figure corresponding to Moses, and the authority of
the Chief Priest, unlike cols. XV-XIX, extends only to the cult.[14]

As for the plan of conquest itself, there is little which
needs to be said. The list of nations may be shown to be based

on Gen. x and xxv, on I Chron. i, and to be similar to the list

in Jub. viii-ix. For a detailed discussion of the names and the

order, cf. Yadin, pp.26-37.

II,16-III,11 Trumpets of the Congregation

This section is introduced by a heading, unfortunately in-
complete. It contains two lists of trumpets, II,E-III,2a and
III,2b-11. The beginning of the first list is also missing.
The two lists we shall refer to as A and B.

Comparison of the two lists shows that they are by no means id-

entical, although quite similar. List B (III,2b-11) supplies

inscriptions for the trumpets, list A (II,E-III,2a) does not.

There are six other differences:

1. The trumpets called חצוצרות תרועת החללים in list A are

    called חצוצרות החללים in list B. (III,1b/III,8a).

2. The trumpets called הצוצרות המאסף in list A are called

    חצוצרות המשוב in list B (III,2/III,10).

3. The trumpets called הצוצרות מקראם in list A are called

    חצוצרות מקרא אנשי הבינים in list B (III,1a/III,7a).

4. List A does not contain the חצוצרות דרך המשוב which is

    given as the last trumpet in list B (III,10b).

5. There are three explanatory phrases in list A, added to the

    trumpets of calling (מקרא), pursuit (מרדף), and with-

    drawal (מאסף). List B has none of these, but different

phrases attached to the trumpets of calling, withdrawal, and

final return (דרך המשוב).

6. The first six trumpets of list B are not in list A; since the

beginning of list A is lost we cannot be sure whether or not

these were included.

The similarities between the two lists shows that both come

from the same origin. The differences explain why both lists have

been included. The explanatory phrases which occur in both lists

are often rather curious. For instance, in list A (III,1) we

read   והצוצרות מקראם בהפתח שערי המלחמה לצאת אנשי הבנים

and in list B (III,7)-חצוצרות מקרא אנשי הבינים בהפתח שערי המל-

זחמה לצאת למערכת האויב Again, the trumpet of withdrawal in list A

is blown "when the battle ebbs" (בשוב המלחמה) - the verb used

being the same as the name of the trumpet of withdrawal in list B,

(משוב).[15] A possible explanation of these two coincidences

is that the compiler, who is responsible for bringing the lists

together, is trying to accommodate the two lists to each other

as far possible, without actually altering any of the names or

inscriptions given. A further complication, however, is that

the inscription on the trumpet of withdrawal in list B (III,10)

includes the verb אסף ; and מאסף is the name of the trumpet

of withdrawal in list A. It is difficult to believe that any

editorial material is to be found in the inscriptions, for reasons

which we shall shortly make clear. At any rate, we must recog-

nise that the names of the trumpets and the order in which they

are given, as well as the explanatory additions, all completely

fit the battle-scheme which we shall encounter in VII,9-IX,9.

This again illustrates the internal connections which can be

found within the various parts of II-IX. It has already been

remarked that the trumpets of ambush mentioned here do not recur

outside II-IX, but IX,10ff. includes a description of an ambush.[16]

Indeed, the two explanatory phrases in III,1 and 7 mentioned

above, employ identical terminology to that of the description

of battle in VII,9ff:

VII,16;   אנשי בינים יצאו מן השער...

VIII,12b.13a;   למערכת האויב

In addition to this, the names of the trumpets given in

VII,9ff. are very similar.[17]

The influence of Num. i-x,10 is evident in the names of some of
the trumpets, notably in list B. The relevant passage in
Numbers is x,1-10:

> "   Yahewh spoke to Moses and said, 'Make
> two trumpets (חצוצרות) of beaten silver,
> to be used by you for calling the congrega-
> tion (לקרא העדה) and for breaking camp
> (למסע את המחנות). Whenever you blow on
> them, the whole congregation shall gather
> (ונעדו) to you at the entrance to the
> tent of meeting. If you blow on one trum-
> pet, the leaders, the heads of Israel's
> families (נשיאים ראשי אלפי ישראל)
> shall gather to you. When you blow a
> fanfare (√רוע), the camps pitched on
> the east side shall set out, and when you
> blow a second fanfare (תרועה שנית) the
> camps pitched on the south side shall set out.[18]
> You shall sound a fanfare for breaking camp,
> but to assemble the congregation you shall
> simply blow, not sound a fanfare (תקע√ not
> רוע). The sons of Aaron, the priests, are
> to sound the trumpets; this is a permanent
> decree for your descendants.
>
> Whenever you go out to battle in your
> own land against an invading enemy, you
> must blow a fanfare, and you shall be remem-
> bered (ונזכרתם) by your god Yahweh, and
> saved from your enemies. At your festivals,
> solemn occasions and new moons, you shall
> sound the trumpet when the whole-offerings
> and peace-offerings are made, and they shall
> serve as a reminder (זכרון) to your god,
> on your behalf.'   "

The following trumpets are clearly to be derived from the
above passage: מקרא העדה , מקרא השרים (with its inscription
נשיאי אל), המחנות and מסעיהם. For the מקרא אנשי השם
see Yadin, p.91. These men are not mentioned in Num. x,1-10.
In II,6b they meet for recruitment. Their intrusion here thus
links the present passage to the last, and suggests perhaps that
the Biblical tradition is being amended in favour of a scheme
already worked out. For further discussion of this latter
point, see below, pp.69ff.

The trumpet inscriptions themselves deserve examination. Two
points should be noted immediately: the influence of Num. x,1-10

extends to these also, and we should therefore be wary of trying
to separate the names of the trumpets from the inscriptions.
However, the second point is that all of the inscriptions may
be reduced to a simple formula consisting of two words, the
second of which is אל. When we have done this, we are left
with the following list:

Name of Trumpet	Inscription
מקרא העדה	קרואי אל
מקרא השרים	נשיאי אל
המסרות	סרך אל
אנשי השם	תעודות אל
המאזנות	שלום אל
מסעיהם	גבורות אל
סדרי הפלחמה	דגלי אל [18]
מקרא אנשי הבנים	זכרון אל [19]
החללים	יד אל [20]
והמארב	רזי אל [21]
המרדף	נגף אל
המשוב	אסף אל
דרך המשוב	גילות אל

If we are correct in regarding only the short two-word form-
ula as the original inscription, we must conclude that some of
the inscriptions have been secondarily expanded. There is also
one probable addition to the name of one of the trumpets which
we shall consider before the rest. This is the phrase in III,4a:
ראשי אבות העדה בהאספם...מעד. If this phrase is not secondary, we
are left with a single unwieldy trumpet name which stands out
against the others in the list. None of the other trumpets has
any mention of the occasion on which it is blown, and there ought
to be no exception in this case. The phrase draws on terminology

from Num. i-x,10[22], and appears to be identifying the אישי המ̇ש

with the ראשי אבות מעדה. In II,6b,7a, on the other hand, the

two groups seem to be distinct. This points to the gloss as

from a later hand, not the compiler of the material, who would

hardly have made this kind of error.

The expansions of the trumpet-inscriptions may be classi-

fied into three: "simple" (i.e. with no apparent bias), "ethical"

(where the wickedness of the enemy is drawn to our attention)

and "dualistic" (where words or phrases occur which are only

found elsewhere in a dualistic context).

Simple additions: Of these there are five, occurring at the

4th, 5th, 8th, 9th and 13th trumpets in the above list. In three

cases the purpose of the addition is to bring the name of the

trumpet more closely into line with the inscription (5th, 9th and

13th trumpets); in the remaining cases the added words serve to

clarify the meaning of the inscription (4th and 8th trumpets).

These glosses seem to have occurred at random and might have

taken place at any time during the transmission of the text.

Ethical additions: These are represented in the enlarged inscrip-

tions of the 6th and 10th trumpets, where the enemy are charact-

erised as wicked.[23] The interest in such additions arises from

the fact that there exists in IQM a strand of tradition in which

the ethical qualities of the two sides in battle are carefully

stressed; without, however, any dualistic concepts being used.[24]

The tone of II-IX as a whole, whilst nationalistic, is not mark-

edly ethical. The inscription on the 6th trumpet is possibly in-

spired by Num. x,35, as has been suggested by a number of

scholars.[25]

Dualistic additions: The two additions which come under this

heading are found in the inscriptions of the 7th and 11th

trumpets. In both are mentioned "sons of darkness". Cols. II-IX

deal with a war between Israel and the nations, in which such

terms do not have a place. On the other hand, cols. I and XV-XIX

deal with a battle between sons of light and sons of darkness.

Hence, in our opinion, this gloss comes from a scribe whose

understanding of the final war was in accordance with the ideas

found in I and XV-XIX. Considerations of this nature make it

difficult to maintain that cols. IIff. are much later, if at all

later, than I,XV-XIX, as several scholars have previously held.[26]

III,13-IV,E Banners of the Congregation

This section is introduced by a heading; two sub-headings
occur at IV,9 and IV,15. Five lists are included, which do not
in all respects agree with one another. These are: III,13-E
inscriptions of the banners of the whole congregation; III,E-IV,5
inscriptions of the levitical banners; IV,6-8 inscriptions for
different phases of the war (four kinds of unit); IV,9-14 in-
scriptions for different phases of the war (eight kinds of unit);
and IV,15-E the length of the banners.[27]

In the first two lists of banner-inscriptions, the influence
of Num. i-x,10 is again to be discerned. The twelve tribes of

Israel are divided into four camps of three tribes each, and the

levites are encamped separately.[28] According to both these

lists, there is one inscription for each banner, and the commun-

ity is arranged in eight groupings, from the whole community it-

self down to the unit of ten, as follows: the whole congregation;

the three-tribe camp; the tribe; the myriad; the thousand; the

hundred; the fifty; the ten. The levites are divided into

thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. Each levitical clan

probaly had its own inscription, unlike the lay congregation,

whose clans share the same inscription. That the clan is the

equivalent of a myriad has been already demonstrated by Yadin.[29]

The third list, dealing with three sets of four inscriptions

presents a problem. To whose banners does it apply? Yadin[30] has
taken the list to refer to the levites, since there follows a
list of changing inscriptions for the laity. But Dupont-Sommer[31]
supposes that the list applies to the four smaller groupings,
the thousand, hundred, fifty and ten, since the larger units
exist for the purposes of organisation only and are not tactical
units in battle. Hence there could be no banners for these
larger groupings during battle. The difficulty here is the
following list of changing inscriptions for eight groupings!

Perhaps both scholars are partially correct. It may be
that the list did originally apply to the four smaller group-
ings - which, as Dupont-Sommer maintains, is more logical. But
in view of the following list, the compiler of this section has
applied the third list to levites, to avoid contradiction/and
to balance levitical and lay inscriptions.

This conclusion is to some extent supported by the fact
that the fourth list is preceded by a heading which reads "rule
for the banners of the congregation", implying that the previous
list referred to levites. It is probable that the third and
fourth lists are, in fact, variants. Both apply to lay banners,
but represent different traditions regarding the number of ban-
ners used. For there is a slight difference in the formula which
precedes the third and fourth lists. The third list begins
מלחמה בלכתם (IV,6) and the fourth בצאתם מלחמה (IV,9). This per-
haps points to a different tradition behind each.

The present section may be understood as the work of a
compiler who had before him five or perhaps four[32] different
lists of banner-inscriptions. These have been set down side by
side, those with eight groupings and those with four. In order
to avoid contradiction and confusion between two contradictory

lists, the compiler presents the lists of changing inscriptions
for four groupings as levitical (whereas in fact the levites
were organised in _five_ groupings-clan, thousand, hundred, fifty,
ten) and inserts a heading in front of the next list to show
that he is reverting to lay banners. Thus a similar procedure
has been adopted in the composition of this section as in the
preceding. We need have little doubt that the same compiler is
responsible; and the common influence of Num. i-x,10 shows that
the material with which he is dealing emanates from a single
school of thought, ~~even though within this school of thought,~~
even though within this school of thought there are minor vari-
ations in traditions - for instance over the number of banners
used during battle, or the name of some of the trumpets.
The inscriptions themselves conform to the same pattern as those
in the previous section, being reducible to a two-word formula.
Some of these have been glossed, as in the previous section.
The glosses follow no regular pattern, and consist of three kinds.
All of the kinds are found in the second list, where all but two
of the inscriptions are in the form of a pun. The original ins-
criptions in this list are: גבורת אל , מאת אל , אף אל , תרומת אל,
and רנות אל. The addition to the second of these, בעברה על
....בליעל ובכל אנשי גורלו , is what we have termed a "dualistic"
gloss, since "Belial" is a term with dualistic connotations, as
is the idea of a "party" (גורל)[33]. The additions to the third
and fourth inscriptions are "ethical" and the addition to the
fifth is "simple" in that it merely seeks to link the banner and
its inscription more closely.

Curiously, the other lists are almost free from such
additions, and allow us to see the original inscriptions clearly.
There is an addition at IV,12 in the fourth list, where the

original כבת אל has been expanded by an "ethical" addition. No
other glosses are found, although much is missing of the first
list.

The use of banners in the O.T. is not widely testified. In
Num. i,52 we read "the Israelites shall pitch their tents in
formation, each in his own encampment, every man by his standard
(על דגלו)[34], and in Ps. xx,6 is found "....and we plant our
banners in the name of our god (ובשם אלהינו נדגל)". from which the
practice of using the name of God in the inscriptions in IQM
might derive (through regular Israelite military custom?). There
is evidence for the use of formulae, similar to those of the in-
scriptions, in II Macc.viii,23[35] and it seems that the use of
inscriptions spread from banners to other items of military.
equipment, at least in the traditions preserved in IQM IIff.
Such a development is quite probably theoretical, and would not
need to reflect actual Israelite military practice.[36]

V,1-2 Prince of the Congregation

These two lines mention the shield, or some accessory[37] of
the "prince of the whole congregation". Its inscription follows
the pattern of the inscriptions of the banners of the congrega-
tion mentioned in the previous section, having the name of its
prince written and the names of those under his charge - in
this case, the names of the twelve tribes. It has also "Israel,
Levi and Aaron" as distinct from the banner of the whole people
(III,12), which has merely the names "Israel and Aaron" with the
basic inscription of עם אל . Is there any contradiction implied
in the existence of two such banners? Not necessarily, but
there are good grounds for believing that the present passage is
secondary in any case. These are as follows:

1. The figure of the "prince of the whole congregation" appears here only in the entire scroll, and here only incidentally.

2. Within the scheme of II-IX there is no place for such a figure; the battles are directed by the priests (VII,9-IX,9), the cult is under the supervision of the Chief Priest (II,1), and the recruitment of the army is undertaken by the chiefs of the people (II,6-7).

3. This passage gives the impression of an isolated insertion, for if, as Osten-Sacken argues,[38] this was an extract from a list of shield-inscriptions, where is the rest of the list? This should have followed, since in the previous lists, the most important always heads the list.

4. The prince has no banner, no armour, and no special place during the battle, as far as we can judge from II-IX. If this figure really existed, descriptions of these features would surely have been included.

In short, the inclusion of this secondary gloss in II-IX highlights the absence of any such figure elsewhere. The mention of the shield of the prince might have been prompted by a description of shields in V,4 below.

V,3-VIII,7 The Army - Disposition, Weapons, Qualifications

The reason for selecting such a large section for analysis is that only by recognising the structure of the whole can the various parts be properly understood. In fact, this section is made up of a number of smaller, which will be separately examined. These are as follows:

a. V,3-4a disposition of the heavy infantry in a "front formation"

b. V,4b-14 the weapons of the heavy infantry

c. V,16-E disposition of the skirmishers (אנשי הבנים)[39]

d. V,E-VI,6 the weapons of the skirmishers

e. VI,8-11a disposition of the cavalry

f. VI,11b-E weapons of the cavalry

g. VI,E-VII,7 miscellaneous rules, (including age-limits)

The above analysis of the contents shows the logical structure of the section. This has in the past been rather overlooked, partly because the varying nature of the material which has been used has obscured the overall scheme.

Three of the above sub-sections are from the same literary source. This is indicated by the style, which is quite distinctive. These three subsections (a), (c), and (e) are from a military manual whose style is direct, terse, using short sentences, and often difficult to understand since in places it resembles the character of notes rather than connected prose. Further, the three sections can even be read consecutively, so that they may well have followed together in the original source. The importance of this conclusion is that the heading at V,3, which refers to the making up of a "front formation" applies right through to section (e). Between these extracts from the military manual, our compiler has inserted passages of quite different character. We shall deal with subsections (a), (c) and (e) together, therefore.

(a), (c), (e) Disposition of the Troops

The heading at V,3 reads "rule for arraying the battle battalions when the army is at full strength, so as to form front formations."[40] This heading has to apply to the positions of all three parts of the army, heavy infantry, skirmishers, and cavalry. Indeed, in subsection (c), V,16 "they shall array themselves into seven formations, one behind the other" presupposes the account of the composition of a formation, given at V,3-4. In subsection (e), VI,8 "seven arrays of horsemen shall be stationed at the

right and left of the battle-line" presupposes that the battle-line itself has been described.

The three subsections employ technical terminology which is consistent in all three, but whose meaning is not clear without careful examination. The terms are מערכה, סדר, and מערכת פנים. In order not to be drawn into a lengthy and detailed discussion of their meanings at this point, we have postponed study of the structure of the army to a later chapter, where the relevant passages are examined. For our present purposes we have indicated sufficiently the nature and scope of the source.[41]

b. V,4b-14 The Weapons of the Heavy Infantry

The contrast between the style of this passage and that of the three dealt with above is striking. Here is a very detailed description of weapons and their embellishments. Both the style and the measurements of the weapons are possibly influenced by the O.T. if not deliberately reminiscent of certain passages in it.[42] There are no inscriptions mentioned for these weapons, as we might have expected, and the source used here cannot be identified with any other of the sources in II-IX. The question whether the weapons described ever existed or whether all the measurements and details are quite theoretical cannot be answered.[43]

The arms of the heavy infantry are spear, sword and shield. It is not to be assumed that the original source referred only to weapons of heavy infantry, but certainly this is how the passage is to be taken in its present position.

d. V,E-VI,6 The Weapons of the Skirmishers

This passage is one of the most interesting in the whole of

IQM from the point of view of literary history. The key to
understanding it lies in realising its purpose, which is to
provide details of the weapons carried by the skirmishers. Al-
though this information is given, it is contained in a source
which obviously described the course of a battle, and was not
intended to tell about weapons except in passing. Presumably
the compiler found no other source containing the relevant in-
formation, and declined to extract what was relevant, but left
the source in its original form. This procedure we have
observed in other parts of the present document also.[44]

The beginning of this passage is missing at the end of
col. V, but may be reconstructed without difficulty. It will
have described the advance of two battalions of skirmishers
(אנשי הביניּם), for the total number of skirmishing battal-
ions is seven, as we learn from VII,9-IX,9. We know from
VII,9ff. also that the first two skirmishing battalions are
armed with slings. These will have been described in the miss-
ing portion of our passage as having advanced, discharged their
weapons, and retired. Now we are told of the advance of the
next three battalions of skirmishers, who are armed with darts.
Finally, the last two battalions are armed with lance and
shield and sword and shield respectively.

The weapons are discharged seven times by the middle group
of these battalions, and the same is presumably true of the first
group of two, (cp. VIII,1). It can, moreover, be shown from the
data in VIII,14f.[45] that the three battalions of skirmishers in
the second group do not attack all together, but throw their
weapons one battalion after the other. Now this procedure is
also stipulated in the present passage. If we omit the note
about the inscriptions, lines 2b-3 from ועל לוהב to בנשפם אל,

the text may be translated:

> ".....the first battalion shall hurl into
> the enemy line seven battle darts.....each
> of these shall throw seven times and then
> return to their position".

The meaning is now quite clear. "Each of these" refers to
each of the battalions, who throw one after the other. But an
insertion has been made which refers to inscriptions on the
first, second and third weapons. Its position implies that the
inscriptions are on the first second and third <u>weapons</u> of the
battalions. But what, then, of the remaining four weapons which
each battalion threw? What is clearly meant is the inscriptions
of the weapons on the first, second and third <u>battalions</u>. That
is to say, "third dart" (הזרק השלישי, line 3) means "darts of
the third battalion". Confusion has been caused because mention
of inscriptions has been made in the wrong place. This should
have occurred after the statement (line 4) that each battalion
throws in turn. The misplacement of the comment about inscript-
ions indicates that it is a secondary insertion. And this can
be proved, as the next few paragraphs will show.

The inscriptions on two of the weapons (lines 2b-3) mention
a lance and a sword, which is highly unusual, since they are
inscribed on darts. Lance and sword, however, are the weapons
of the last two skirmishing battalions, as we are told in lines
4b-5. Moreover, the phrases גבורת אל and משפט אל, which occur
in two of the inscriptions on the darts recur in lines 5b-6,
where an odd sort of epilogue appears.

To explain this state of affairs we have to reckon with at
least two major alterations in the text, occurring at different
stages. In the first place, it seems that there must have been
two inscriptions supplied for the weapons of the last two

skirmishing battalions, sword and lance. (Whether these inscript-
ions are themselves secondary we cannot tell, but it is odd that
none of the other weapons originally had an inscription). The
two inscriptions were גבורת אל and משפט אל, following the
formula for inscriptions which we have observed already. As fre-
quently happens to inscriptions in II-IX, they were expanded.
But they were expanded in two different ways. One expansion
left the inscriptions as   ברקת חנית לגבורת אל and
שלהובת חרב אוכלת חללי און במשפט אל. Another expansion enlarged
the inscriptions to   להניע להפיל חללים במשפט אל and
מערכת אריב בגבורת אל. Probably these two expansions took place
independently, which presupposes more than one copy of the text
at the same time.

The final stage comes with the conflation of the two sets
of expanded inscriptions. In order to combine the two without
contradiction and confusion, the one set of inscriptions is trans-
ferred to other weapons, and in the present text applies to the
weapons of the second group of battalions. Since three weapons
are involved, a third inscription must have been added. However,
as we have noted, two of the inscriptions still bear traces of
their connection with the sword and lance. The other set of in-
scriptions has been left where it now stands, after the mention
of the sword and lance of the last two battalions. This set of
inscriptions has subsequently undergone a further process of ex-
pansion, with the addition of the words from לשלם גמול in line 6.

The above hypothesis is rather tentative, and the true facts
of the history of this passage may well be different in certain
aspects from our reconstruction. But the peculiar problems of
this passage demand some explanation, which is probably to be
found along the lines indicated. At any rate, the literary

process cannot have been less complicated than we have suggested.

It should be noted that the sequence of events which this passage describes coincides exactly with the sequence in VII,9-IX,9 and that other details such as the weapons also correspond where comparison can be made. There is no doubt, therefore, that both VII,9-IX,9 and the present passage derive from a single battle-plan, although there are developments peculiar to each passage which have subsequently taken place. A further discussion of the implications of this will be found below, pp.90ff.

f. VI,11b-E The Weapons of the Cavalry

Between the end of subsection (e) and the present passage is a statement which has been inserted at a later stage, ויהי הפרשים . על רכב אנשי הסרך ששה אלפים המש מאות לשבט . Hence the present passage proper begins with the words כול הרכב . The reasons for classifying the above statement as secondary will be found in the next chapter, where the whole question of the exact structure of the army and its disposition is discussed.[46] At this point it need only be remarked that the tribe (שבט in 11b) has no relevance to the division of the army on the battlefield, but is a conscriptional or organisational unit.

The present passage is rather haphazardly arranged, as the following list of contents will show:

11b-13b   description of the cavalry of the skirmishers

13b-14a   ages of the cavalry of the skirmishers

14b-15   ages and weapons of the cavalry of the heavy infantry

16   weapons of the cavalry of the skirmishers (?)[47]

According to the scheme governing the whole of V,3-VII,7, the present subsection ought to be devoted to the arms of the

cavalry. This information is certainly contained here, but in a not very orderly manner, and other details are included also. Our task here is to explain, if possible, the arrangement of the text here.

We can presume that the compiler responsible for the final state of the passage is using more than one source, since in line 13 the riders are called רוכבים , but in line 14 they are called פרשים . In 14f. the order of subjects is reversed when the ages of the cavalry are given before a description of their weapons, whereas in lines 11b-14b the ages are mentioned last. Were the passage the work of one hand a more logical sequence would surely have emerged.

The explanation which most economically accounts for the phenomena is that the compiler's major source comprises VI,11b-14a (to אורבים), and 16f. This source provides all the information about the cavalry who accompany the skirmishers - their qualities, ages and weapons. Lines 14b-15 are from another source; perhaps even the compiler himself inserted these lines, deducing the information from the age-limits and weapons of the heavy infantry itself. For all the relevant information about the heavy infantry is presented together, whereas the data regarding the other cavalry, who accompany the skirmishers, is spread on either side of this.

The mention of age-limits for the cavalry leads to the provision of age-limits for all the other groups in the army also. This has been assembled together with other miscellaneous information and forms the final subsection.

g. VI,E-VII,7 Miscellaneous Rules, Etc.

The contents of this passage divide into three parts:

age limits (VI,E-VII,3a); rules about ineligibility (VII,3b-6b);
purity of the camp (VII,6c-7). Between the three subjects there
is a natural association. The first part, age limits, is neces-
sitated by the mention of age limits in the previous subsection.
General rules of eligibility follow quite logically, since these
also determine who shall fight and who shall not. Since consid-
eration of purity are paramount in the matter of eligibility,
remarks about the purity of the camp are appended.[48]

The age-limits themselves are interesting and may be
tables as follows:

25-30	non-combat activites, such as despoiling the slain, guarding the weapons, burying the dead
30-45	cavalry accompanying the skirmishers (and presumably the skirmishers themselves)
40-50	cavalry accompanying the main (heavy) infantry, the heavy infantry itself, and officers called שוטרים .
50-60	camp supervisor[49]

It will be remembered that laymen over the age of fifty are
eligible to serve in the Temple, and this coincides with the
upper limit of active service. The limits for active service are
30-50, with 25 and 60 as outer limits for non-combat services.
According to Num. i,3ff.; xiv,29; xxvi,2.4 the age of conscrip-
tion or eligibility to serve as an active soldier is 20, not 25,
and this is confirmed by II Chron. xxv,5. A closer correspond-
ence to the age-limits given in IQM is found in Num. viii,24 where
25 is the lower limit for service in the tent of meeting by a
levite, and Num. iv, where 30 is given as the limit. According
to Num. viii, 25-26, a levite at the age of fifty retires from
regular service, but may continue to perform lesser duties. The
inner and outer age limits might therefore be traced back to lev-
itical regulations. The age limits of officers of the sect at
Qumran, given at CD X,6, are also between 25 and 60,[50] but it is

perhaps unwise to draw any firm conclusions from these data.
The age limits in IQM might be drawn from Jewish military
practice, about which we know very little.

The rules regarding ineligibility begin with a ban on
women or young men entering the camp "when they go forth from
Jerusalem to go to war, until they return" (3b.4a). The period
of a soldier's active service thus seems to have extended from
the very beginning of the campaign until the end.[51] It is not
unlikely that this regulation is formulated specifically to apply
to the campaigns of the forty years' war outlined in col. II;
each of these campaigns presumably would have started from
Jerusalem, and for the final return to Jerusalem afterwards, we
have the evidence of III,10bf.:

> ".....and upon the trumpets for the way of
> return from battle with the enemy so as to
> come to the congregation to Jerusalem, they
> shall write 'Rejoicings of God in peaceful
> return.' "

The disqualifications in 4b, forbidding those halt, blind,
lame or with any permanent physical disability to serve as
soldiers is very similar to that of Lev. xxi,17-21, which gives
disqualifications for priests. Again, any direct connection is
doubtful - the disqualifications given are perfectly natural and
most of them apply even today. No doubt these reflect ancient
as well as modern military practice.

The rules regarding purity of the camp (6c-7) are cert-
ainly drawn directly from O.T., from Deut. xxiii, 10-15. There
are slight differences, however. In Deut., the distance between
the latrine and the camp is not given; and whereas Deut. xxiii,15
states that nothing unseemly should be seen in the camp, because
"Yahweh your god walks in the midst of your camp", we find here
the phrase "for holy angels are in communion with their hosts".

Although conclusions have been drawn from this about the belief in angelic warriors,[52] the revision amounts to no more than the softening of a blunt anthropomorphism and does not indicate any belief in angelic assistance on the battlefield, of which no trace is found in cols. II-IX.

Although most of the rules included in the present passage are derived directly or indirectly from the O.T., certain modifications indicate that military custom has also played some part (e.g. in the stipulation of a distance between camp and latrine). These general rules provide a fitting conclusion to the entire section from V,3-VII,7 and prepare for the next section, which deals with the battle itself.

VII,9-IX,9 Procedure for the Pitched Battle

Already recognised by several scholars as a rule for priests,[53] this is the longest self-contained section in II-IX. In spite of this, there is some internal contradiction in the information about trumpets. In our opinion, this section's purpose is mainly to describe the course of the battle; the compiler of II-IX is not interested in the activities of the priests apart from their duties in battle.

The battle-plan contained in this section, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, begins "when the battle formations are deployed opposite the enemy" (line 9) and thus begins exactly at the point where the previous section ended - with the formations assembled. The details of the battle-plan itself agree basically with the other relevant information in II-IX; the names and order of the trumpets (col. III);[54] with the excerpt from another account of the battle in V,E-VI,6, the weapons used by the troops, and their position in the battle line (V,3ff.). Although we cannot ascribe all this material as emanating from one source, the degree of correspondence must be explained by a certain community of origin. This question will also be discussed

in due course.[55]

    Incorporated into the present section is a trumpet list
which disagrees with the information about the trumpets to be
deduced from the battle account. This perhaps points to a
source incorporated within the present section and extending
from VII,12 וגיד השּשה to 13b והּצורות המּאסף. On the whole
problem of the conflicting information regarding trumpets in IQM,
see below, p. 105f.

    The battle-plan itself is fairly simple, and involves three
waves of skirmishers attacking one after the other. The effect
of this is to put the enemy into retreat, so that the whole army
thereupon pursues and destroys the enemy. As this plan is
examined in detail in the next chapter, we shall restrict our-
selves here to a brief indication of the contents of the
section, presented in the following table:

VII,9-14	When the formations are deployed (described in the previous section), seven priests go out from the middle interval in to the space between the two armies, wearing special battle garments (not described). One priest delivers the speech of encouragement (as stipulated in Deut. xx,1ff.) and the other six carry the trumpets, which are those of מקרא, זכרון, תרועה[56], מרדף, מאסף. With the priests go שוטרים and seven levites carrying horns (שופרות).

VII,15-E	2 trumpets מקרא blown	intervals open; 50 skirmishers emerge

       (This is done with each of the formations in turn)

<center>LACUNA</center>

VIII,1-3a	unnamed trumpets blown	first 2 battalions of skirmishers, armed with slings, throw 7 times
VIII,3b-14a	trumpets משוב blown trumpets מקרא blown	slingers withdraw 3 battalions of skirmishers emerge, with cavalry
	unnamed trumpets blown מרודד	columns of skirmishers form into arrays

second תרועה blown גוה סמוך		skirmishers advance towards enemy
6 trumpets חללים blown עוד טרוד ; simultaneously a שופרות on the תרועה		skirmishers throw darts at enemy 7 times
trumpets משוב blown עוד טרוד סמון		skirmishers withdraw

Much confusion is avoided by realising that the next few
lines, (VIII,14b-17), are a summary of the procedure just out-
lined and do not describe a new manoeuvre to follow.

VIII,18-IX,2 trumpets מקרא(?) blown   2 battalions of
                                                        skirmishers emerge

LACUNA

trumpets חללים blown; simultaneously a תרועה on the שופרות		skirmishers attack enemy until they are in retreat
IX,3-7a	trumpets מרדף blown	whole army pursues fleeing enemy

IX,7b-9 forbids the priests to approach the scene of the battle
lest they become defiled with the blood of the wicked enemy.

There is a slight problem in that at IX,4 only one battal-
ion of skirmishers is actually engaging the enemy at the moment
when the rest of the army join in for the pursuit. For there
are two battalions of skirmishers in the last group. However,
according to VIII,14b-17 the battalions in each group discharge
their weapons one after the other, although they advance and
retire all together from the main body of the army.

There are certain developments in the present section which go
beyond the basic data of the battle-plan and the blowing of the
signals. These are broadly of two kinds. One is a "ritualising"
of the whole battle such that it becomes no more than a formal
accomplishment of carefully laid down actions. The scene is very
reminiscent of II Chron. xx, where the leadership of the battle
is in the hands of the levites and the victory is assured through

the direct action of God, the human participation being entirely liturgical. Likewise, this description of the battle is removed from reality. The enemy are objects for slaughter.

Another development is the introduction of an ethical aspect. The enemy are "nations of vanity" (IX,9), and thus they are to be annihilated for ever in the "battle of God" (IX,5b,6a). This represents a subtle change from the purely nationalistic tone set by col. II. Both the introduction of this new **religious** emphasis (never, of course, completely absent!) and the portrayal of the battle as following a predestined course, set by God, in which the human contribution is little more than ritual, become even more marked in XV-XIX where we encounter a dualistic inter- pretation of the final war. Perhaps VII,9-IX,9 might be seen as a slight development towards that direction, although it is still much closer to the rest of II-IX in its basic conception.

IX,10-E Procedure for Other Manoeuvres

Although the meaning of some of the terms in this section remains disputed,[57] it is obvious that other military manoeuvres are being described here, for the heading in lines 10-11 makes this plain.

Within the scheme of II-IX the present section's place is logical. The campaigns which are to be conducted will include not only pitched battles, but ambushes, sieges and skirmishes. Hence the trumpet-lists in col. III contain ambush trumpets.

The heading of the section, as well as the general style of the whole passage, shows strong affinites with subsections (a), (c) and (e) of V,3-VII,7.[58] The terms דגלי המלחמה , סרך , and סדר occur in both V,3 and IX,10 with identical meanings. The

style of IX,10ff., as far as can be discerned from the fragmentary text, is conspicuously that of V,3-4a.16-E; VI,8-11a; terse, compact, precise. These facts point to IX,10 as emanating from the same source, which, since it contains information about military formations and manoeuvres, is probably a military manual. The style confirms this.

In IX,14 we find inscriptions on the shields of the "men of the towers"[59] which conform to the formula recognised already.[60] Whether the provision of inscriptions on these shields is firm evidence of secondary expansion is doubtful, since we have lost the remainder of the text. 14b-16 must nevertheless be viewed with suspicion. It could be a gloss.

Just as II-IX has lost its beginning,[61] so its ending is also missing. By how much it has been curtailed is unknown. Certainly no possible connection between cols. IX and X can be envisaged, and the document in II-IX goes no further.

Conclusion: The Structure of Cols. II-IX

Our conclusions as to the structure of II-IX, which arise from the foregoing analysis as well as the preliminary considerations already presented,[62] are as follows:

The contents of II-IX fall into four subjects:

    plan of the course of the war (II,1-14)

    description of the equipment (II,16-IV)

    description of the army   (V,3-VII,7)

    military tactics   (VII,9-IX,E)

These do not, of course, correspond to the formal divisions we have made, nor those indicated in the text itself, but they do show the purpose and basic arrangement of II-IX, which is a manual for the final war of Israel and the nations. It is a

manual which concentrates on the military aspects of the war, and does not deal with liturgy. It has been compiled from several sources, of very varied nature, which may be listed as follows:

1. A priests' rule for battle, showing the correct procedure before and during the fighting (VII,9-IX,9). This source is self-contained, but shows evidence of itself being compiled from earlier sources.

2. A military manual, dealing with formations and manoeuvres (V,3-4a. 16-E; VI,8-11a; IX,10-E).

3. Lists of trumpets and banners with inscriptions, in which the influence of Num. i-x,10 is to be felt. Slight discrepancies occur amongst these; they do not therefore come from the same hand, but show a similarity which points to their origin in the same circles. (II,14-IV).

4. A fragment of a description of a pitched battle, based on the same plan as VII,9-IX,9 (V,E-VI,6).

5. A description of weapons, written in an archaic style, whether of real or imaginary weapons uncertain (V,4b-14).

6. Miscellaneous laws, based on O.T. and possibly reflecting Jewish military practice. These do not necessarily constitute a single source (VI,11b-VII,7).

7. Details of Temple service as conducted by priests, levites and laymen during the course of the war (II,1-6a) (the identification of this last source is tentative).

All these sources have been put together by a compiler, as the overall structure of II-IX shows. Since II,1-14 gives the outline of the whole war, it is this which probably comes from the pen of the compiler himself. If so, then he too is heavily influenced by Num. i-x,10. There is no reason to suppose that

the scheme of the forty years' war originated anywhere other than with the compiler himself. There is nothing in any of the sources which suggests that they were originally composed within the framework of such a scheme, although, as we have observed,[63] the inspiration for the forty years' war seems to have come from Num. i-x,10, whose influence is already evident in cols. III and IV.

Before we proceed to discuss the historical origin of II-IX, there are several points to be clarified. It can be shown that the battle-scheme of VII,9-IX,9 (and V,E-VI,6) presupposes the formation described in V,3-4a.16-E; VI,8-11a, and that the trumpet-lists in II,16ff. reflect the battle-scheme itself. There is thus a great deal of internal cohesion within II-IX and this will be examined in our study of the army in the next chapter.

14. For the "prince of the whole congregation", see below, p.39f.

15. Other editorial additions are to be found in lines 10 and 11, which also indicate when the trumpets are to be blown.

16. See below, p.58, n.57.

17. A discussion of the trumpets in IQM will be found below, p.107.

18. Less probably סדרי אל, for סדרי will have been added to provide a link with the name of the trumpet.

19. Possibly נקם אל. In XVI,3-4 the trumpet זכרון apparently summons the skirmishers.

20. Less probably גבורות אל, for this inscription has already appeared in line 5.

21. The use of רי here appears to be somewhat humorous, and quite different from the use of the word רד in XV-XIX (cf. p.113 below).

22. E.g. Num. i,16-17; x,4.

23. This is also a feature of the inscription of the 9th trumpet (III,8) where the word מעל is used.

24. See below, pp.118ff.

25. Yadin, p.269; Carmignac, p.49 etc.

26. See above, pp.8ff. 15.

27. אורך האותות is read by Yadin and van der Ploeg. An alternative is מדות האותות, read by Carmignac, and סרך האותות by Dupont-Sommer. Cf. Jongeling, p.138f. At all events, it is the length of the banners which is described.

28. Cf. especially Num. ii, 33f.

29. Yadin, pp.49ff.

30. Yadin, pp.53ff.

31. Dupont-Sommer, p.41. He rejects "Merari" as a translation and does not consider that levitical banners are in question.

32. The first two lists are perhaps a single list; we have separated them partly for convenience.

33. Cp. IQM I,13.14; XVI,18, etc. The word occurs nowhere else in II-IX.

34. In the O.T. the regular word for "standard" is דגל. In IQM, דגל means "battalion" and standard is אות. For דגל = "battalion", see Cowley, Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C., Oxford 1926, index.

35. Cf. Yadin, p.38, n.1.

36. See, however, below, p.82.

37. Dupont-Sommer and Carmignac read מם, followed by Jongeling. Yadin and van der Ploeg read מגן.

38. Osten-Sacken, p.50.

39. On our interpretation of this Hebrew phrase, see below, p.61.

40. This translation is discussed below, pp.59ff.

41. See below, pp.59-66.

42. E.g. מראה (Ex.xxxviii,8); גדיל (Deut. xxii,12); מחברת (Ex.xxvi,4f.).

43. Cf. Yadin, pp.114ff. It is unwise to maintain that the descriptions and measurements are inspired by the O.T. and at the same time that actual weapons (Roman) are described, as Yadin appears to attempt.

44. See above, pp.30ff. 35ff.

45. See below, p.66f.

46. Below, pp.59ff.

47. It is scarcely possible for the cavalry with the heavy infantry to have carried all the weapons mentioned in lines 14-16. Moreover, the weapons in line 16 are better suited to skirmishing manoeuvres.

48. Osten-Sacken, p.51, attempts to link VII,1-7 with VII, 9ff., but this is perhaps because he does not understand the structure and purpose of V,3-VII,7. VII,9 clearly begins a new section in which the duties of the priests are the main concern.

49. The text is corrected from "from 40 to 50" but גם has been left after העושים יהיו , instead of deleted.

50. Yadin, p.75f.

51. Cf. II Sam. xi,9-11; von Rad, Der heilige Krieg in alten Israel, Göttingen, 1965[4], pp.7.25.

52. Cf. Osten-Sacken, p.223.

53. E.g. Carmignac, p.108; cf. Dupont-Sommer, p.150.

54. For a discussion of trumpets in IQM, see below, pp.105ff.

55. Below, pp.87ff.

56. According to I Chron. xxiii,4; II Chron. xxxiv,13, too, these were levites. According to Deut. xx,5 their purpose was to supervise the exemption. Cf. also col. X,5.

57. Cf. Jongeling, pp.231ff. The damaged state of the manuscript does not prevent the word אורב being recognised in line 17; an ambush is therefore definitely mentioned.

58. See above, p.39f.

59. Cf. Yadin, p.187, who interprets the "towers" as the Roman testudo, and both Dupont-Sommer (p.154f) and van der Ploeg (p.131) accept that a military formation is meant. Carmignac (p.131) insists on siege-machines.

60. See above, pp.33ff.

61. See above, pp.25ff.

62. Above, p.24f.

63. Above, p.29.

II.   ASPECTS OF THE ARMY IN COLS. II-IX

In this chapter we shall discuss three aspects of the army
as portrayed in cols. II-IX, namely its structure, its method of
fighting the pitched battle, and its recruitment.   The three as-
pects are for the most part illustrated from different sections
of II-IX and thus the inquiry will serve not only to clarify the
presentation of certain facts within II-IX but also demonstrate
the inner consistency of the material which has been compiled to
form the document.

The Structure of the Army

The sources for this investigation are V,3-4a. 16-E;
VI,1-6.8-11a; VII,9-IX,9. We shall deal with the three branches
separately - heavy infantry, skirmishers, and cavalry.

The heavy infantry's structure presents particular problems
because of the use of certain technical terms, and in particular

מערכה .   The word denotes a formation or arrangement of troops
in a certain way, but does not imply by itself any particular
pattern of formation.   Hence there are three possible denotations
of the word   מערכה   in the passages we shall be considering:[1]

a line of a thousand men	V,16; VI,10f.; VII,18(?); VIII,2; IX,4.
a "front formation"[2]	V,3.4; VII,9(?); VIII,17(?).
the assembled battle-line as a whole (used also of the enemy forces)	VI,4.8; VII,14.18; VIII,4.12.

The formation in which the whole army is drawn up is built
around "front formations" (מערכות פנים) into which the heavy
infantry is constituted.   It is the making of such formations
which the heading at V,3-4a is concerned.   The difficulty of
punctuating this heading has led to several different translations
from commentators, and the correctness of each translation can be

assessed only insofar as a complete account of the structure of
the arrayed army is forthcoming.[2]

Our own translation is as follows:

"Rule for arraying the battle battalions, when the army is
at full strength, so as to make a front formation."

The instructions proceed:

"The formation (i.e. the front formation) is made up[3] from
units of a thousand men each; seven lines (סדרי פנים) shall
make up the formation, with one man standing behind another."

The total number of men in a front formation is thus 7,000,
made up of 7 lines of 1,000 men each. We do not know yet how
many of these formations there are, so we are ignorant of the
total numbers of heavy infantry. But in VI,10, where the posit-
ioning of the cavalry is described, we find that there are 1,400
cavalry attached to the "men in the formations, fifty to each
formation". This gives us a total of 28 formations, 196000
heavy infantry. This is clearly far too much. However, IX, 4bf.
mentions the figure of 28,000 warriors. This can be reconciled
with VI,10 if we take the "formation" of VI,10 to mean a unit of
1,000, the unit from which the "front formation" is built. A
total of 28,000 heavy infantry would mean four "front formations".[4]
We may illustrate our arrangement of the heavy infantry by the
following diagram: (not to scale)
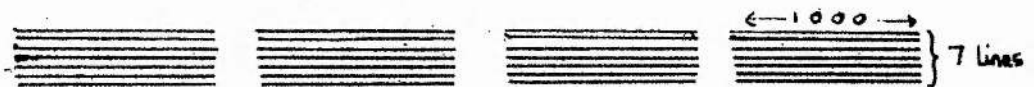
Four front formations, composed of 7 lines of a
thousand men each. Total: 28,000 men.

This arrangement also provides us with a "middle interval"
which is referred to at VII,9.

The skirmishers are called in IQM הבנים אושי. That our
translation of this term is correct follows from the nature of
their activity. The term is used in I Sam xvii,4.23 of Goliath,
and may have arisen from the custom of positioning skirmishers
between (בין) the lines of infantry when not engaged in
fighting.[5]

We know that there were seven battalions of skirmishers
(V,16ff.; VIII,1ff.), although we are nowhere told how many
skirmishers made up a battalion. It is a reasonable assumption,
however, that the number was 1,000 to each battalion. These were
placed between the ranks of the heavy infantry. The taking up
of this position is probably described at V,16ff. where reference
is made to "seven formations" - which must be the skirmishers'
seven battalions. Apparently there was a space of 30 cubits
between the heavy infantry lines (V,17) for the skirmishers, who,
when summoned, would emerge from their stations as described in
VII,15-E:

> ".....and the priests shall sound the two
> trumpets of sum[moning   ]to (?) fifty
> shields. And fifty skirmishers shall go
> out from the first interval [   ]
> levitical officers [   ]. And with
> every single formation they shall follow
> this [rule."

How the skirmishers divided themselves to exit through the
intervals is not clear. The words "fifty shields" might indi-
cate the width of these intervals, which would allow a maximum
of fifty abreast to pass through. But it seems that the skirm-
ishers actually emerge in columns (ראשים , VIII,6) so that
little space would be required.[6]

When the skirmishers had emerged from the ranks of the heavy
infantry, and formed into their lines, they would advance towards
the enemy. This was signalled by a second fanfare (תרועה),

and is described at VIII,7f. The battle-procedure itself is dis-
cussed later;[7] at present we suggest the following arrangement
of the skirmishers before the battle:
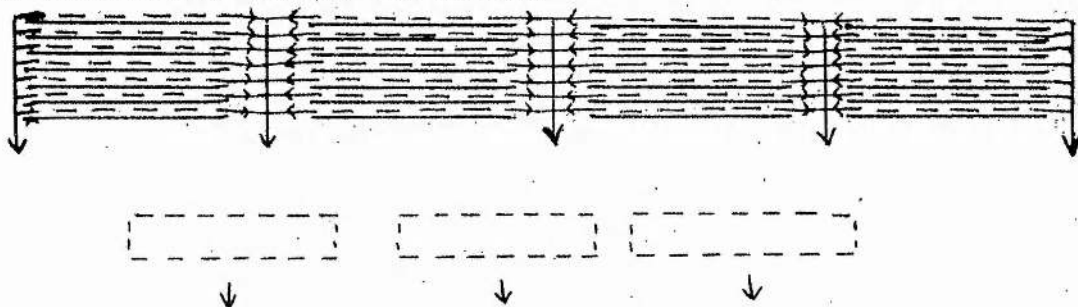
(not to scale)

According to our diagram, the skirmishers use five exits.
If they emerge one battalion at a time, then 200 men or so emerge
from each interval. The skirmishers are protected on each flank
by the cavalry, to whose position we now turn.

The cavalry have to be carefully considered, for there are
some outright contradictions in the text. There is little doubt
that these have arisen by genuine error rather than by a factual
discrepancy between sources. The basic information is provided
at VI,8-10a:

> "Seven lines of horsemen shall be positioned
> to the right and left of the battle-line[8] also.
> Their lines shall take up position on each
> side, seven hundred horsemen on one flank and
> seven hundred on the other. Two hundred
> horsemen shall advance with every thousand
> from the skirmishers' formation. Thus they
> shall take up their position on each side of
> the army."[9]

We arrive, then, at a total of 1400 cavalry, all of whom
advance with the skirmishers. This description, then, must refer
to the skirmishing cavalry, and not the cavalry who belong with
the heavy infantry. Where are these described? Perhaps we
should infer from the presence of the words "these also" (הלה םג)
which is otherwise gratuitous, that information about other

cavalry preceded, in the source from which this extract is taken. But no information about heavy cavalry precedes this passage in the scroll.

The next point to consider is the statement "thus (כן) they shall take up position on both sides of the army. This appears to be labouring the point somewhat; the position of the cavalry has already been most carefully indicated. Possibly this sentence originally stood at the end of a more lengthy description of other cavalry positions. However, our real problem arises with what follows, which is extremely confusing. We read: "in all four thousand six hundred, and one thousand four hundred attached to the men drawn up in the formations, fifty to each formation".

As we have indicated above,[10] the "men drawn up in the formations" must be the heavy infantry, for if there are 1,400 cavalry, 50 to each formation, then there are 28 formations. As we have suggested, this must mean the 28 lines of 1000 men each which make up the front formations. But this would give us a complete total of 2,800 for the cavalry - 1,400 for the skirmishers and 1,400 for the heavy infantry. How is the number 4,600 made up (VI,10)?

To solve this riddle, we must first note that the total of 6,000 for the cavalry is given at IX,5, and it is this number which we have to reconcile with the totals of 1400 for the heavy infantry's cavalry, and 1400 for the skirmishers'. It is indeed a curious total; the other figures are divisible by 7 - 7,000 skirmishers, 28,000 heavy infantry, 1,400 cavalry for the heavy infantry and 1,400 for the skirmishers'. But unless we assume that the figure of 6,000 for all the cavalry stood, it is

impossible to account for VI,10.

There is a possible alternative, which involves regarding the number 4,600 in VI,10 as an error for 5,600 (which is divisible by 7). Added to the 1400 of line 10b, the total cavalry would amount to 7,000, a most satisfactory number. 5,600 could be explained by translating המחנה עצי כבל as "on all sides of the camp", which can be interpreted to indicate 1,400 on each side. The word כן then means "in the same proportion". But the supposition that 5,600 was mistakenly altered to 4,600, which many scholars have put forward,[11] runs into difficulty with the figure of 6,000 which stands at IX,5. To overcome this, it would be necessary to conclude that the figure at IX,5 has been inserted or altered to agree with VI,10.

On our view of VI,10, the figure of 6,000 as the total cavalry number was already standing. The problem was to show how this might be accounted for. VI,10 attempt to make a reconciliation by allocating 4,600 cavalry to guard all the sides of the camp (an impossible, wasteful figure), and then simply adds the total of 1400 for the heavy cavalry. The unusual total of 6,000 is explained by adding "five hundred to a tribe".

Whether our own explanation or the alternative mentioned is preferable must be left for others to decide. The full disposition of the cavalry must remain uncertain, but we may at least conclude that 1,400 accompanied the skirmishers and 1,400 the infantry. How the remainder of the total was made up must be left to speculation. It is worth anticipating our conclusion that the original plan of the army did not include cavalry,[12] since it may serve in some slight measure to explain why the cavalry disposition is not as clear as the disposition of the other troops.

The following diagram represents our own suggestion as to
the arrangement of the 2,800 cavalry about which we are more
certain:
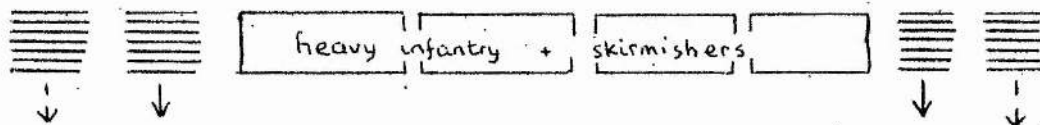
skirmishing cavalry $\rightarrow$

heavy infantry cavalry $- - \rightarrow$

    Cavalry dispositions; 700 + 700 + 700 + 700 = 2,800.

Note on VI,8-11a

We must realise that VI,8-11a consists of three literary
strata. The first is from 8-10a (מחנה). The last sentence
of this passage was originally the concluding sentence of a
section on total cavalry disposition, "thus they shall take up
their position on each side of the array", and in that section,
the word used for cavalry is פרשים . The next stratum con-
sists of the phrase "in all four thousand six hundred, and one
thousand four hundred attached to the men drawn up in the for-
mations, fifty to each formation". Here "cavalry" is רכב . In
this stratum, which is later than the previous one, the phrase
"on each side of the army" has been understood as "on all sides
of the camp". The phrase "men drawn up in the formations" is
very obscurely put, but in view of the number of formations in-
dicated (twenty-eight), must apply to the heavy infantry, and
מערכה will thus mean a unit of 1000 men.[13] The final
stratum, which again uses the word פרשים to mean cavalry[14],
provides the total, 6,000, and indicates the unusual nature of
this number by adding "five hundred to a tribe". Both the
second and third strata accept the total of 6,000. It is just

possible that the third stratum is the same as the first, and
that the second stratum is thus an interpolation. But the ex-
traction of the second stratum does not really leave a logical
sequence.

The three strata are indicated in the following citation of
the relevant passage:

1.   ושבע סדרי פרשים יעמודו גם המה לימין המערכה ולשמאולה
מזה ומזה יעמודו סדריהם שבע מאות פרשים לעבר האחד ושבע
מאות לעבר השני מאתים פרשים יצאו עם אלף מערכת אנשי
הבינים וכן יעמודו לכול עֿבֿרֿי המחנה :

2.   הכול שש מאות וארבע אלפים ואלף וארבע מאות רכב
לאנשי סרך המערכות חמשים למערכה האֿחֿת :

3.   ויהיו הפרשים על רכב אנשי הסרך ששת אלפים חמש מאות
לשבט :

The Procedure for the Pitched Battle

We have already dealt with this question to some extent above
(pp.50ff.), but there remain some details to be added. The account
begins at VIII,3bff.:

> "the priests shall blow on the trumpets of
> summoning (מקרא), and three battalions
> of skirmishers shall go forth from the intervals[15]
> to take up position between the lines with the
> cavalry at their flanks on the right and the
> left. The priests shall blow on the trumpets
> מרודד[16], signals to array for battle, and
> the columns shall deploy into arrays. The
> priests shall blow for them a second fanfare
> (תרועה), signals for advance, until they
> approach the enemy line and stretch their
> hands to their weapons."

This, of course, describes the second wave of skirmishers,
for the first wave comprises two battalions of slingers.[17] The
procedure is presumably the same, however, for all three waves.

After the battalions have arrayed and advanced towards the
enemy line and drawn their weapons, how exactly do they discharge
them? This we learn from VIII,14bff.:

> "According to this procedure (סרך) the
> pr(ies)ts shall blow for the three battalions;
> when the first battalion throws, (the priests
> and the levites and all the band of horn-
> blowers)[18] shall blow a great fanfare to ·
> direct (לנצח) the figh(ting   ) for
> them the priests (shall blow) on the trum(pets
>   ) to their place in the (formations."

Even with the poor state of the text,[19] we can see that when

the three battalions had reached the enemy line all together, they

then operated in sequence. The first battalion threw, and then

partially withdrew; the second battalion followed suit, and so

on. On completion of their attack, all battalions withdrew to

their place in the heavy infantry lines together. This we know

from VIII,1-3a, which describes the method of withdrawal of the

first wave of skirmishers, comprising two battalions:

> "The trumpets shall continue blowing to
> direct (לנצח) the slingers until they have
> finished throwing seven times. Then the ·
> priests shall blow on the trumpets of with-
> drawal (משוב) and they shall come by the
> side of the first formation (המערכה הראישונה)
> to take up position in their allotted place
> (להתיצב על מעמדם)."

There are two possible meanings of the phrase "by the side

of the first formation". Either the skirmishing battalions re-

tire one at a time to a place beside the heavy infantry forma-

tion, that is, the front line of the "front formation", or the

second battalion (to which the text refers) takes up position

beside the first, which must already have retired. In either

case, an intermediate position of withdrawal is indicated, and

this is referred to as the   מעמד . Apparently the final with-

drawal of the skirmishing battalions takes place only when the

next wave has been summoned, thus providing a continuous assault

against the enemy and avoiding an awkward interval in the

proceedings.

This sequence of events explains why IX,3-4 states that six

skirmishing battalions join with the one skirmishing battalion already fighting. The last wave of skirmishers consists of two battalions; the one has already assaulted the enemy and effected its partial withdrawal; the second battalion of this last wave is engaged at that moment. Although the text of IX,3-4 implies that all the skirmishing battalions join in from their position in the midst of the front formations (מתוך מערכות הפנים)[20], our own interpretation of the order of events would require that one of these was not within the ranks of the heavy infantry, but at the position of intermediate withdrawal already described. The writer may perhaps be excused for a certain looseness of expression, (unless the procedure for the last two skirmishing battalions did not exactly follow that of the first two waves).

In all probability, the intermediate withdrawal position (called the מעמד), is the position taken up by the skirmishing battalions after their arraying in front of their own lines; VIII, 4 refers to the skirmishers as "taking up position between the lines" (ועמדו בין המערכות). Once the skirmishing battalion had thrown, and was disarmed, it would retire behind the protective cover of the next battalion.

To sum up, then. The three waves of skirmishing battalions follow the same procedure: 1. they emerge from the ranks of the heavy infantry in columns. 2. they array in front of their own lines. This is their intermediate position. 3. Then they advance together. 4. The first battalion of the wave uses its weapons, and then retires to the intermediate position. 5. The other battalion(s) follow suit. 6. When all the battalions are back in the intermediate position, the next wave of skirmishers

is called out. 7. The previous wave retreats back into the heavy infantry ranks. In the case of the final skirmishing battalion, the remaining skirmishing battalions, together with the army, join with it, while it is still engaged, and drive back the enemy. (IX.3ff.)

The incredible procedure whereby a small section of the army, namely 7,000 skirmishers, overcomes the enemy, whilst the bulk of the army enters the battle only so as to pursue an already overcome enemy, demands an explanation. There does in fact appear to be a plausible explanation for this, and we shall investigate this shortly.[21]   At present, there is one further aspect of the army which ought to be examined.

The Conscription of the Army

The information on this aspect of the army is drawn from cols. II-IV, and has already been investigated by Yadin, pp.38-86. The present account is basically a restatement of Yadin's conclusions.[22]

From the list of banners in III,12ff. we know that the congregation[23] divided into camps of three tribes, tribes, clans (משפחות), thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. We can deduce also that the clan is the equivalent in some way of the myriad (10,000).[24] As observed, the system is based on the account of the organisation of the tribes of Israel given in Num. i-x,10. Naturally, the Pentateuchal description is artificial and does not represent the actual structure of the tribes prior to entry into Canaan. But there may be some kind of historical basis for the scheme, nonetheless.

An account appears in I Chron. xxvii of a military organisation attributed to the time of David:

"The Israelites (according to their number, namely the heads of families, captains of thousands, hundreds, and their officers who served the king in anything which concerned the courses which changed from month to month, every month of the year) comprised 24,000 in each course (מַחֲלֹקֶת). Over the first course, for the first month, was Yashob ᶜam ben Zabdiel, and in his course were 24,000 men. He came from the clan of Perez, and was in charge of all the captains of the army for the first month."

Although it has been sought to prove that this system applies to a reconstruction of the Israelite army under Josiah, there is no sound evidence for this view, which depends very much on circumstantial evidence.[25] On the other hand, its attribution to David by the Chronicler gains support from the description in II Sam. xxiv of a census which David ordered:

"The king said to Joab, the commander of the army, who was with him, 'Go now through all the Israelite tribes, from Dan to Beersheba, and make a census of the people, so that I may know the population'. Joab replied to the king, 'May Yahweh your god multiply your people, however many they be, a hundred times, and may your Majesty witness it personally, but why does your Majesty require this information?' The king nonetheless over-ruled Joab, and the captains of the army keft the king's presence and made a census of the people of Israel.....and Joab reported to the king the total: there were in Israel 800,000 men of military age, and 500,000 in Judah."

The census seems to have had a military purpose, for why else should the commander of the regular army have any objection? And why should the census involve only the men of military age? Why was David anxious to know the potential military strength of his nation? Yadin has argued most plausibly that the purpose of this census was to set up a militia army, and that I Chron. xxvii actually describes the structure of this army. According to Yadin's analysis of the situation, there were altogether 288 units conscripted for each year, comprising 1,000 men each, and serving in twelve monthly courses of 24 units per month. The various tribes, according to the scheme envisaged, would be assessed for so many units, depending on their numerical strength. The actual recruitment of the men to serve in the units would be

in the hands of the heads of the tribes. Each monthly course
would consist of units drawn from different tribes, so that a
balance of forces and an equality of distribution throughout the
year might be achieved.

In IQM II we also encounter a system of courses for military
service, although the courses are yearly, not monthly. II,6bff.
reads:

"In the remaining thirty-three years of the war shall the
prominent men summoned to assembly[26] and all the chiefs of the
clans of the congregation be choosing (בוחרים......יהיו) for
them warriors for the lands of the gentiles. From all the
tribes of Israel they shall mobilize[27] men for military service
(לצאת לצבא)." Here, too, the recruitment of the soldiers is
undertaken by tribal chiefs; and a new recruitment is made year
by year. A system of monthly courses is naturally impossible for
service in other lands, and whereas in the scheme of David re-
corded in I Chron. xxvii, the monthly course could only serve for
defensive purposes, David must have had alternative arrangements
for campaigns abroad in which more than a month's service would
be required.[28]

It seems, then, that the system of IQM.IIff., although based
on Num. i-x,10, also draws on a genuine historical precedent, the
militia army set up by David (and presumably continued in some
form by his successors).

We have now examined three aspects of the army of IQM II-IX,
and the conclusions we have drawn are of importance in consider-
ing the question of the historical roots from which IQM II-IX as
a whole, and of many of its sources as well, are likely to have
sprung.

NOTES

1. Cf. Yadin, p.163f.

2. Cf. the alternative account in Yadin, pp.163-174, esp.
   pp.165-168. With Yadin we are in agreement on several
   points - the meaning of the terms מערכה and סדר ,
   and the composition of the front formation from seven units
   of a thousand men each. But we disagree with the total num-
   ber of heavy infantry (Yadin gives 21,000, p.168) and the
   exact shape of the "front formations".

3. For the interpretation of this term (תאסר על), cf. Yadin,
   pp.165-167; Jongeling, p.148f., who offers the same
   translation.

4. Yadin arrives at three such formations, since he regards
   the total number of heavy infantry as 21,000. This involves
   taking IX,4bf. - "the whole army, seven formations, twenty-
   eight thousand soldiers, etc." as meaning that the twenty-
   eight thousand includes the seven thousand skirmishers. But
   how is "seven formations" thus arrived at? It is surely
   better to suppose that the seven formations mentioned are
   the skirmishers, and that 28,000 are the heavy infantry.
   Moreover, this arrangement makes it possible to have a
   "middle interval" (VII,9) without involving an extra gap
   in the middle of the centre formation, as Yadin has to reckon
   with. Cf. Yadin, p.168 for the alternative arrangement.

5. Cf. Yadin, p.156; Other interpreters translate the term as
   "champions" (Jongeling), "infantry" (Dupont-Sommer), "com-
   batants" (Carmignac). Dupont-Sommer thinks all those be-
   side the cavalry are meant (p.33), and Carmignac refuses to
   recognise any specific division of the army, but suggests

that the term applies to all the infantry who advance from
the ranks to combat (p.20). Van der Ploeg and Jongeling
agree with Yadin's interpretation of the role of these men,
(pp.68 and 73f. respectively).

6. The meaning of "each formation" in VII,17 is ambiguous. It
might mean every one of the front formations, but more
probably refers to the skirmishing formations.

7. See below, pp.66ff.

8. Note the unambiguous use of מערכה here, as="the whole infantry".

9. מחנה can mean "army" as well as "camp". The translation
offered here is defended below, p.64f.

10. See above, p.60.

11. E.g. van der Ploeg, VT 1955, pp.337ff, ad loc. Van der Ploeg later
revised his opinion and suggested 3,200 cavalry to guard the
camp (p.105f.). For a number of other suggestions, cf.
Jongeling, pp.178ff. None of the alternatives is plausible;
no totally adequate account of the disposition of the
cavalry is yet in evidence, as we have suggested, (above, p.63).

12. See below, p.81 for the argument.

13. In this stratum, note that אנשי סרך המערכות refers to the
heavy infantry; in the stratum following (line 11) the phrase
אנשי הסרך means all infantry. But in VI,14, the פרש הסרך
are the cavalry who accompany the heavy infantry. There is
thus a good deal of ambiguity in the use of the word סרך ,
indicating probably different sources. The use of סרך in
XV-XIX will also demand discussion; see below, p.100,n.3.

14. In fact, here פרשים appears to mean horsemen and to mean
either cavalry or just the horses. It is thus possible to
argue a third, different use of terminology in this stratum.

15. The meaning of שערים is generally agreed to be the gaps through which the skirmishers pass. Carmignac, (p.44) thinks of the gates of the camp, and van der Ploeg is uncertain which he prefers (p.77f.) Yadin (p.146ff.) first suggested this translation of שערים (Dupont-Sommer offers no explanation); Jongeling (p.107) agrees with Yadin.

16. For the meaning of these terms (which is of no great importance for our purpose) cf. Yadin, pp.99ff.

17. Cf. IQM VIII,1; above, p.41.

18. Restoration here is almost certain, after VIII,8; cf. XVI,7.

19. Restoration follows Yadin, Carmignac, van der Ploeg, et. al.

20. It is curious that this obvious problem has remained undetected by previous commentators. Even on an alternative view of the sequence of the battle from our own, some difficulty would be involved in explaining that each skirmishing battalion retired immediately after discharging its weapons.

21. See below, p.81.

22. Cf. also Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands, Jerusalem, 1963, pp.262-264. 279-284. (E.T. London 1963).

23. For a discussion of this term, see below, p.78f.

24. Yadin, p.49, cf. above, p.35.

25. Junge, Die Wiederaufbau des Heerwesens des Reiches Juda unter Josia, BWANT IV,23), 1937, pp.60ff. See Yadin's own review in Yedi[c]ot 15 (5710)pp.88ff., where the case is challenged in some detail.

26. Does the phrase as a whole mean "councillors"?

27. Jongeling, p.88 for the possible meanings.

III. THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF COLS. II-IX

Preliminary Considerations

A considerable body of literature already exists on the
question of the date and background of IQM. Much of this has
centred on the debate about "Roman" or "Seleucid" origins, and
the evidence cited has frequently involved the identity of the
Kittim and the military manouevres, mentioned in IQM.

Both of these are unsatisfactory criteria for dating the
War Scroll. We are insufficiently knowledgeable about Helleni-
stic warfare to arrive at definite decisions regarding the
military manoeuvres in the scroll; and in any case, it would be
a little surprising if Jewish military practice were not reflected
in IQM rather than the practice of the Jews' enemies. But this
is, after all, speculative.[1] On the identity of the Kittim, the
debate has not produced any convincing arguments for recognising
either Greeks or Romans as Kittim; the alternative theory that
the Kittim stand simply for the Final Enemy[2] is still no less
plausible.

The fundamental error which nearly all the contributions to
the question have committed is simply in regarding IQM as if it
were a literary unit which could be ascribed to a single date or
background. That IQM as a composition may be assigned a date of
compilation is obvious; but many of the clues which have been in-
dicated by scholars in the text of IQM do not establish the date
of IQM as a whole, but only suggest the date of composition of
the source from which they are taken.

In other words, we have returned to our original thesis,
that the first objective in studying the scroll is to determine
the literary units which make it up, and to find the historical

origin of these; then to proceed to establish the date at which
the final compilation was made, and the reason for such a comp-
ilation. Thus, our own procedure will be to examine all the
literary components of IQM first, in order to establish the date
and purpose of these; then, finally, to consider the question of
IQM as a whole.

Most recent studies of IQM have tended to favour the view
that it is the product of the Maccabean period, or at least the
major part of it. There are certain preliminary considerations
in favour of this view insofar as cols. II-IX.are concerned, and
these we shall mention before commencing our own line of
investigation.

Segal has pointed out[3] that we encounter in IQM II-IX a plan
for an aggressive war by Israel in which its neighbours will be
vanquished. He notes that this marks a dramatic development from
what he calls the "prophetic" conception of holy war, in which
the preeminent agent is God, and the human role is relatively
insignificant. Such a sudden surge of confidence and aggressive
feeling, argues Segal, must be attributed to the extraordinary
success of the Maccabean wars and the rekindling of nationalistic
ambitions. A further implication of Segal's remarks, which he
does not explicitly state, is that such a war as IQM II-IX
presents, ought at least to have been considered as possible at
the time when it was written; it is one thing to prophesy the
imminent intervention of God (as in Daniel, for instance) but
quite another to predict a vast successful campaign of world
domination, waged in human terms.

Segal has a more specific case when he draws our attention
to the list of nations in IQM I,1-2a. He argues that this list
contains nations which had no longer any political existence

after the Roman occupation and annexation of Syria and Palestine.[4]
On the other hand, all the nations mentioned existed in the time
of the Maccabees. Furthermore, the term "offenders against the
covenant" quotes from Dan. xi,32, where it means renegade Jews
prepared to accept Hellenisation. The term "Kittim of Asshur"
applies very plausibly to the Seleucid dynasty, and thus the en-
tire list may be said to reflect a Maccabean or immediately post-
Maccabean situation.[5]

Another line of argument has been followed by Osten-Sacken.[6]
He attempts to show parallels between the military practices of
the Maccabees, as recorded in I and II Macc. and those of IQM.
His conclusion that there is a firm connection is not, in our
opinion, at all warranted by the evidence which he presents, but
a much fuller examination of his thesis is certainly suggested.
In fact, there are a number of important parallels between IQM
II-IX and the Maccabean wars, which are, in our opinion, suffic-
ient to indicate most strongly an original Maccabean setting for
most of the material in these columns. We shall commence this
line of inquiry by underlining some significant features of the
Maccabean army.

The Maccabean Army

We have already argued that IQM II-IX contains descriptions
of the institution of a militia army to fight the major part of
the war. That the Maccabean army as set up by Judas was also or-
ganised on similar lines can be demonstrated from certain passages
in I Macc.; the chief witness being I Macc. iii,42-60:

"Now Judas and his brothers saw that misfortunes had in-
creased and that the forces (viz. of Lysias) were encamped in
their territory. They learned also what the king had ordered to

be done to the people to bring about their final destruction.
But they said to one another, 'Let us repair the destruction of
our people, and fight for our people and our sanctuary.' And the
congregation (συναγωγὴ) assembled to prepare for battle, and
to prepare for battle, and to pray and ask for mercy and for
compassion.......So they assembled, and went to Mizpah, opposite
Jerusalem, since Israel had once had a place of prayer at Mizpah.
That day they fasted, put on sackcloth and sprinkled ashes on
their heads, and tore their clothing. They opened the Torah to
inquire about those of which the Gentiles used to inquire from
the images of their false gods......and they cried aloud to
God.......Then they sounded the trumpets and gave a loud shout,
whereupon Judas appointed leaders of the pople, in charge of
thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens. And he said to those who
were building houses, or were betrothed, or were planting vine-
yards, or were fainthearted that each should return home, in ac-
cordance with the Torah. Then the army set off and encamped to
the south of Emmaus. And Judas said, 'Gird yourselves and be
courageous.....' "5

Now, since we have already been told (I Macc. ii,44) that a
military force had been set up by Mattathias and his followers,
the question arises, what does the above passage refer to? It
seems to describe the organisation of an army, although already
two engagements have been successfully fought. However, we are
also told that the operations of the Maccabees were directed mainly
at renegade Jews, and thus did not envisage any large-scale con-
frontation with the Seleucid forces, (cf. I Macc. ii, 44-48).
We must presumably reckon with a numerically small force.

We are told that the Maccabean resistance now faced an
enemy army of 47,000 men (ii,39), and it is apparently in

response to this threat that the assembly at Mizpah is convened.
Firstly we are told that the congregation (συναγωγή) assembled.
What is the significance of this term? συναγωγή appears approxi-
mately 200 times in the LXX, in 130 of which the Hebrew trans-
lated is עדה .[7] It denotes particularly the people of
Israel as a community assembled for a purpose - a cultic cele-
bration, for instance, or a war.[8] It is the "congregation" which
here, in I Macc. ii,44 assembles for certain rites preparatory
to war.

Another Hebrew term which deserves consideration here is
עם . Apart from the general meaning "people", this often de-
notes also the army of Israel.[9] Hence the term "leaders of the
people" (ἡγουμένους τοῦ λαοῦ) in I Macc. iii,55 means captains
of the army. Both עדה and עם are used in IQM II-IX in ex-
actly the same sense - cf. II,9; III,2.13; IV,9; etc.

The rites which the congregation perform at Mizpah are
those of Holy War, and even the choice of Mizpah itself reflects
this, for in the O.T. it is associated with the Holy War tradit-
ion as a sanctuary.[10] The rites are praying (sacrifice being no
longer permitted), fasting, and consulting the Torah as an oracle.
This is followed by a shout - certainly the תרועה of the O.T.[11]
Then the selection of officers of thousands, hundreds, fifties
and tens takes place. This division of the army is based on
the O.T.[12] but is found also in IQM II-IX. The selection of of-
ficers and the ensuing exemption of certain classes follows, (but
not exactly in the correct order) the law prescribed in Deut.xx,1ff.

The army which is thus set up is what we should term a
"militia". The recruitment is made from all eligible members of
the congregation. It seems that 3,000 men were finally con-
scripted (I Macc.iv,6). At this crucial stage in the war, Judas

revives the O.T. militia army, and rehearses the traditional
Holy War rites which accompany it.

The extent of the organisation of this army is demonstrated
by I Macc. vii,43-50, in which Nicanor is defeated by Judas'
army and pursued a day's journey from the battlefield:

"The Jews pursued them a day's journey from Adasa, as far
as Gazara, and as they followed, they kept sounding (ἐσάλπιζον)
the trumpets of fanfare. And the men came out of all the vill-
ages in the area, and outflanked the enemy, driving them back
to meet their pursuers, so that all fell to the sword; not even
one of them escaped."

This manoeuvre is certainly not spontaneous. The enemy
were systematically outflanked by men who lay in the surrounding
villages prepared for the signal. The signal was a special kind
of trumpet call, on the "trumpets of fanfare". The Greek expres-
sion (σάλπιγγες τῶν σημασιῶν) is the regular LXX translation of
חצוצרות התרועה. This is one of the few indications of trum-
pet signals used by Jews during battle, and corresponds with the
information we have encountered in IQM, II-IX, where a תרועה
is one of the main signals.[13] The manoeuvre in question is, in
effect, an ambush; this too is included in IQM II-IX as a tactic,
having even its own trumpet (III,2.8; cf. IX,18).

The tactic of the ambush is a common feature of guerilla
warfare, and is well attested in O.T. accounts.[14] The Maccabees
avoided pitched battles, where their numerically inferior forces
were at a disadvantage, and generally adopted guerilla tactics.
However, as the Maccabean army grew, and the ambitions of its
leaders mounted, the popular, guerilla army of the early days was
gradually replaced by a properly armed and trained army, which
under the Hasmonean princes undertook aggressive measures against

neighbouring states. One of the innovations introduced by John Hyrcanus was cavalry.[15] We must now look in greater detail at the tactics of the Maccabean army.

The Military Tactics of the Maccabean Army

In the battle sequence which IQM II-IX incorporates, the bulk of the fighting, as we have illustrated, is actually done by skirmishing troops. The heavy infantry and cavalry participate only in the final pursuit, and the enemy are put into retreat by a mere 7,000 men. Moreover, we have indicated our suspicion that the cavalry have been added subsequently to an army which originally did not contain them. This suspicion is reinforced by the absence of any cavalry in the army depicted in cols. XV-XIX.[16]

Now, the early Maccabean army was ill-equipped (I Macc.iii, 12; iv,6) and fought essentially skirmishing tactics; that is, they avoided pitched battles at close range, but used the advantages of smaller numbers, increased mobility and knowledge of the terrain to defeat larger and more cumbersome armies. The system of fighting which the Maccabees were accustomed to was therefore very similar to that which we find in IQM II-IX, where the enemy are defeated by a small number of lightly-armed troops wielding missiles, (and only finally resorting to close tactics). The army of IQM II-IX is in appearance a fully-developed one, but it is not employed to proper effect; the system of fighting is that of the Maccabean warriors.

The Use of Trumpets

The details in IQM on the subject of trumpets are not always consistent, but there is sufficient similarity in

prescribed inscriptions, the likelihood of the Maccabean influence
on the War Scroll in this respect is rather high.

Nationalism

One of the more important features of the Maccabean war,
especially as recorded in I Macc., is the evidence of high nat-
ionalistic feeling, in which the Deuteronomic dichotomy between
"Israel" and "the nations" is revived. In I Macc. ii,39, Mattathias
speaks of "fighting with the Gentiles for our lives and our laws";
the Gentiles' wish is to "destroy us from the earth" (cf. also
ii,68; iii,52; iv,11). Israel's very existence is threatened by
"the gentiles" who remain almost always undifferentiated, (cf.
iii,25f.; iv,14.45.54; v,19; etc.). So that although the
Maccabean revolt arose out of religious persecution, and en-
shrined religious aims, it contained a very strong element of
political nationalism; that is, it aimed at Israel's political
freedom as well as religious independence. This was not shared
by, for instance the Hasidim (cf. I Macc.vii, 12ff.) but has
emerged strongly in the account of I Macc., whose author, writing
in the Hasmonean period[23] recognised as having been present from
the beginning and finding its logical outcome in the national-
istic policies of the Hasmonean princes, who sought to increase
the political status of Israel by diplomatic and military means.

Consipicuously absent in the accounts of I Macc. is any
divine intervention. The credit for victory goes often enough
to God, but God is regarded as working through human agencies.
This is, of course, in stark contrast to II Macc. At one place,
admittedly, Judas refers to the slaughter of Sennacherib's
troops by God's angel, and asks for this to be repeated (I Macc.
vii,41f.). But whereas the precedent referred to took place

without any human activity,[24] in this case the Maccabean army
is about to take the field. One cannot therefore take Judas'
statement completely at face value.

Can we find this Maccabean nationalism the roots of IQM
II-IX, which also displays a nationalistic attitude and rejects
any direct divine intervention on the battlefield? In this
particular instance, as with several of the instances we have
cited in this chapter, one can hardly assert categorically that
Maccabean influence is present in IQM II-IX. But the cumulative
weight of the evidence we have presented seems to us overwhelm-
ing, and we shall seek now to suggest how IQM II-IX might have
originated and developed.

NOTES

1. Cf. the remarks above, p.5 and n.1.

2. So Jongeling, p.51, following, more or less, the view of
   Carmignac that the word "Kittim" merely means "nations"
   (p.4). Views which hold that the word "Kittim" does not
   apply to any nation (e.g. R. North, "Kittim" War or "Sectaries"
   Liturgy? Biblica, 1958, pp.84-93 hardly explain the presence
   of a "king of the Kittim" at XV,2.

3. Art. cit. pp.138ff.

4. It is possible, of course, that the list contained in I,1b,2a
   draws simply from a traditional O.T. list of enemies (cf. II
   Kings xxiv,2; Is. xi,14, Dan. xi,41-42), but this raises
   grave questions about the very nature of the scroll; is the
   list in II,10ff. "theoretical" also? This kind of argumen-
   tation is not very convincing, in our opinion, for the
   "offenders against the covenant" are not included in the
   O.T. lists cited.

5. The terms "Maccabean" and "post-Maccabean" or "Hasmonean" are
   rather vague, and usage differs from one writer to another.
   For the purposes of this study, the word "Maccabean" applies
   until and including the reign of Jonathan (d. 142 B.C.);
   thereafter the word "Hasmonean" will be used. This distinc-
   tion is perhaps arbitrary, but is at least consistently to
   be applied.

6. Cf. our discussion of I Macc. iii, 46 in JTS XXIII, (1972),
   pp.117-121.

7. Kittel, Theologisches Wörterbuch zum N.T., VII, (1964)
   pp.802ff.

8. Ibid, p.802.

9. Cf. von Rad, Der heilige Krieg, p.5.

10. Davies, art. cit., p.118.

11. Cf. P. Humbert, <u>Le Terou^cah. Analyse d'un rite biblique</u>, Neuchatel, 1946 for a detailed study of this practice.

12. Josephus, for instance, states that Judas' array was organised "in the old traditional manner" - τὸν ἀρχαῖον τρόπον καὶ πάτριον (Antiquities XII, vii,3).

13. Cf. IQM III,1; VIII,7.15; IX,1.7; etc.

14. E.g. Josh,vii,2; Judg. ix,25; xx,29; etc.

15. Cf. I Macc. xvi,4.

16. On this point, see below, pp.104ff.

17. See above, p.32f.

18. E.g. at Num xxxi,6.

19. Above, p.80.

20. See above, p.37.

21. Above, p.33 for the formula.

22. Cf. Yadin, p.58,n.1. Attention was first drawn to these by Avi-Yonah, IEJ 2 (1952), p.3.

23. For the date of I Macc., cf. Abel, <u>Les Livres des Maccabées</u>, Paris, 1949, pp.XXVII-XXIX.

24. II Kings xix, 35.

IV. THE COMPOSITION OF COLS. II-IX

We have already shown that the information in II-IX regarding the structure of the army and the technique of pitched battle is consistent, although different sources are to be discerned. This indicates a common conception, shared by a number of sources, which we have suggested arises from a concrete historical situation. The manner of fighting the pitched battle indicates Maccabean guerilla tactics, and the trumpets also may be derived from the same origin. Clearly, however, we have to explain not only the parallels with Maccabean warfare, but also the developments which are present in the scroll. Of these, the two most evident are the enlarged army, most of which is redundant, and the names of the trumpets, where there is some disagreement.

Our starting point ought to be the source which we have identified as the military manual, namely V,3-4a.16-E; VI,8-11a; IX,10ff.[1] For it is this source whose nature we have been able to discern most readily, viz. as a practical military textbook; a Jewish military manual, evidently, and one which may be said to show traces of Maccabean warfare. The production of such a work is perhaps to be attributed to the period at which regular Jewish armies were being trained, and the training was based partly on the Maccabean techniques and partly on the observed techniques of other nations. We know that a regular Jewish army was built up by the later Maccabean and Hasmonean princes, and this background seems ideal for our "military manual".

Since the procedure for the pitched battle (VII,9-IX,9; cf. V,E-VI,6) fits with the deployment of the troops in the "military manual"[2], we may suppose that this, too, originally came from that manual. But in IQM II-IX we do not have the procedure for the pitched battle in a straightforward form, but in two developed

forms - one in which the emphasis is on the priestly activity
and the correct name and order of the trumpets, and the other
in which a good deal of interference with the text, to say the
least, has taken place.[3]

Since basically, the names and number of the trumpets can
be accommodated to the pitched battle procedure, we may proceed
further and suggest that details of the trumpets used in battle
were also part of the military manual. But, again, we do not
have the names in their original form, but in developed forms,
such as the lists in col. III, and VII,9ff.

If we accept, then, that a good deal of the material in II-
IX comes from a Hasmonean military manual, it must not be over-
looked that in its present form, all this material is subordi-
nated to an overall eschatological scheme, in which Israel will
defeat the nations of the earth over a period of forty years.
That such an idea is most plausibly set in the context of post-
Maccabean euphoria we have already suggested[4]. Although the
influence of Num. i-x,10 is paramount, that does not mean to say
that this eschatological scheme is nothing more than a theologi-
cal exercise. Predictions about the future, to mean anything,
have to be at least conceivable; and where no divine miracle,
without human assistance, is predicted, then there has to be
some basis, however slender, in the current historical situation
to make such a hope capable of being entertained. To predict
the return of the ten lost tribes of Israel, to begin with, might
be a sign of post-Maccabean confidence.[5] This, perhaps, is ex-
pected to happen after the first six years of the war. These
first six (or seven, including the sabbatical year) will see the
land of Israel freed from foreign domination.[6] Now this, of
course, will have already taken place - or be taking place - at

the time when II-IX was compiled. Has the war of forty years al-
ready started?

We cannot date II-IX precisely, but we can show when it is
most likely to have been compiled, and from what sources. We can
suggest that the period immediately following the Maccabean
successes when the Jews attained political independence, was a
period of great optimism; Israel had her own army once again,
and was determined to fight. Under the influence of Num. i-x,10,
there is developed by a circle of idealists a plan for the ful-
filment of Israel's ambitions. Drawing on the contemporary
military manual, and developing certain ideas in it, they prod-
uced the bulk of the material which is found in IQM II-IX. But
no single document emerged until a compiler assembled various
passages from these writings. Possibly it was only with this com-
piler that a fully-fledged scheme matured. But we may conclude
that well before the Roman presence was established in Palestine,
the document now in IQM II-IX had been put together.

Was it a product of the Qumran sect? This is impossible
to say; it has certainly left traces in other documents from
Qumran, and notably IQSa[7]. But it is, generally speaking, rather
difficult to find a Qumran origin for this document; it has no
dualistic ideas; it is pan-Israelite in outlook, and there are
no major sectarian indications, apart from the solar calendar
(II,1ff.). It might well have arisen, however, in circles which
were eventually drawn into the Qumran community.

NOTES

1. See above, p.39f.

2. See above, p.59.

3. See above, pp.40ff.

4. Above, p.76.

5. This particular hope has been surmised for the post-Maccabean period; cf. J. Murphy-O'Connor, *An Essene Missionary Document?* CD II,14-VI,1, RB 77 (1970), pp.201-229,cf. p.214f. Murphy-O'Connor cites Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, New York. (1957), pp.21-22. 376.

6. See above, p.25f.

7. Cf. Osten-Sacken, pp.234ff. The observations are valid, the conclusions probably wrong. There are also important differences between 1QSa and 1QM II-IX, such as the absence of any Messiah figure in the latter, which he has completely ignored.

P A R T   T W O

COLS. XIV, XV-XIX

I. COL. XIV AND COLS. XV-XIX

Introduction

In cols. II-IX we encountered the scheme of a forty years'
war waged by the twelve tribes of Israel against the nations.
Cols. XV-XIX contain a quite different picture of the final war,
which is to be fought between the sons of light and the sons of
darkness. On the side of the sons of darkness are ranged the
forces of Belial and the army of the Kittim. The rather nat-
ionalistic tone of II-IX is here replaced by a strong ethical one.
The enemy represent evil and wickedness, and are therefore dest-
ined for destruction. The sons of light are to be saved by God,
who will intervene in the closing stage of the struggle to des-
troy the sons of darkness.

The whole conflict will take place in seven stages (גורלות)
in which the sons of light and the sons of darkness will each be
victorious three times. The account contains much liturgy to be
performed before, during and after the struggle.

One of the important themes of this document is its emphasis
on "testing". There are to be casualties during the battle from
amongst the sons of light, and this is intended to refine and
test them. A special speech is devoted to this subject.

That cols. XV-XIX form a single document has been accepted
by most scholars, although there is some dispute as to the point
at which the document actually begins.[1] However, the present
state of the document has been arrived at only through a fairly
long process of development, and this can be shown with reasonable
confidence, since IQM itself contains a fragment of an earlier
recension of the document, namely, col. XIV. It is the purpose
of this chapter to demonstrate the relationship between col. XIV

> "And they shall return to the place where they
> had taken up their position, where they had
> arrayed the formation, before the falling of
> the enemy's slain, and in that place they
> shall all bless the God of Israel.....and·
> speak the following words."

Let us consider the following points of comparison:

a. There is no mention of Chief Priest, priests or levites; all
the verbs are plural - even סדרו , which is in contrast to
XV,5 where the Chief Priest is described as having arrayed
the formations.

b. The verbs נגש and עמד do not occur, but we do find √שוב
and עומדם. This "place-at-which-they-stood" is identified
with the spot where the formations had been arrayed in the
first instance. This agrees with XV,4ff.

c. The word שם occurs, referring to the place where the for-

/had been arrayed/

mation⟨ Now, whereas in the passages cited from XV-XIX, the
place at which the liturgy was performed (שם) was "in
front of the formation", here it is at the actual spot
where the formations were arrayed. This distinction might
be over-trivial, but could reflect the absence of any
priests or levites who would stand <u>in front of</u> the troops;
i.e. the centre of the liturgical stage, as it were, is not
<u>in front of</u> the formation, where the priests and levites
are (as in XV-XIX), but <u>in the formation itself</u>, for the
liturgy is conducted by the troops themselves, according
to XIV,3-4.

d. The formula עזר ואמרו recurs - like all the verbs, in the
plural.

e. The expression אל ישראל recurs.

Amongst the striking correspondences between the "framework
passage" of col. XIV and those of XV-XIX, there is one important

difference, the absence of any priests or levites leading the liturgy. But a still more significant difference can be revealed. This difference will become most prominent when we study the battle-narrative sections of XV-XIX, but it must be taken note of here. The enemy in col. XIV,3 are referred to as האויב - a usage which is adopted also in cols. II-IX. But in the framework passages, (and the battle-narrative passages) of XV-XIX, the enemy are specified in every case, and the word אויב itself does not even occur.[5] In XV,2-3 the enemy are the "Kittim and all the army of Belial"; in XVI,3a "the Kittim"; in XVI,11 "the sons of darkness"; in XVII,16 "the sons of darkness"; in XVIII,1 the enemy is "Belial"; in XVIII,2f. "Asshur", "Kittim" and "Belial" all occur; in XIX,10f. "the Kittim, the multitude of Asshur" is used.

Thus, between the passages we have compared in col. XIV and cols. XV-XIX there are both striking similarities and striking differences.

The Liturgy of XIV and XV-XIX

A detailed comparison of the liturgy of XIV and XV-XIX is not intended at this point. A few observations will serve to bring out the character of the relationship between the two. In any case, the liturgy of XV-XIX is varied in its theology and must be carefully evaluated. The liturgy in col. XIV may be divided into three hymns, of which the first two are related to the rubric preceding (lines 2-4a).[6] These first two hymns, although slightly different in outlook and purpose, reflect a situation in which Israel is suffering oppression. In the first hymn, (4b-8a) this comes from an "assembly of nations" who are

intent on destruction. The ethical differences between the two parties in the struggle is stressed. In the second hymn, the struggle is understood as reflecting a cosmic struggle in which God protects his own from the devices of the followers of Belial, (lines 8b-12a). This latter hymn is dualistic, but its dualism is different from that of XV-XIX. There are no Kittim or sons of darkness indeed no military confrontation is referred to.

The differences we have been stressing, however, do not really apply between the liturgy of XIV and the liturgy of XV-XIX, but between the liturgy of XIV and the framework of XV-XIX. The distinctive theology of XV-XIX is imparted entirely by the framework passages; the hymns which XV-XIX include are, generally speaking, fairly similar to those of col. XIV. But they have in some cases been revised, and one hymn in XV-XIX is in fact a product of the same way of thinking as the framework passages. Without a study of each of the hymns individually, no clear picture of the relationship between the liturgy of XIV and XV-XIX can be drawn.

Col. XIV An Earlier Recension of XV-XIX

That XIV is similar in structure to XV-XIX (with rubrics and liturgy) is evident from the outset. That XIV is not a misplaced part of XV-XIX has already been suggested by the differences we have been careful to point out. But what is the exact relationship between XIV and XV-XIX? This can be answered by comparing XIV,1-4a and XVIII-XIX. Both cover the same episode, the morning after the battle in which the enemy have been slain. According to XIV,1-4a, the enemy were defeated on the previous day by the victorious army, whose bodies and clothing are covered with the blood of their foes. The two liturgical items mentioned

are a "hymn of return" in the evening and a hymn of thanksgiving on the following morning.

But according to XIX,10:

> "....that n(igh)t (shall be) a rest for them
> until the morning. And in the morning they
> shall come to the (pla)ce where the formation
> (had been made) (where the warrio)rs of the
> Kittim (had fallen), the multitude of Asshur,
> and the army of all the nations that had as-
> sembled [   ] slain [   ]
> had fallen there by the sword of God...."

This passage, although sadly incomplete, certainly covers the same episode as XIV,1-4a and in nothing like the same words. There is no possibility of relating the texts of the two accounts. Moreover, there is probably a very profound difference between the two versions, although we shall have to refer to XVIII,1ff. to establish this, because the text of XIX,10ff. is not well enough preserved to give a clear answer.

XIX,11b.12a refers to the enemy as "slain...fallen by the sword of God". Yadin understands the passage to mean that the warriors, in returning to the scene of the battle on the morning after, find the enemy miraculously slain by God, after the man- ner of Sennacherib's experience recorded in II Kings xix,35ff. The text itself does not explicitly say this, but some support for this view comes from an earlier passage. At first, XVIII,1ff. seems to be describing the annihilation of the enemy on the previous night:

> ".....when the great hand of God shall be
> raised up against Belial and against all the
> a(rm)y of his dominion, for everlasting
> affliction [   ] and the
> shouting of the קדושים [7] in pursuit of Asshur,
> and the sons of Japheth shall fall, never to
> rise again, and the Kittim shall be broken,
> without [   ] lifting of the
> hand of the God of Israel against all the
> multitude of Belial. At that time, the
> priests shall sound a fanfare...."

The passage which follows is an extract of battle-narrative, describing how the army spreads out to destroy the army of the Kittim completely. Then follows a hymn of thanksgiving, in which God is blessed for his deliverance (XVIII,6bff.). The hymn it-self is certainly composite[8] and contains a call to Yahweh to rise and smash his enemies - which, as we have already read, had been achieved. What takes place at XVIII,6ff. is a major modi-fication of the tradition, represented in col. XIV and in XVIII,1ff., whereby the enemy are slaughtered at the end of the day by the warriors. Now, it appears, a miraculous act of God is asked for, and in XIX,10ff. we may confidently read the text as describing the discovery of this miracle, which has taken place overnight.

We shall examine the relevant passages in more detail at a later stage, so as to try and determine exactly at what points in the text the modifications appear to have been made. At present, we are concerned only to assess the relevance of the observations to col. XIV.

Our conclusion is that col. XIV represents an earlier stage in the evolution of XV-XIX, in which the battle was won not by a miraculous intervention by God but by slaughter on the even-ing of the day. This tradition is maintained by XVIII,1ff. But since XIX,10ff. has been revised, it bears little resem-blance to XIV,1-4a. This conclusion also explains the relation-ship between the rubrics of col. XIV and XV-XIX, from a compari-son of which we can see other developments in XV-XIX from the earlier version of XIV, namely the introduction of Chief Priestly control of the liturgy, and the introduction of the Kittim as a specific enemy in place of the neutral word אויב.

Are there any other modifications in XV-XIX over the earlier

version of XIV? The answer to this is almost certainly in the affirmative, but will not be learnt from a comparison of XIV and XV. We must turn to the contents of XV-XIX themselves.

PART THREE

COLS. X - XIV

NOTES

1. See above, p.19 and below, pp.181ff.

2. In one case, (XVI,11-12) what appears to be battle-narrative
   is assigned to the "framework" element, for reasons given
   below, pp.101ff., passim.

3. There is disagreement about the meaning of סרך here. We
   have seen (above, p.76, n.13) that in II-IX it can refer,
   depending on the source being employed, either the heavy
   infantry (VI,14; VII,1) or the heavy infantry plus skirm-
   ishers (VI-11). The term can also mean "rule" or "procedure",
   ast at V,3; VIII,14, etc., a usage reflected at XV,5 only
   within XV-XIX. Otherwise, in our opinion, it is regularly
   used to apply to all the men of the army, thus corresponding
   to VI,11 (for there are no cavalry in XV-XIX). (so Yadin,
   p.320). But it could also mean certain officials (so Dupont-
   Sommer, p.170; - "officers"). Van der Ploeg, p.50, Carmignac,
   p.216 and Jongeling, p.334 all appear to follow Yadin, and
   this view is supported by mention of the זקני הסרך at
   XIII,1.

4. For a discussion of the text at this point, cf. Jongeling,
   pp.382ff. The restoration here follows the opinion of the
   majority of commentators.

5. The word אויב occurs in liturgical passages at XVIII,10
   and XIX,3.

6. See below for the argument, pp.118ff.

7. On the possible meaning of this term, see below, p.143f. and
   n.30, p.151.

8. See below, pp.112ff.

II. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF COLS. XV-XIX

Of the three elements in XV-XIX which we indicated in the previous chapter, framework, battle-narratives, and liturgy, the most difficult to examine is the liturgy because of its great variety of style and theology. By contrast, the other two sections are marked by a consistency of style and of certain recurring features. Examination of these elements, therefore, is more straightforward. But the framework material, which by linking the passages of battle-narrative and liturgy determines the shape of the whole document, is also to be found in passages which are apparently liturgical or narrate a battle-sequence. Examples of this are XVI,11-12 and XVI,15b-XVII,9. In such cases, there are the strongest reasons for allocating the contents to the framework element.[1]

Since the framework passages in XV-XIX are evidently the latest stratum in that document,[2] we shall need to postpone examination of them until the battle-narratives and the liturgy have been dealt with.

The Battle-narratives (XVI,3b-9; XVII,10-15; XVIII,3b-5a)

The most striking feature of these passages is their verbal correspondence, to a high degree, with passages from VII,9-IX,9. These are indicated in the table overleaf. From a study of the passages compared, the following differences emerge:

1. Whereas in VII,9ff. the different trumpet tones are frequently indicated, only once do we find such a case here (at XVI,7). The phrase, קול חד טרוד, agrees exactly with its counterpart in VIII,9, but is not found in XVII,13, where the same operation is being performed.[3] This suggests that the phrase at XVI,7 is interpolated.

2. The naming of the trumpets sometimes differs between the battle-narratives of XV-XIX and that of VII,9ff. XVI,4a has the trumpet זכרון instead of the trumpet מקרא at VIII,3; the זכרון occurs also at XVIII,4 instead of the מרדף at IX,6. Other slight variations in the actual wording of the trumpet-names are to be found also.

3. Wherever the word אניר occurs in VII,9ff., its counterpart in the passages from XV-XIX is כתיים .

4. An important difference, not to be overlooked, is that in VII,9ff. there is only one encounter. In the passages from XV-XIX there are seven. However, the procedure is the same for all those mentioned. Curiously, the encounters in which the righteous party are defeated are not described at all. There is also an interpolated passage which introduces "reserve formation" about which nothing has been heard in cols. II-IX.

5. In addition to the major differences noted already, there are several slight variations in phrasing which do not lend themselves to any systematic explanation.

The conlusions to be drawn from the above observations are as follows. Any direct literary influence of VII,9ff. upon the passages in XV-XIX, or vice versa, is out of the question. There are too many slight variations between them. In the case of the trumpet-names, for instance, independent development is probably the best explanation. But there is obviously a common source. By examining the passages in XV-XIX and VII,9ff. we ought to be able to arrive at an outline of this common source.

Firstly, the battle-narrative from which both derive had no cavalry. This is indicated by the absence of cavalry from the passages in XV-XIX and the evidence already cited (above, pp.67.84)

1. advancing to attack :

2. engagement :

* the בתה has been inserted in the MS. at the wrong place here it is put into its (presumed) proper (place

3. retiring:

הרטיעה

בדו הרכוב אחר מעיר בשוב ישלח מלחמה יוצא המ[...] למלחמה לבני המחנה [...]
המח[...]ה.

$\begin{cases} \text{VIII, 13bf.} \\ \text{XVI, 12f.} \end{cases}$

4. victory:

בנצחוה

**

$\begin{cases} \text{IX, 6f.} \\ \text{XVIII, 3bf.} \end{cases}$

—
This is secondary; see below, pp.

that the cavalry in cols. II-IX are a subsequent development.

Secondly, the names of the trumpets were fewer and probably more confusing. The development of the trumpet-names in IQM as a whole is an extremely complicated one, but the following re-marks represent one possible explanation of the phenomena.

It is important at the outset to distinguish between trum-pet signals and trumpet names. In all the battle-narrative pas-sages of IQM XV-XIX[4] several kinds of signal occur, but only two kinds of trumpet, namely the trumpet of remembrance and the trumpet of the fanfare (דכרון and תרועה). Each of these had more than one signal. Both trumpet names derive from Num. x,9. But the two trumpets needed to be used many times during battle, and this led to the distinguishing names. The first trumpet-call is the דכרון (XVI,3b.4a), but since this recurs at the end of the battle, to signal pursuit (XVIII,4), the two calls came to be known as מקרא and מרדף. In the battle-narrative passages of XV-XIX, the more original term is retained, but in VII,9ff. and elsewhere in II-IX, the later usage is adopted, so that in the secondary passage at XVI,11-13a, the later usage is introduced also.

Fanfares were blown for arraying the skirmishers (XVI,5; XVII,10), followed by a second fanfare for engaging the enemy (XVI,6; XVII,11). The name "second fanfare" is retained (VIII, 7) whilst the first fanfare is called "signal to array for battle" (VIII,5) during the subsequent development of trumpet-calls. The next signal is also a fanfare, to indicate the assault, (XVI,9) and in VIII,19 and III,1 we see confirmation of this. Except in the secondary passage, XVI,11-13a, there is no retreat mentioned in XV-XIX.

The latest development brings different trumpets for the

different signals, and this we find in col. III. An alternative
development is the introduction of specified tones, as found in
VII,9ff. Independent developments of this kind account for the
variety of the trumpet-lists in IQM. If our theory is correct,
the battle-narratives in XV-XIX contain the most primitive form
of the trumpet-names in IQM, whilst col. III has perhaps the
latest form.

In two respects, then, the battle-narratives of XV-XIX re-
present earlier stages of the tradition than those of VII,9ff.
A further difference between VII,9ff. and the battle-narratives
of XV-XIX is that the former describes a single battle with
three waves of assault from seven battalions of skirmishers,
whereas the latter describes seven stages of the battle, in three
of which the righteous are defeated. Which of these two versions
represents the earlier stage of the tradition?

We must realise that there are no descriptions of the
stages in which the righteous are defeated, in XV-XIX, but only
those in which they are victorious. Furthermore, that the battle
takes place in seven stages is only learnt from the repetition of
the battle-narrative and passages from the framework material,
namely XVI,11-13a and XVII,16ff. There is no clue in the
narratives themselves. It appears, therefore, that the "original
battle-narrative" (the source from which VII,9-IX,9 and the
battle-narratives in XV-XIX may be ultimately derived, and which
accounts for their similarities) only comprised a single encounter.
But since in the XV-XIX passages there is no question of three
waves of skirmishers, it may well be that the seven battalions
and their manoeuvres in cols. II-IX are a later development also.
This we have already accepted as a possibility.[5] The absence of
a reserve formation in cols. II-IX points to this, too, as a

secondary and independent development in XV-XIX.[6]

In short, we may say that the third feature of the postulated original battle-narrative was that it dealt with only one encounter. There were no setbacks, no reserve formations, and probably no waves of attacks by skirmishers.

One further feature remains to be determined. We have seen that the passages in XV-XIX have "Kittim" where VII,9ff. has "enemy". Which of these two, if either, represents the original tradition? To argue theoretically that a change from "enemy" to "Kittim" is more likely than the reverse is not very convincing. One could reply that since the war of forty years, described in II-IX would involve many different enemies, the word אויב was inserted in place of an earlier כתיים. (One might then speculate on the application of the word "Kittim", as indeed we shall in due course; but this line of debate will not lead to fruitful results in our present dilemma.) We can only observe that since we hold col. XIV to be an earlier version of XV-XIX, and in XIV,3 the word אויב occurs, but not כתיים, then אויב is probably the original word, and כתיים in XV-XIX has been introduced later. The reason for this will have to be examined later.[7]

To sum up: we have concluded that the original battle-narrative underlying certain passages in XV-XIX and VII,9ff. contained the following features:

1. No cavalry.

2. Only two trumpets.

3. Only one encounter.

4. An anonymous enemy (אויב).

This means that the battle-narratives of XV-XIX and the battle-narrative of VII,9-IX,9 developed independently from this original. A further development of the version in VII,9-IX,9 is

represented in V,E-VI,6, where inscriptions are added to the weapons of the skirmishers.

These conclusions throw much light on the history of cols. II-IX in showing us what developments have taken place within the military sources contained in this document. Our observations on the development of certain military traditions in IQM, (above, pp.87ff.) are thus supported and refined by our examination of the war-narratives. But our primary concern is with cols. XV-XIX. We are already in a position to suggest certain lines along which the document in XV-XIX has developed; in order to acquire a more complete understanding of this process, we must consider the liturgy.

The Liturgy (XV,7b-XVI,1; XVI,15b-XVII,9; XVIII,6b-XIX,8)

The three liturgical passages in XV-XIX are the speech of the specially-appointed priest, the speech of the Chief Priest, and the hymn of thanksgiving. The last two of these are composite; all three throw light on the development of traditions within IQM.

The Speech of the Specially-appointed Priest (XV,7b-XVI,1)

The tradition that the speech of encouragement before battle is given by a specially appointed priest is preserved also in VII,12, and goes back to Deut. xx,1ff.[8] The text of the speech which is given here is not the Biblical text, but the theme is similar. There are three sections to the speech:[9]

a. Exhortation to be fearless XV,7b-9a.

b. Description of the enemy XV,9b-11.

c. Significance of the coming battle XV,12-XVI,1.

a. is adapted from the O.T. prototype, Deut. xx,1ff., and

perhaps also Josh. x,25(cf. i,9). There is little to be learned
from this section.

b. describes the enemy as a "wicked congregation" whose
"deeds are in darkness". They will soon perish, for the battle
about to take place is one in which God will exercise his judg-
ment on "all flesh". (The agents of this judgment are to be the
"saints of his people" (קְדוֹשֵׁי עַמּוֹ).

c. tells us, then, that the battle is pre-ordained, and
will involve angels as well as men. Much of this section is
lost at the foot of col. XV.

The important points to notice here are the identity of the
enemy, and the character of the struggle. The enemy are "nations",
"all flesh" are involved. The struggle is the eschatological
judgment of all men, through battle. It appears that Israel is
regarded as the agent of God's punishment (i.e. judgment) on
the Gentiles. These are "wicked". Their activities are wicked,
"in darkness". The introduction of the word "darkness" is im-
portant, but it must be noted that the enemy are not "sons of
darkness".

This speech represents a halfway point between the con-
cepts of II-IX and XV-XIX, in that the enemy are the nations,
and the chosen people the conquerors, but the tone is strongly
ethical, and the suggestion of angelic or cosmic dimensions to
the struggle is present. An ethical dualism is emerging, but is
not yet clearly defined. As we shall see, this position is re-
flected in the material of col. XIV also.[10]

The Speech of the Chief Priest (XVI,15b-XVII,9)

As we have observed, the original tradition of the battle-
narrative involved only one encounter. The idea of a reverse is

thus secondary. The figure of the Chief Priest belongs to the framework passages,[11] and his speech, as we shall see, contains formal dualistic expressions. The speech of the Chief Priest, therefore, will represent a departure from the original tradition.

Formally, the construction of the speech is interesting. Osten-Sacken has pointed out that part of the speech follows the pattern of the speech of the specially-appointed priest, viz.[12]

a. Exhortation to be fearless   XVII,4a.
b. Description of the enemy   XVII,4b-5a.
c. Significance of the coming battle XVII,5b-8.

The verbal parallels between the two speeches are as follows:

a.   אל תיראו.........חזק   XV,7b.8a.

               ואל תיראום   התחזקו   XVII,4a.

b. Both description of the enemy begin with the word המה (XV,9b/XVII,4b) and refer to the תשוקה of the enemy (XV,10/ XVII,4b).

c.   מועד מלחמה היום הזה   XV.12.
               היום מועדו ל...   XVII,5b.

Is there, as Osten-Sacken implies, a Gattung of "speech of encouragement" to which both the examples adhere, or is the speech of the Chief Priest imitating the speech of the specially-appointed priest? If the former, we should perhaps look for the historical origins of this Gattung. Osten-Sacken's own attempt to relate these 1QM speeches to Maccabean traditions is rather weak, but possibly his conclusions can be reinforced by further evidence.[13]

The speech of the Chief Priest, after all, does not comprise merely the contents mentioned above. It begins with a historical reminiscence, a reference to Nadab and Abihu. It possibly means to imply that God deals out punishment even to his

chosen ones, as Yadin suggests.[14] The theme of trial, or of
testing (√ נסה) is immediately introduced as an explanation
for the casualties suffered. This links with the framework pas-
sage introducing the speech (XVI,11; √ נסה) and perhaps points
to the speech having been composed by the author of the frame-
work passages himself. This idea gains support from the dual-
istic passage which comprises the second half of the speech.
Since there are subtle differences in the dualistic ideas con-
tained in various parts of IQM, it is advisable that very careful
attention be paid to each dualistic passage.

Dualistic terms which appear in this speech are גורל ,
(cf. IQM I,1.5.11.13.14; IQS III,24[15]) ממשלה (cf. IQM I,6.15;
IQS III,20ff.) פדות (cf. IQM I,12) בני אמת (cf. IQS IV,5.6)
etc. The influence of Daniel is present in the terms שר and מיכאל
(Dan. xii,1), √ עזר (Dan. x,13), the ממשלה of the true Israel
(Dan. vii,22.27). Yet in Daniel there is no spiritual counter-
part of Michael, such as the "prince of the dominion of wickedness"
whom we meet here. Equally, there are no "sons of darkness", no
"Belial", no "Kittim". Michael does not figure in the framework
passages of IQM XV-XIX. Thus the dualistic scheme of this speech
is not identical with that of the framework passages.[16]

The last sentence of the speech takes up once again the
theme of testing (√ נסה , XVII,9). A further link with the
framework passage preceding the speech (XVI,11ff.) is forged by
the use of רזים , "mysteries", which is used to account for the
mysterious fall of the righteous in battle. We thus have strong
links between the framework of XV-XIX and this speech, together
with doctrinal differences. How may this be explained? This is
difficult to answer; it may be that the present speech is the
result of a series of expansions, beginning with XVII,4-5 as a

"kernel" (patterned after the war-speech Gattung?) and acquiring a dualistic appendix (XVII,6-8a), and finally adapted to the present form of the war-rule in XV-XIX with the addition of XVI,15b-XVII,3 and XVII,8b.9. Alternatively, XVII,8-8a might have originated as a "dualistic version" of the traditional speech of encouragement.

The Hymn of Thanksgiving (XVIII,6b-XIX,8)

We have already offered some preliminary observations on the structure of this hymn.[17] It is, of course, far from certain that col. XIX follows col. XVIII directly, as the former was not attached to the rest of the scroll when IQM was discovered.[18] However, a plausible account of cols. XVIII and XIX can be offered on the assumption that they form a sequence, and this is the assumption which we have adopted. Unfortunately, a third of col. XVIII is missing, which makes any analysis of our postulated thanksgiving hymn somewhat conjectural as well as rather difficult.

According to the rubric which precedes the hymn, at XVIII,5b.6a, the liturgy is a hymn of thanksgiving, offered as the sun is about to set. It is uncertain whether at this point the enemy has been exterminated, but since the participants in the liturgy seem to have included the officers and perhaps even all the soldiers[19] it is a more plausible view that the enemy were by this time disposed of. Moreover, the hymn begins by thanking God for his favours (XVIII,6b-9), which would be more appropriate after the victory had been finally won. XVIII,6b-9 thus agrees with XIV,2-4a in placing the destruction of the enemy in the evening, although according to XIV,2-4a the thanksgiving was in the morning. Perhaps the present hymn is the "hymn of return" mentioned at XIV,2.[20]

From XVIII,9c (וברים)ff., however, it seems that the enemy
has not yet been exterminated. The hymn becomes one of petition,
in which God is asked to perform the task himself. The pursuit
of the enemy cannot continue because of nightfall. Yadin sug-
gests[21] that the petition is actually for an extension of day-
light so that the enemy might be annihilated, but although this
view is not implausible, there remains the fact that the exter-
mination of the enemy is represented as especially an act of
God (XVIII,12f.; XIX,12), and the whole of XIX,2b-8, in which
God is hailed as a mighty warrior, suggests more than a mere ex-
tension of daylight on God's part.

If we understand that most of this thanksgiving hymn is in
fact an appeal to God to destroy the enemy himself, the varied
material in the liturgy can be understood. The earliest stratum,
we suggest, is contained in XVII,6b-9, where the hymn is a thanks-
giving for the destruction of the enemy. However, this has been
amended to a request for God to act, since the day is drawing to
a close. The ending of the day is specifically mentioned in the
preceding introduction, (XVIII,5) which belongs, of course, to
the framework passage. This explicit connection between liturgy
and preceding framework we have already seen in the case of the
Chief Priest's speech.[22] The appeal to God is reinforced by the
addition of two originally independent hymns, represented by
XIX,1-2a (the beginning lost at the foot of col. XVIII?) and
XIX,2b-8. These hymns occur also, in the same order, at col. XII,
and this may be explained by their being taken together from a
psalter in which they appeared in the same order.[23] The first
of these hymns tells of the angelic armies which march with the
righteous warriors and the second is a call to God to arise in
war, expressed in strictly nationalistic sentiments.[24] Neither

hymn is in keeping with the theology of the framework of XV-XIX;
the former is even out of place in the present context, where
the human warriors are finished and God himself, not angelic
armies, are about to act.

The problem of the double appearance of these two hymns has
long been regarded as awkward, and the present account of XVII,
6b-XIX,9 has at least the merit of account for this phenomenon.

This hymn, therefore, like the speech of the Chief Priest,
betrays a literary history. From all the liturgical pieces, in
fact, we have been able to learn something of the development
of the war-rule of XV-XIX. It has been suggested that the in-
fluence of the framework, or even the framework itself, does not
confine itself merely to the linking passages which impart the
distinctive shape to the war-rule, but has infiltrated into the
battle-narratives and liturgy. We may now examine this framework
material before reviewing our conclusions about the history of
cols. XV-XIX.

The Framework: (XV,2b-7a; XVI,3a.11-15a; XVII,16-XVIII,3a;
                      XVIII,5b.6a; XIX,10-e)

There are several important features of XV-XIX which are
introduced exclusively through the framework passages, and which,
as we have seen, were not originally represented in the liturgy
and battle-narratives. These are as follows: the seven stages
of the battle; casualties; a final act of God; the Chief Priest
and his subordinates. To this we should almost certainly add;
the Kittim.

It is the framework, too, which casts over the whole document
a dualistic light. It is in the framework passages that we en-
counter Belial, the sons of darkness, the Kittim, the sons of

light. To examine the passages separately would serve no purpose; their function within the document, as individual passages, is modest, but their cumulative effect is to determine the character of the entire war which is described. Whoever is responsible for the present shape of XV-XIX has achieved a major reinterpretation of the tradition then before him by merely writing out a second and third passage of battle-narrative, adding to the liturgy, and supplying a few short framework passages. The major developments which XV-XIX exhibits over the earlier version represented by col. XIV were achieved at one stroke. Our investigation must now turn to two questions: what can be learnt about the origin and early history of the war-rule, and what impulses led to the drastic revision which produced cols. XV-XIX?

NOTES

1. See below, pp.105ff.

2. This is indicated, of course, by their very position, link-
   ing other passages together. But our examination of the
   earlier forms of certain traditions included in XV-XIX
   show that the framework passages display a very developed
   revision of these traditions. See pp.101ff. and 109ff. for
   examples of this.

3. This can be asserted in spite of the lacuna at XVII,13; the
   relevant words could not have been present.

4. XVI,11-13a belongs to the framework, as stated.

5. See above, pp.87ff.

6. Yadin (p.174f.) declares that the reserve formation is a
   Roman innovation, which, in view of the absence of a re-
   serve in IQM II-IX, may perhaps be correct. This would be
   consistent with our view of the date of XV-XIX (below, pp.126ff.)

7. Below, pp.124ff.

8. Cf. also Mishnah Sotah, 8 which also speaks of a specially
   chosen priest, who walks along the lines as he speaks. In
   the O.T., "the priest" only is referred to.

9. Cf. Osten-Sacken, p.90.

10. Below, pp.118ff.

11. N.B. his absence in XIV,2-4a; above, p.94.

12. Osten-Sacken, loc. cit.

13. Osten-Sacken, pp.62ff.; and see below, pp.118ff.

14. Yadin, p.339.

15. The "Discourse on the Two Spirits" (IQS III,13 - IV,26) is sel-
    ected as the Qumran dualistic passage "par excellence". For
    further references, cf. Osten-Sacken, p.96, n.1.

16. For the terminology of the framework passages, see below, p.116.

17. Above, pp.96ff.

18. Cf. Milik, review of 'Oṣar ha-megilloth ha-genuzoth (Sukenik),
    RB (1955), p.601.

19. See above, p.96; Jongeling, p.368f.

20. On the hymn of return, see below, p.122; according to
    I Macc.iv,24 the hymn sung on the return was probably
    Ps. cxviii, whose refrain echoes the sentiments of
    IQM XVIII,6b-9.

21. Yadin, p.222 ff.; Dupont-Sommer, p.27.

22. Above, p.110f.

23. See below for further discussion of this point, p.130f.

24. See below, pp.146ff.

III. THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF COLS. XIV, XV-XIX

Structure of Col. XIV

We have now reached the point at which the history of XV-XIX
may be unravelled. Since, however, we have already identified
col. XIV as a fragment of an earlier recension of the war-rule
in question, we must pursue the question of the historical back-
ground of col. XIV as our first objective. This will need to be
prefaced by an account of the contents of col. XIV, which will
also discuss the fragment 4QMa, which demonstrates that behind
the present text of IQM XIV itself there is a literary history.

4QMa, published in 1957 by C. - H. Hunzinger,[1] comprises a
parallel text to IQM,4b (from ברוך) to 16 (הגבי[רהם]), but
in an earlier recension, as Hunzinger claims. The text in 4QMa
is a little shorter; where IQM XIV,5 has לעם פדותו, 4QMa gives
simply לעמו; and for IQM XIV,9 לשא[רית עמכה?], 4QMa has לעמו ;
for IQM XIV,12 עם קהלשוכה , 4QMa gives בני .[2]

In Hunzinger's opinion, the IQM version comprises some
secondary additions which define the party receiving God's fav-
ours in a more restrictive way - as the examples given already
show. More recently, Osten-Sacken has suggested,[3] very plausibly,
that even 4QMa itself contains secondary material. He notes that
XIV,12bff. is of a quite different Gattung from XIV,4b-12a. It
can be demonstrated, further, that even XIV,4b-8a and 8b-12a are
different hymns, and conform to different Gattungen. Since these
two hymns appear together in 4QMa, it is possible to argue devel-
opments prior to 4QMa. But, as we have already warned, the value
of 4QMa is doubtful; the fragment has no rubric, hence it may be
from a psalter rather than an earlier recension of the IQM war-rule;
indeed, it may be even a parallel development, and not chronologically

earlier than IQM XIV at all. This view is perhaps excessively
sceptical, but too little attention has been paid hitherto to
what the evidence of 4QMa really means - or does not mean.

Hunzinger divides XIV,4b-12a[4] into two hymns or verses,
which is sound. The first runs from ברוך in line 4b to אי מעמד
in line 8a. The second comprises ואנו אשר[in 8b to ו[כ]א(?) in
line 12a. In the former, God is referred to in the third person,
as are those whom he has assisted. In the latter, those asking
for God's assistance are in the first person, and God is addressed
in the second person. There are also theological differences
between the two, which we shall investigate shortly. Hunzinger
does not state clearly that the two are quite different hymns,
but the evidence indicates that they are.

In XIV,12b-15 occurs a third hymn, which seems to be a
hymn of praise for God's creative power. It has no real connec-
tion with the themes of either of the two preceding hymns, and
perhaps owes its presence here to the opening phrase, ואנו עם
קושדה, which echoes the opening phrases of the previous two.
Line 15 also contains what might be taken as an allusion to the
ultimate victory of virtue over wickedness. But the Sitz in
Leben of this third hymn is not war, and it is not a hymn of
thanksgiving.[5]

The situation presupposed by the hymns in XIV,4b-12a is
fairly easily grasped. The first hymn (4b-8a) thanks God for
granting victory to the "stumblers" (כושלים), whom he has called
to "mighty deeds of wonder" (גבורו[ת] פלא)[6]. The enemy are an
"assembly of nations" who are "gathered for annihilation". The
victors are "those whose heart has melted" (לב נמס), "weak"
(רפות), "those with tottering knees" (נמוגי ברכים), "those
brought low" (מכים), the "poor in spirit" (עניי רוח), and

"upright in the way" (תמימי דרך)(lines 6-7). The enemy
are "wicked nations". The ethical contrast between the two sides
is emphasised, and the power of God contrasted with the weakness
of those whom he helps.

A further, important, feature is that the war is probably
defensive on the part of the righteous; that is, an "assembly of
nations" has gathered against them. God, however, has gathered
them for their own destruction. There is an O.T. prophecy which
fits in exactly with this; Ezekiel xxxviii-xxxix. There, too,
God gathers an assembly of nations for destruction by Israel.[7]
The weakness of Israel and the glorification of God are also
given prominence in this O.T. prophecy.[8] But is the discovery
of an O.T. precedent sufficient to explain this hymn? Was it
composed in a moment of fervent speculation or for a present
purpose? What circumstances might have provoked the composition
of a hymn of thanksgiving for victory in war?

The second hymn is also a thanksgiving hymn, but it does
not give thanks for a military victory; its Sitz in Leben is not
the battlefield. (This implies that only XIV,4b-8a originally
belonged with XIV,2-4a, or, perhaps, that XIV,8b-12a was taken
as a second verse of the first hymn). God is thanked, in this hymn,
for sustenance given to the remnant of God's people (4QMa "us")
during the "dominion of Belial" (line 9). During this period,
Belial's destructive forces, his spirits and the "men of his
dominion" have sought to beguile the righteous from God's
covenant. God has preserved, however, the soul of his redeemed
(lines 9-10). The belief is expressed that the enemy will
eventually be destroyed:

> ".....them that are of high stature Thou
> wilt hew down.....there shall be no-one to

save any of their mighty men; their swift ones
shall have no place of refuge. Thou wilt pour
scorn on their nobles, and all their vain
creatures (shall be as) nothing" (lines 11-12).

The context of this hymn is one of a continuing struggle;
the enemy are not yet overcome. The activity of this enemy, who
comprise warriors, nobles and who are termed as men of the dominion
of Belial, is directed against the covenant. The whole situation
is interpreted in a dualistic way; the evil is the result of Belial's
influence. And the struggle, although due to end in a mighty
defeat for Belial, is to be seen through the continuing experi-
ence of the righteous. This dualistic theology, in many respects
unlike that of the framework of XV-XIX, appears to coincide with
the dualism of CD II,14-VI,1, where Israel's history is inter-
preted as a function of the struggle between good and evil
forces. Osten-Sacken[9] has been obliged to regard this dualistic
theology as a later development from an original "eschatological
war-dualism" rooted in IQM. But we have a very similar kind of
dualism in IQM itself, and for CD II,14-VI,1 a relatively early
date has been argued.[10]

On the third hymn in col. XIV (12b-15) or the remaining
material (16-E) nothing need be said at this stage, since there
is no connection between this and the hymn of thanksgiving intro-
duced by XIV,2-4a.[11]

Historical Background of XIV,4b-8a

We asked earlier in this chapter what kind of situation
might have given rise to a hymn of thanksgiving for victory in
war. The obvious answer would be a state of war. From the hymn
itself we have already seen that the war was against nations who
had assembled against the righteous. Moreover, that the

righteous saw themselves as the true Israel is apparent from
the reading ‎לעמו in 4QMa.[12] An identical situation is reflected
in I Macc. iii.50:

> "And behold, the Gentiles have assembled against
> us to destroy us.....how shall we be able to
> resist them, unless Thou help us?"

Another connection with the Maccabean war is furnished by
the theme of the covenant, (XIV,4b). This is prominently set
forth in I Macc. in particular - cf. i,63; ii,20; ii,27; iv,10, etc.

In both IQM XIV,4b-8a and I Macc. the weakness of the faith-
ful is stressed, and the fact that God helps them to a mighty
victory. There is no miraculous intervention apart from this.
The war is won by human means. Moreover, the ethical dimensions
of the conflict are repeatedly stressed in I Macc., as in
XIV,4b-8a.[13]

If XIV,2 there is mentioned a hymn of return (‎תהלת המשוב).
I Macc. iv.24 also refers to such a hymn:

> "On their return (ἐπιστρέψαντες......) they
> sang hymns and praises to God, for he is
> good, for his graciousness endures for ever."[14]

If the only plausible background to XIV,4b-8a is a military
struggle, we should in any case expect to find a Maccabean origin;
reinforced, however, by several specific parallels between this
hymn and the Maccabean wars, the conclusion that XIV,4b-8a is a
Maccabean hymn of thanks for victory is difficult to escape. We
should nonetheless note the differences between IQM XIV's text
and 4QMa, in which there is evidence that the hymn has been
amended so as to apply not to Israel but to a chosen sect.[14]
This point will concern us later in the chapter.

Historical Background of XIV,8b-12a

It is perhaps more difficult to pin down this hymn to a

definite historical situation, but there are clues which indicate such. The context is of a struggle where the righteous are being tempted away from their covenant by evil men. This situation accords well with the persecution of Antiochus IV, when Jewish practices were expressly forbidden, and when renegade Jews were attempting to "hellenise" the nation.[15] But the Hellenistic challenge to Judaism had already begun before the time of Antiochus IV, and continued afterwards. Nevertheless, the hymn we are examining refers to the "men of Belial's dominion" as if they were a recognised group, and, moreover, a group who would be finally defeated, whose warriors (גבורים) will fall, and whose nobles (נכבדים) will have no refuge. Does this refer to the Seleucids and their allies, who occupied the Akra citadel and were to be found all over Israel enforcing the sanctions against Judaism? In this case we can be less certain than in the case of XIV,4b-8a, but there is a reasonable degree of probability that this hymn is also of Maccabean origin.[16]

The origin of the war-rule, of which col. XIV, or, more strictly, XIV,2-12a was a part, is most probably Maccabean. We cannot tell whether originally this war-rule contained battle-narratives or only liturgy. The battle-narratives, in any case, will have reflected Maccabean practice, as we have seen.

With regard to the liturgy itself, Osten-Sacken has suggested that the Maccabean wars combined the Holy War traditions of Deuteronomy with the liturgical war traditions of II Chron. xx.[17] The evidence for this, as presented, is not really sufficient to be convincing, but we have noted the "hymn of return" in I Macc. iv.24. To this we should add the numerous hymns and prayers which I Macc. contains. These, according to Meyer[18] are almost certainly authentic and contemporary with the events they

relate to. Our main obstacle in the present enquiry is the paucity
of material from this early recension. If we had more of this,
then we might be able to have achieved a totally convincing case.
Unfortunately, the drastic revision which this war-rule has
undergone, replacing the earlier version, no doubt led to the
swift disappearance of the earlier form of the war-rule; col. XIV
is present in IQM only as the result of a happy accident.[19]

Historical Background of the Recension of XV-XIX

Let us first of all review the major alterations to the
original war-rule, which led to the recension of XV-XIX:
1. The battle comprises seven stages instead of one[20].
2. The liturgy is conducted by the Chief Priest, who is also
   in charge of arraying the troops.
3. The enemy are now the Kittim.
4. The battle is described in dualistic terms, the sons of
   light fighting the sons of darkness.
5. There are casualties from the sons of light.

Had these changes taken place gradually over a number of
years, and reflected the development of ideas within the Qumran
community, the question of an historical background to XV-XIX
could not be raised. Indeed, some of the developments in XV-XIX
do reflect the growth of ideas within the sect, but the revision
of the earlier war-rule was not a gradual process, but the
result of a single major re-working. The question may therefore
be asked, under what circumstances was it decided to produce a
new, and greatly revised, war-rule? An important clue is given
in the introduction of the Kittim in place of the earlier neutral
word "enemy". If "Kittim" denotes simply the eschatological foe,

whoever they be, then "enemy" is a quite adequate term for this, too. On the other hand, if one is writing a document in which the Final Enemy are described, it is not unlikely that these will be modelled on the present enemy, since these are, after all, the most probable future enemies. We are therefore entitled to look for an identification of the Kittim with a specific nation. This must be done, of course, strictly within the terms of XV-XIX, without prejudice to the meaning of the term elsewhere in IQM.

Only two alternatives exist for this identification; Seleucid and Roman. We have argued that the original war-rule arose in Maccabean times, and that the Seleucids and their allies were there referred to as "enemy". We must also allow for the lapse of a fairly long period before the revision is undertaken. There are indications that the framework material of XV-XIX was composed after II-IX; the use of the name for a trumpet in XVI,12 follows the usage in II-IX[21] and, as has been argued, XV,5b.6a may contain a reference to II-IX.[22]

These considerations point to a Roman date.[23] A possible objection to identification of Kittim and Romans is the mention of the "king of the Kittim" in XV,2. As is well-known, the Romans had no king. However, the word מלך might well be used freely in this case to denote "general" or "consul"; if the author were to write "consul", he might as well have written "Romans" instead of "Kittim".

A further argument in favour of identifying the Romans as the Kittim is that the war of XV-XIX is a cosmic war, in which the forces of Belial amass. The human counterpart of the dominion of Belial is the kingdom or empire of the Kittim. This role is scarcely to be attributed to the Seleucid kingdom, for its power

and influence were relatively slight outside Syria. The Roman empire, on the other hand, constituted the major part of the civilised world.

Was it in view of growing hostility to Rome that the document XV-XIX was prepared, adapting an already existing war-rule to describe the war with Rome which would constitute the final establishment of light over darkness? If so, how accurately may we date this document? Palaeographical evidence confidently places the manuscript IQM in the Roman period, and probably in the 1st century A.D.,[24] but XV-XIX is not the latest element in IQM. We can say that the document was probably written in the second half of the 1st century B.C., but more precise conclusions are not forthcoming. The other developments which XV-XIX incorporates, such as the dualistic interpretation, the problem of casualties, and the role of the Chief Priest can all be explained as the product of the theological climate within the sect, reflected in other Qumran documents, in particular IQS. With the success of the Maccabean wars and of the Hasmonean policies which followed, the war-traditions which had been bequeathed were naturally adapted to serve eschatological speculations, and the absence of an external enemy together with the growth of sectarian strife within Judaism led to the portrayal of the war as a conflict between good and evil rather than Israel and her enemies. The advent of the Romans, however, will have caused a fairly rapid change in this; the rather confused coexistence of Belial and the Kittim in IQM XV-XIX may reflect the sudden emergence of a human enemy on to the eschatological scene. At all events, our own inclination, based on the evidence we have presented, is that the advent of the Romans in Palestine was the major factor in the production of the war-rule of XV-XIX.

NOTES

1. ZAW (1957), pp.131-151.

2. For the complete list of variants, Hunzinger, art. cit. p.144f.

3. Osten-Sacken, p.101.

4. Although there are two recensions of these hymns, we shall
   refer throughout to the recension in IQM; the difference
   between the two recensions are unimportant from the point
   of view of literary analysis. Our own division of the hymns
   differs slightly from Hunzinger's, which ends the first hymn
   after ....רא]שו ואנו , perhaps in order to retain as much
   formal similarity as possible between the two. But the two
   are not from the same hand, and it is not necessary to demand
   complete uniformity.

5. It is apparently a creation hymn, similar to IQM XII,3-10.

6. Restored after 4QMa.

7. Ezekiel xxxviii,7.16.22.

8. Ezekiel xxxviii,11ff.; xxxix,23ff. It is clear throughout
   that the defeat of Gog is by Yahweh, but xxxviii,21 shows
   that in spite of the imagery of fire, hailstones and brim-
   stone (xxxviii,22), the defeat of Gog will be in battle, in
   the land of Israel (הָרֵי כיל בּ).

9. Osten-Sacken, pp.194ff.

10. Cf. Murphy-O'Connor, art. cit. RB (1970) pp.201-229.

11. On this material, see below, pp.181ff.

12. Cf. above, p.118.

13. Cf. I Macc. iii,20; vii,38; etc.

14. Hunzinger, art. cit. p.149.

15. Cf. the מרשיעי ברית of Dan. xi,32, and see above, p.26f.

16. Like the previous hymn, it has, of course, been subject to
    secondary expansion and alteration; above, p.118.

17. Osten-Sacken, p.67, n.2 (where II Chron should be read in-
    stead of I Chron: this error is repeated in the index).

18. E. Meyer, Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums, II, Leipzig,
    1921, p.458f.

19. See below, p.185.

20. This is on the assumption that the original war-rule did
    contain battle-narratives, which we think probable.

21. See above, p.105.

22. See above, p.21f.

23. Also to be considered is Yadin's claim that the notion of a
    reserve formation originated with the Romans (Yadin, p.174f.)
    Roman military influence, as Segal points out (art. cit.,
    Scr. Hier. IV, p.143), might, however, have preceded Roman
    presence.

24. Cross, The Development of the Jewish Scripts, pp.173ff.

I. STRUCTURE OF COLS. X-XIV

Although we have identified col. XIV, or part of it, as a
fragment of an earlier recension of XV-XIX, the problem of its
inclusion in IQM remains. This problem extends, in fact, to all
the material in cols. X-XIV. Whereas II-IX and XV-XIX have been
seen as deliberate compositions, with a coherent structure and
purpose, in which analysis of the contents revealed the meaning,
and often the history, of the whole, no such procedure can be
adopted in the case of X-XIV. There is no introduction or conclu-
sion, no unity of style, subject matter, or background. We have
merely a series of hymns and prayers, of which most, but not all,
deal with war in some way.

There have been attempts to connect this material with one
or other of the two documents in IQM treated so far. Many scholars
find in X-XII the "speech of the Chief Priest" referred to in
XV,5 - the "prayer for the appointed time of battle".[1] The dif-
ficulty with this view, as with the development of this view which
holds XIII and XIV also to contain liturgy belonging to the war-
rule of XV-XIX, is that XV-XIX is apparently quite self-contained.
It is impossible to fit much of the liturgy in X-XIV into XV-XIX.
Why should XV-XIX include some of the liturgy, but leave out other
liturgy which was required to be used? Furthermore, there are no
rubrics in X-XII, to indicate when the contents should be read
out, and the rubric of col. XIV, as we have seen, is different
in important respects from the rubrics of XV-XIX.

Other scholars have connected X-XIV with II-IX,[2] but there
is no positive evidence for this at all. The situation which
XIV,4b-8a, for example, presupposes, is not that depicted in
II-IX. In short, there are no good grounds for connecting X-XIV
as a unit to either II-IX or XV-XIX. But how far is X-XIV a unit?

We have already isolated col. XIV, or some of it. Col. XIII, too, is different from the material in X-XII, since it is strongly dualistic and has its own rubric. It is thus clear that cols. XIII and XIV have to be considered to some extent separately from X-XII, but their occurrence in ‎1QM is probably due to their connection with the material which precedes them.

Can we even suggest that X-XII is a unit? Two arguments in favour of this may be urged, although neither is conclusive. Firstly, we may recall our discussion of XV,4-6a,[3] in which reference is made to a book called סרך עתו, which contained the "prayer for the appointed time of battle". Such a book might be a collection of liturgical pieces, containing items especially for war. The only suitable hymns are found, in fact, in cols. X-XIV.

In col. XIX,1ff. are found two hymns which (we have suggested)[4] were added to the existing liturgy from elsewhere. We also noted that the two hymns appeared, and in the same order, in col. XII. The first of these two hymns seemed quite inappropriate in col. XIX, and its presence was explained by supposing it to have been regarded as belonging to the hymn which followed. This could easily happen if the two hymns were taken from a collection in which the hymns were not separated from one another, but run together.

If it is true that the framework of XV-XIX refers at one point to a liturgical book, and at another point has taken from a collection of hymns two which occurred consecutively in that book, then it is a very reasonable conclusion that the book in each case is one and the same, and that cols. X-XIV (or, perhaps, X-XII) constitute either this book or a part of it. This

hypothesis (to anticipate somewhat) would also explain why cols. X-XII (XII-XIV?) are included in IQM.

We shall adopt this hypothesis at the outset, although it will not prejudice our interpretation of the individual elements, whose origins and purposes and theology would seem to be rather diverse. The contents of X-XII, which we shall examine first, have been analysed already into the following components:[5]

X,1-8a; X,8b-16; X,17-XI,7a; XI,7b-12; XI,13-E;

XII,1-5; XII,7-10a; XII,10b-15; XII,17-E.

In the next chapter we shall discuss both the content and the context of these hymns, where possible attempting to find a specific historical occasion behind their composition.

NOTES

1. E.g. Yadin, p.212; Carmignac, p.138; Dupont-Sommer, p.156.

2. E.g. as Becker, p.45f.; Osten-Sacken, p.52f. connects col. XIV with VII-IX,9.

3. Above, p.21f.

4. Above, p.113f.

5. Cf. Becker, p.47; Osten-Sacken, p.52f.

II. CONTENTS OF COLS. X-XII AND THEIR BACKGROUND

X,1-8a

This is one of the most interesting sections within cols.
X-XII. It has been regarded by several scholars as the intro-
duction to, or part of, a prayer; but Osten-Secken has observed
that it is really a florilegium, a collection of proof-texts.[1]
(Our own description would be that of "mishnah", since the texts
are accompanied by commentary, and are used to build up a law-
code for war.) But there are confusing elements here. In the
first line, God is addressed in the second person,[2] which is not
to be expected in either a florilegium or a mishnah. Equally,
however, a phrase such as "and our officers (שוטרינו) shall
speak to all those prepared for battle, the volunteers, to hold
fast...." in a prayer. What we appear to have is the unusual
combination of a mishnah and a prayer.

Two quotations from the O.T. laws, Deut. xx,2-4 and Num.x,9
are included. The former mentions the speech of encouragement
given by "the priest" and the second refers to the blowing of
the fanfare on the trumpets at the time of invasion. Both quot-
ations show slight divergences from the MT, but none of importance.[3]
Between the two quotations is a note to the effect that the שוטרים
are to encourage the warriors further and exempt those who are
faint-hearted. No other exemptions are mentioned, such as those
in Deut. xx,5-7.[4]

Osten-Sacken claims that this passage is of great importance,
in that it can be seen as a "kernel" of the war-rules of VII-IX
and XV-XIX.[5] In any comparison of this passage with Maccabean
practice, the following points must be taken into account:
a. X,5-6 records no exemption of classes other than the

fainthearted. Deut. xx,5ff. legislates for the exemption of
other classes also. Likewise, Judas Maccabaeus, when forming
his army, (I Macc. iii,56)[6] followed Deut, xx in exempting
several classes. How may this discrepancy be explained? Yadin,
dismisses the distinction between war of choice and war of duty,
as propounded in Mishnah Sotah 8[7] as applying here, since in the
war of duty, even the faint-hearted were to fight. However, as
Yadin also observes,[8] the classes exempted fall into two kinds, -
those exempted for commitments which they already have, and those
exempted from fear. The O.T. legislation does not in fact dis-
tinguish between these two different sorts,[9] but neither does it
distinguish between recruitment and preparation for battle. We
have seen that both the militia of I Chron. xxvii and of IQM II
involved recruitment at a stage prior to, and quite distinct from,
the assembly of the army.[10] It is at the moment of recruitment
that the exemptions on the grounds of certain commitments will
presumably be made. Since, however, a man's psychological state
is relevant only immediately prior to battle, exemptions on the
grounds of faint-heartedness must be carried out on the battle-
field. We have thus two different phases of exemption, as Yadin
has rightly argued.[11] Now, I Macc. iii,56 reports an occasion
on which a militia army was established for the first time. Hence
the whole class of exemptions, plus the appointment of officers,
takes place, after the O.T. law. In the case of any subsequent
engagement, with the initial recruitment already achieved, and
the officers appointed, only the exemption from faintheartedness
remains to be carried out.

This explains the apparent contradiction between the account
of I Macc. iii and IQM X. It also demonstrates that IQM X applies
to an already constituted army, in which no further appointment

of officers or exemption on the grounds of commitments is necessary.

b. The second quotation in X,1-8a is from Num. x,9; unfortunately the present section breaks off before we learn the application to which the quotation is being put. We may guess, however, that the blowing of trumpets was to follow. This,in I Macc. iii, 54 is represented as preceding the organisation of the army. However, it was also the practice of the Maccabees to blow the trumpet immediately before battle.[12] According to the Biblical text quoted, the trumpet call was a fanfare, but blown in order to be remembered by God. As we have indicated above,[13] it seems that the earliest form of the tradition in IQM specified the blowing of the trumpets of remembrance (זכרון) at the beginning of battle.

Here, then, is a demonstrable link between IQM X,1-8a and the Maccabean war. A further point to be made here is that the situation envisaged in Num.x,9 is <u>defensive</u>: "when you go to battle in your land against oppressing army". This stipulation, of course, is fulfilled in the Maccabean wars, but would not apply to most of the wars envisaged by IQM II-IX. There would not, therefore, appear to be any point in trying to connect X,1-8a with II-IX, even though the two have in common the provision of an organised militia army.

To return to Osten-Sacken's claim that this passage may be seen as a kernel of the war-rules in VII-IX and XV-XIX: there would seem to be some truth in this, although careful qualification is needed. There are positive links between this passage and Maccabean practice, from which the original form of the battle-narratives in VII,9-IX,9 and XV-XIX has been also derived. The notion of a defensive war against oppressing enemy forces is present both in I Macc. and IQM XIV,2-12a. The most difficult

question relating to IQM X,1-8a concerns its presence in a collection of hymns. This problem is complicated further by the obvious fact that the section is incomplete. After מאיר'כם in line 8a the context changes quite abruptly and we have begun another section altogether. To this we must add the difficulty, already mentioned, of determining the exact nature and Gattung of this passage. There is one solution which answers all these problems, namely that the material in cols. X-XII has been edited to some purpose. We shall discuss this possibility when we have completed our examination of the rest of the material.[14]

X,8b-16

This hymn has been recognised as a creation hymn,[15] and a comparison with IQH I,1-37 confirms this. The following table indicates both the formal similarity and the vocabulary common to the two:

IQM X,8bff.	IQH I,1ff.		
lines 8b-9a	Attributes of God; Introduction to the hymn	lines 1-9a	A
9b-11a	Glorification of Israel	-------	B
11b-12a	God's heavenly creation	9b-13a	C
12b-14a	God's earthly creation	13b-15a	D
------	The destiny and lot of mankind	15b-20	E
14b-15a	The early history of mankind	-------	F
15b-16a	Calendar	-------	G
16b	"These things we/I know from Thy wisdom"	21	H

Vocabulary Common to Each Hymn

A   מעשה (IQM;IQH)

B   מגולה אודך ; (IQH)מלאכי קד]ש (IQM)/ מלאכי קודש (IQM)/ גליתה אודך(IQH,I,11)

C   √קדש ; ממשלה ; רוח ; משא ; מאורות ; שמים

D   חוק (cf. IQH I,10); תהומות ; ימים ; בורא ארץ ; צאצי׳ה (cf. IQH I,18).

E/F   עד ; קץ ; שנים; תקופה (cf. IQH I,24); מועד ; (cf. IQH I,8)

There are two main differences in attitude between the two hymns, namely:

a. IQM X,8b-16 contains a passage glorifying Israel.

b. In place of the dualistic treatment of the origin and destiny of mankind in IQH I,15b-20, IQM X,14b-15a tells something of the early history of mankind. Both passages might aptly be subtitled תולדות, and it seems that both are alternative accounts of the same subject.

There is a further difference in that the IQM hymn is written in the first person plural, IQH,1ff. in the first person singular. These comparisons, whilst in themselves of great interest, are relevant here only insofar as they show that the present passage in IQM has nothing to do with war, but is a creation hymn.

X,17-XI,7

This is clearly distinguished from the previous hymn by subject-matter. Due to the nature of the text, we cannot be certain exactly where the division between the two hymns occurs, but the words]כה אל שיעתנו (in X,17 would appear to be more appropriate to the present hymn than the previous hymn, as will be seen.

The present hymn is a "Heilsgeschichte", in fact a record
of past military glories attributed to God. The Sitz in Leben
of such a recital is on the battlefield, before engagement, as
I Macc. iv,9.30; vii,41; II Macc. xii,15 and Mishnah Sotah 8
show. A table of the instances referred to in all these hymns
is given by Yadin, p.214. The Maccabean examples serve to
provide us with a plausible origin for this hymn also.

Although not strictly metrical, the hymn has a refrain which
comes as a rule after every episode recorded (the exception being
XI,1, where it seems to occur in the middle of an episode). This
refrain is לכה המלחמה, and it provides the theme of the
whole piece, which is the ascription of all glory for past
victories to God.

In view of the nature of this theme, it is difficult to
decide whether or not XI,5bff (from כאש]ר) is secondary. Becker[16]
is inclined to think so, on the grounds that no metre is found
hereafter; but to find a metre before this point is not so easy,
either, in our opinion. However, it is true that the refrain
disappears after this point, and we find a Biblical quotation,
from Num. xxiv,17-19. If there is to be any logical connection
between this quotation and the rest of the hymn which precedes
it, then the quotation itself must be taken as applying to God,
and not to any great human warrior.[17] Since the hymn's theme is
the ascription of all glory to God, to apply the quotation any
other way would amount to a downright contradiction. One may
pursue the connection between the theme of the hymn and the quo-
tation further by suggesting that the final phrase from Num. xxiv,
19, "and Israel shall do valiantly" might be intended to indicate
that Israel's contribution to military victory, though not

negligible, is quite secondary to the power of God, the true vanquisher. This would suitably reinforce the message of the rest of the hymn. This does not mean that XI,5b-7 might not be secondary, but it is at any rate in keeping with the rest of the hymn.

It is worth remarking that even although the human achievements of the Maccabean warriors are given great prominence in I Macc., the ascription of credit to God is several times clearly made, and there is no doubt that the credit for the success of their revolt was properly attributed to divine encouragement, if not divine intervention in a direct way.[18]

XI,7b-12 (from וגבר)

This hymn is marked off from the preceding one by a change of subject matter and terminology. In this hymn is contained a reminder of the predestined final battle between the "troops of Belial", the "seven nations of vanity" (lines 8b.9a) and the "poor" (אביונים) "low of spirit" (נכאי רוח), with a "melting heart" (לב נמס)(lines 9-10). The "wicked" shall be devoured as Pharaoh in the Red Sea (line 10). At 11b there is a secondary addition (from מאז); the repetition of a formula (in admittedly different phrasing) which introduces the promise suggests this (cp. וגבר הגדתה...לנו, lines 8b.9a and ומאז השמי[עתנו, line 11). A further indication of the secondary nature of lines 11-12 is the occurrence of the word "Kittim", which is given as an interpretation of "Asshur" in the quoted text, Isaiah xxxi,8. In our opinion, the introduction of the Kittim points clearly to an interpolation. Let us examine the theological features of the rest of this section.

Two important terms occur here. The first is אביונים.

Whilst we have translated this as "poor", it has a special
meaning in certain Qumran texts, and appears also at IQM XI,13
and XIII,14.

In IQH it occurs frequently denominating the one rescued by
God, or praying for rescue.[19] In IQpHab it refers to those who
are victimised by the Wicked Priest.[20] In 4QpPs37 it is used
twice, once interpreting "but the humble will possess the earth
and taste the delights of perfect bliss" as "the congregation
of the אביונים who accept the time of affliction and will be
delivered from all the snares....."[21] and once stating that the
"congregation of the אביונים " will "possess the sublime
mountain of Israel and will taste everlasting delights in His
holiness".[22] אביונים is also used in CD VI,21 and XIV,14, where
it appears to denote simply the underprivileged, without any
special connotations. These connotations, apparent in the other
texts cited, are two; the אביונים are presently oppressed and
will finally be saved. In 4QpPs37 these are a recognised group,
referred to as "congregation" (עדה). These connotations are
present also in the passage under discussion. However, here it
is qualified by the word פדותה. This is found, with one ex-
ception, in IQM only,[23] in cols. I,XI,XIII,XIV, and XV-XIX. In
most cases, it appears more or less as a technical term, either
as a verb denoting God's activity towards the righteous party,
or in construct, denoting that party. In such cases, the context
is dualistic, as at IQM I,12; XIII,9; XIV,10; XV,1; XVII,6. In
other cases, where the context is not dualistic, the word פדות
is almost certainly a secondary addition. At XIV,5, for instance,
this can be proved by the absence of this word in 4QMa. Another
possible example is at I,11a, where the text reads והיאה עת צרה
ע[ל] כלם עם פדותו. At XV,1 is an alternative version of this;

כיא היאה עת צרה לישראל. The latter is probably an earlier, and pre-dualistic version of the phrase.[24] Here, the presence of פדותכה after אבירו may well be suspected as secondary; as we have noted, אבירים by itself conveys all the necessary connotations - and the context is not dualistic.

There are several points in common between this hymn and XIV,4b-8a. Both refer to the might of God in granting victory, and to the weakness of the righteous. Indeed, the same phrase, לב נמס occurs in each hymn (XI,9/XIV,6) XIV, 4b-8a, admittedly, is a hymn of victory, which here is only anticipated, but the enemy are referred to in similar terms - they are "wicked" and "guilty" (אשם,רשעל)(line 10). They are described, after Deut. VII,1ff., etc. as "seven nations of vanity" (8b.9a). The mention of "Belial" here does not necessarily indicate a dualistic interpretation, for the word is used in the O.T. in construct to mean "vain" or "worthless" and that meaning is quite appropriate here. The enemy would seem to be composed of "nations", referred to also as "our enemies" (line 8).

The similarity with XIV,4b-8a allows us to consider this hymn too as Maccabean. The reference to the Deuteronomic conception of the seven nations inhabiting Canaan, who were to be driven out by Israel, also reflects themes present in I Macc.[25] This hymn, then, represents that conception of the final battle which sees it as a conflict between the weak, righteous Israel helped by a mighty God, and wicked, guilty nations, whom God will destroy. To this hymn have been added dualistic elements; the word פדות , and the final passage which refers to the destruction of the Kittim. As we have seen, in cols. XV-XIX, the "Kittim" are most probably the Romans.[26] An interesting light is thrown on a development here which parallels the addition of

dualistic interpretations on non-dualistic material. We noted
that, whereas in cols. II-IX, and col. XIV,2-8a, which are non-
dualistic, the enemy were to be overcome by God, but through
human agency. This belief, of course, was fortified by the
Maccabean successes. But it is part of the dualistic theology
that good and evil are of equal strength, and that the tension
can only be resolved by God. Hence we find less emphasis placed
on the uman, and more on the divine act by which the enemy is
vanquished. Hence the "seven stages" of the battle in XV-XIX,
which show the equality of strength between the two sides, only
to be broken by God's direct action overnight in slaying the
enemy without human intervention. Here, too, we may contrast
the expression "by the hand of the אביונים " (line 9) which
recognises the human participation through which God acts, and
"then shall Asshur fall with the sword not of man, and a sword
which is not men's shall devour him" where a human contribution
to the defeat of the enemy is not countenanced; cp. XIX,12 "for
they (sc. the Kittim) have fallen there by the sword of God
(בחרב אל)".[27]

XI,13-E

It is not certain that this section is really independent
of the preceding, for the two hymns display great similarity.
Both use the word אביון and indicate the lowly estate of the
righteous (נמס לב, נכאי רוח at XI,9,10; עפר כורעי at XI,13).
Also to be compared is להכבד in XI,8 with להתגדל ולהתקדש in
XI,15. The separation of these two hymns is, in our opinion,
suggested by the heavy influence of Ezekiel xxxviii-xxxix on the
latter, not evident at all on the former.

The following examples will illustrate the influence of Ezek.:

IQM XI, 13ff.	Ezekiel, xxxviii-xxxix
[או]יבי כול הארצות	מארצות איביהם .... (xxxix,27)
גבורי עמים	גבורים .... (xxxix,18)
לעשות לכה שם	ואת שם קדשי אודיע בתוך עמי
עולם בעם	(xxxix,7)....וידעו הגוים ....
להתגדל ולהתקדש	והתגדלתי והתקדשתי...
לעיני שאר הגוים	(xxxviii,23) לעין גוים רבים ....
בגוג ובכול קהלו....	אתה וכול קהלך הנקהלים.........
	עליך (xxxviii,7)

We have already, in speaking of the influence of Ezekiel
xxxviii-xxxix on XIV,4b-8a,[28] remarked that these prophecies
correspond remarkably with the situation as depicted by the first
book of Maccabees, where the nations are represented as having
gathered together for the purpose of destroying Israel. In both
XIV,4b-8a and here we find the ethical distinctions between the
two sides brought out, and the weakness of the righteous men-
tioned, together with the recognition of God's might. If this
hymn is indeed a product of the Maccabean period, it might be
argued that Antiochus IV is to be seen in Gog.[29]

XII,1-5

This hymn, quite unlike the two preceding it, is concerned
with the interaction of men and angels in war. In places, the
meaning of the text is not altogether clear at first sight, and
certain terms need to be elucidated. For instance, the meaning
of קדושים in line 1 may pertain to either angels or men, and
there is disagreement on this amongst several commentators. But
the former is more probable, in view of the parallelism which
appears to link קדושים with מלאכים, just as נשמים is

parallel to בזבול קודשכה.[30]

Another difficult term is בחירי עם קודש, "the elect of
a holy nation". The "holy nation" is presumably Israel. But
the word בחיר by itself occurs in the Qumran scrolls with a
well-defined meaning.

In 1QpHab V,4 God will "judge all the nations by the hand
of His elect (בחירו). Whether the term here denotes an indiv-
idual or a group is uncertain.[31] At 1QpHab IX,12 and X,13, the
"elect" are the objects of persecution. In 4QpPs37 they are
"those who hope in Yahweh", who "will possess the earth". They
will be "leaders and princes.....of sheep in the midst of their
flocks". In CD IV,3f. the sons of Zadok are called the "elect
Israel, the men named with a name, who shall stand at the end of
days". The idea of the elect being named may also be described
in the present passage, line 2. Certainly, the word בחיר in the
Qumran scrolls bears certain connotations, like אביון. Indeed,
it is almost a synonym of אביון in that it denotes those who are
to be saved at the end. They are also to some extent the "élite"
who are to be their nation's spiritual leaders, perhaps under-
stood in terms of the "remnant" of O.T. prophecy.[32]

In view of this, the term בחירי עם קודש as a whole is unneces-
arily cumbersome. But perhaps בחירי is a secondary addition,
and the original text read simply עם קודש. In such a case we
should have an example of the narrowing down of the righteous
party from the whole nation to a select part of it - the same
process which as been observed in the case of 1QM XIV and 4QMa.[33]

The present hymn is not apparently dualistic, and there are
no clues which suggest how this hymn might originally have come
to be composed. In speaking of angels fighting with men in
battle, the hymn draws on themes from the O.T., but these themes

have not been encountered previously in IQM. It is perhaps
significant that the angelic army is explicitly referred to in
II Macc. x,29; xi,10. The enemy are "those who have risen
against Thee on earth"[34] (line 5), which also might be compared
with expressions from I and II Macc.; but it is probably rash to
attempt to find any concrete setting for this hymn.

XII,7-10a

There must be some hesitation about separating this from
the previous hymn, for the subject matter is very similar - that
a host of angels accompanies the human army into battle. But
whereas the previous hymn used the third person in referring to
the righteous, here the worshippers use the first person plural.
Moreover, the present hymn is metrical, and the following
arrangement has been suggested:[35]

כיא קדוש אדוני
ומלך הכבוד אתנו
(ו)עם קדושים גב[ורינו] **
ד]צבא מלאכים נפקודינו
וגבור המלה[מה] [פה] בעזתנו
וצבא רוחיו עם צעדתינו
***

* omitted from the text by error?
** the suggestion of Jongeling, p.284, גב[ו]רינו is, in our
   opinion, preferable.
*** perhaps the hymn continues: ופרשיו....

If this restoration of IQM XII,8b-10a is correct, the
following points arise:

a. קדושים (עם), a much-discussed term, means "angels" and not
humans.[36]

b. What are we to make of the lines preceding this? (7-8a, from

ראתה to לגבורים)? Might it be a fragment of another

hymn, which preceded, although it is a very small fragment in

this case. It cannot be accommodated to the metre of what fol-

lows. But neither can lines 10b.11a. It seems that the present

section has been compiled, and comprises a non-metrical passage

which incorporates a quotation from a metrical hymn. As with

the previous section, we cannot attempt to posit any historical

setting for this; we shall have to be content with having noted

its contents and structure, and with concluding that perhaps the

setting of such a hymn would be immediately before battle. The

question of the occurrence of this and the following hymn at

I^M XIX,1ff. will be mentioned in the following section.

XII,10b-15

This hymn is certainly to be distinguished from what pre-

cedes by its metre, style and subject matter. Here there are no

angels; the hymn is a call to God to rise and vanquish his

enemies, who are the nations (line 11). The tone of the hymn is

nationalistic (especially in lines 12-16) and it looks forward

to the future domination of Israel. Several Biblical allusions

are present, including Num. x,35; Ps. xxxv and Judg. v (or Ps.

lxviii). As for the Gattung of this piece, we have already com-

mented on its aptitude at col. XIX,[37] and suggest that it is an

extended war-cry, whose Biblical origin might well go back to

Num. x,35, where it is recorded that Moses would call upon God

to arise and scatter his enemies as the Ark was carried into

battle.[38]

Again, we cannot with any confidence posit a definite

historical occasion which might have inspired the composition of

this hymn; there are no singular features which might direct
our attention to a particular background. But we might note
that, in addition to the minor, orthographical differences
between this version of the hymn and that of XIX,2b-8,[39] there
is one additional word in the text of the latter; אשׁתה
at XIX,11. In the present version no ethical terms at all occur.
It will be remembered that within cols. II-IX we observed what
we termed "ethical glosses", a phenomenon recurring here.[40] The
description of the enemy as "nations" does not, in our opinion,
signify any connection with other passages in IQM where the
enemy are "nations"; the term is here far too general. But it
does underline the absence of any dualistic or sectarian features
in this hymn. Although we have no evidence that the war-scheme
of IQM II developed its own liturgy, it is worth while to remark
that this hymn accords perfectly with the spirit of cols. II-IX,
where the goal is indeed the dominion of Israel over all the
nations.

The fragment at XII,17-18 is too short and incomplete for
us to attempt to discuss it. Probably it is yet another hymn.[41]

We have now reviewed the material in cols. X-XII, but al-
though we have been successful in discovering the historical ori-
gin of many of the items, there are problems which have not yet
been accounted for. In the previous chapter, we expressed the
view that cols. X-XII were perhaps to be regarded as a collection
of hymns, and our examination of the contents has proceeded on
that assumption, which is, in our opinion, a perfectly correct
assumption as far as the character of the contents is concerned.
The problems which are raised involve the subsequent arrangement
of this material. It is here that the question of the structure

and meaning of X-XIV, and indeed the whole of the War Scroll, is raised. In the following chapters, this question will become more and more prominent.[42]

NOTES

1. Osten-Sacken, p.60f.

2. The question of the subject of הגיד, as of ילמדונו (line 2)
   is interesting, but does not affect the basic problem.
   Cf. Jongeling, p.240f. (The general view is that Moses is
   referred to.)

3. For the divergences, cf. the commentaries; one of **interest**
   is עמד for the MT נגש, in view of the liturgical formulae
   in XV-XIX (above, pp.93ff.) where עמד is regular, although
   נגש appears once (at XVI,13).

4. According to the O.T., the only function of these שטרים in
   war was exemption. Thus, the mention of שוטרים in VII,
   14.16 suggests that certain exemptions were carried out by
   these men prior to the battle according to that account also.

5. Osten-Sacken, p.60f.

6. See above, pp.77ff.

7. Yadin, pp.67ff. But see below, n.11.

8. Ibid., p.69f.

9. Deut. xx,1ff. appears to authorise all exemptions **immediately**
   before battle; but it also mentions the appointment of
   officers, which would hardly apply except when the army is
   being constituted for the first time. In fact, the formula
   which opens Deut. xx, 8 ויספו השטרים לדבר does perhaps
   suggest a different literary stratum at this point.

10. Above, pp.69ff.

11. Yadin, p.70, although his retention of the idea of "war of
    duty" is unnecessary in our opinion, since it is Mishnaic,
    and perhaps a Rabbinic rationalisation, without an
    historical grounding.

12. Cf. I Macc. iv,12; xvi,8.

13. See p.109.

14. See below, p.164f.; 181ff.

15. Osten-Sacken, p.59, n.1.

16. Becker, p.47.

17. Vv. 18 and 19 of the O.T. text have been transposed, cf. Jongeling, p.262. According to van der Woude, <u>Die messianischen Vorstellungen der Gemeinde von Qumran</u>, Assen, 1957, p.123, this is deliberate, so that the events prophesied should occur in the order mentioned. The destruction of the remnant out of the city (v.7) will perhaps then refer to the expulsion of Seleucid troops from Jerusalem, cf. I Macc. x,32.

18. Cf. e.g. I Macc. iii,18ff.; iv,10f.; iv,30ff.

19. Cf. IQH. II, 32. 34; III, 25; V, 13.14.18. etc.

20. IQpHab. XII,3.

21. For the text, translation and commentary, cf. Allegro, <u>A Newly-discovered Fragment of a Commentary on Psalm XXXVII from Qumran</u>, PEQ (1954), pp.69-75. (I,8-9).

22. Ibid., II,10-11.

23. The exception is IQDM (= IQ22).

24. We refer to "pre-dualistic" not in the sense of "emanating from a period before dualism became influential "but to refer to the original state of certain material in IQM which has, at a later stage, been glossed and adapted in accordance with dualistic theology; of this there are already several examples dealt with. See above, e.g., p.35.; and the whole history of XV-XIX as interpreted in the previous chapters.

25. See above, p.83 and references given there.

26. Above, pp.124ff.

27. See above, pp.112ff.

28. Above, pp.120.

29. A similar kind of argument is expounded by Osten-Sacken, who suggests identification of Antiochus IV with Belial.

30. On the general meaning of קדושים , cf. Noth, Die Heiligen des Höchsten, Gesammelte Studien, Munich, 1957, pp.274-290; Brekelmans, The Saints of the Most High and their Kingdom, OTS (1965), pp.305-329 refute Noth's view. On this partic- ular passage, Carmignac believes that מלאכים,קדושים and בחירי עם קדוש are three different classes of angel (p.170), and in particular regards the last-named as the souls of the righteous dead, followed by Yadin (p.242). Cf. further Jongeling, p.274f.

31. The usage varies probably, according to context; even in the O.T., בחור can have a collective meaning. Cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, Lexicon of the O.T., Oxford, 1906, p.103f.

32. Cf. Isaiah lxv, 9.15.22; Ps. cv,6.43; cvi, 5 etc.

33. See above, p.118.

34. Cf. Yadin, p.314; Jongeling, pp.279ff. for this interpret- ation of קדמי אל .

35. By van der Woude, op. cit., p.136.

36. Jongeling, p.282f. for the alternatives proposed, which in view of the plausibility of the reconstruction offered, have no direct bearing on the present discussion.

37. Above, p.113.

38. Cf. Carmignac, p.181 who thinks that "Israel personified" is addressed.

39. Cf. Jongeling, p.379 for these differences. There is also a phrase at XII,8 absent at XIX,1f. namely עם קדושים גבורים......וצבא but the ends of the columns are missing

at the beginning of col. XIX and we cannot be sure of the
extent of the deficiency. It is more likely that the phrase
is missing in XIX,1f. through accident than to suppose a
secondary addition at XII,8.

40. Above, p.34.

41. Yadin, p.223f. thinks of I Kings viii,44-5 and suggests
    that this passage contains a rubric, directing the men to
    prepare for the blessing and curse ritual of col. XIII.

42. The question of the redaction of cols. X-XII will be taken
    up below, pp.164ff.; 181ff.

III. STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF COL. XIII

Col. XIII is composed of three sections: XIII,1-6; 7-13a; 13b-16. Line 18 is too fragmentary to be considered.[1] There is a rubric introducing the column, which indicates that the following liturgy is part of a blessing-and-curse ritual. Now, it will be shown that the last two sections in this column do not basically conform to the requirements set by the rubric. As with col. XIV, it would seem that a process of accretion has taken place, and liturgical pieces have been added.[2] There is, nonetheless, a great deal in common between all the sections, although the differences are perhaps of more significance.

XIII,1-6

The most important feature of this section is the rubric itself, which conforms very closely to the pattern of those rubrics in XV-XIX which we have already examined. The following are the points of similarity:

a. The rubric begins with a list of those participating in the liturgy, headed by the Chief Priest, (lost at foot of col. XII?).

b. The word עמדם is used to indicate the place at which the liturgy is to be held.

c. The word שם is used.

d. The formula ענו ואמרו immediately precedes the text of the liturgy.

Now, these points of similarity between XIII,1ff. and parts of XV-XIX may be explained in two ways; either there is a direct connection between the two, or both conform to a formula which has been laid down independently. The difficulties with the former view are that a blessing-and-curse ritual does not appear to have any place in war rites, although Osten-Sacken, for no

very good reason, has tried to suggest that not only is there a place in war-rites for such a ceremony, but the blessing-and-curse which forms part of the Qumran sect's covenant ceremony originated in a war context.[3] This is, in our opinion, turning evidence upside down. The blessing-and-curse ritual, in the O.T., is connected with celebration of the covenant.[4] Moreover, the theme of the covenant is quite prominent in much of the material in IQM XIII.

The most plausible assumption is that the rubrics of cols. XIII and XV-XIX follow the liturgical formulae adopted by the Qumran sect, at a certain time. Historically, this appears to have developed from earlier formulae, represented by XIV,2-4a. One of the developments is the introduction of a Chief Priest, which must have taken place at a certain stage in the development of the Qumran sect.[5]

To return to XIII,1-6; the actual blessing and curse are strongly dualistic. The two opposing parties are constituted as follows:

The God of Israel (line 2)	Belial (line 4)
Those who serve him justly, who know him in faith (line 3)	The spirits of his party (line 4)
The party of light (line 5)	The party of darkness (line 6)

Also opposed are God's holy plan (line 2) and Belial's plan of hatred (line 4).

It is important to note these terms carefully, for there are differences in other parts of col. XIII. For example, in XIII,7-13a, although Belial is mentioned, he is opposed by a "Prince of light". There is no "party of darkness" mentioned, although we do find the terms "light" and "darkness" used in

contrast. In XVII,4ff., as we noted earlier,[6] we find Michael opposed by a "prince of the dominion of wickedness"; again, the term "light" is introduced, but we find no "parties of light and darkness". These comparisons can be made outside IQM also; in IQS III,13ff. we find an "angel of darkness" and "angel of truth" and in I.SII,18ff. God and Belial, but no light and darkness. This brief digression is intended to show that the history of dualism and dualistic terms at Qumran is extremely complicated; although an examination of this is well outside the scope of our study, we must be careful to observe these distinctions, since they may well betray to us different strands of tradition.[7]

In XIII,1-6, then, we have no "sons of light" or "sons of darkness", the most characteristic terms of the framework of XV-XIX, but apart from this, the two parts of IQM use their dualistic terms in the same way: (N.B. there are no Kittim in col. XIII).

Before terminating our discussion of this passage, we ought to note the differences between this ceremony and the ceremony of blessing and cursing in IQS I,18ff.. These are several, and may be listed as follows:

a. IQM XIII,1-6 is very much shorter than IQS I,18ff.

b. IQS I,18ff. does not speak of the parties of darkness and light, but of the parties of Belial and God. IQM XIII refers also to the parties of Belial and God, but identifies these with darkness and light.[8]

c. In IQS,I,18ff. the parties of Belial and God are cursed and blessed respectively; in IQM XIII,1-6 God is blessed, then those who serve him, and Belial is cursed, together with his spirits; but those who follow Belial are not cursed.

d. In IQS,I,18ff., the priests and levites have separate pron-

ouncements - the priests bless, the levites curse.
(Diverging from the O.T. pattern).[9]   In IQM XIII,1-6,
priests and levites bless and curse together.

We can see from this that the theology of XIII,1-6 is
closer to that of the framework of XV-XIX than to IQS I,18ff.
This could be taken as indicating, together with the great simi-
larity between the rubrics, that both probably originated within
the Qumran community from similar circles and at about the same
time.   However, there are minor differences, and there is no
mention of the Kittim, or of enemy forces, or anything which
points to an imminent confrontation by battle between the
parties of light and darkness.

XIII,7-13a

This passage comprises a hymn which may be divided into
three verses, as follows:

1.   ואתה אל אבותינו שמכה נברכה לעולמים ואנו עם [עו]לם
נברית [כ]רתה לאבותינו ותקימה לזרעם למועדי עולמים
ובכול תעודות כבודכה היה זכר [   ]כה בקרבנו
(לעזרת שארית ומחיה לבריתכה ולס[פר] מעשי
אמתכה ומשפטי גבורות פלאכה)

2.   את[ה אל פד]ו[ת]גו לכה עם עולמים
ובגורל אור הפילתנו לאמתכה
ושר מאור מאז פקדתה לעוזרנו
ו[בידו   ] צד[ק]
(וכול רוחי אמת בממשלתו)

3.   ואתה עשיתה בליעל לשחת מלאך משטמה
(ובחוש[ך] ממשלתו] ובעצתו להרשיע ולהאשים]
וכול רוחי גורלו מלאכי חבל בחוקי חושך יתהלכן
(ואליו תשוקתם יחד)
ואנו גורל אמתכה נשמחה ביד גבורתכה
(ונשישה בישועתכה ונגילה בעז[רתכה ובש]לומכה)

1. And Thou, God of our fathers, we bless Thy name for ever,
   we, an [etern]al people.

   Thou madest a covenant with our fathers, and wilt fulfil
   it for their descendants for all time coming.

   In all Thy glorious testimonies there is a reminder of
   Thy [   ] in our midst (as a help to the remnant and
   means of survival to Thy covenant and to relate Thy true
   deeds and Thy judgments through wonderful deeds of might).

2. Thou, [O God of our rede]mption, hast an eternal people

   Thou hast allotted us to the party of light, for Thy truth

   A prince of light Thou didst appointed of old to assist us

   [In whose power   right]eous [   ](and all
   spirits of truth are in his dominion)

3. Thou didst create Belial for destruction, as an angel of
   hatred (whose domin[ion is in dar]kness and his purpose is
   to bring men into sin and guilt).

   All his party are angels of destruction, who walk according to
   the laws of darkness (to which alone they are impelled).

   But we are the party of Thy truth, and rejoice in Thy
   mighty power, (and are glad of Thy salvation and exult in
   Thy hel[p and secur]ity).[10]

   These three verses ought to be described more accurately as

three hymns, since they appear to come from different hands; they

are different in length (verse two has four lines also, as against

three for the others), and there are slight doctrinal differences.

The phrases in round brackets indicate what we regard as secondary

expansion (see commentary following).

Verse 1   Here God is addressed as אל אבותינו by those who

describe themselves as an "eternal people".[11]   The hymn is one

of thanksgiving for God's continuing faithfulness to his cov-

enant people.   The words in brackets are, in our opinion, sec-

ondary because they distort the symmetry of the verse, extending

the last line to at least twice the length of the other lines.

Possibly, also, the introduction of the idea of a remnant (שארית)

represents sectarian tendencies on the part of the glossator.

   The hymn is quite appropriate to a covenant ceremony, and

thus its connection with the preceding section may be explained

on the supposition that both are contained within the same
ceremony. There is, however, no dualistic doctrine in this
hymn, which in fact suggests that if the ceremony was conceived
in dualistic terms, then this part of the liturgy was intro-
duced from elsewhere. There is no mention here of the destruct-
ion of evil, only of the continuing faithfulness of God to his
covenant, as promised in the O.T. (תעודות כבודכה).[12]

<u>Verse 2</u>   Here God is addressed as אל פדות[י]נו,[13] which is, as
we have indicated already, a term which elsewhere in IQM has a
dualistic context.[14] Again, the worshippers call themselves an
"eternal people" (but עולמים is used, not עולם). In both
this and the opening formula there is a formal similarity between
this and the first verse. This verse, in fact, is an alternative
to the first, in that it also gives thanks to God for his
promises of old, and his present faithfulness. But in this case,
the context is dualistic. Instead of referring to the covenant
with the forefathers, as did verse 1, this verse refers back to
the original allotment of the whole of creation into camps of
light and darkness.[15] Verse 2 is the dualistic equivalent of
verse 1. In this dualistic verse we find a "prince of light"
who might be identified with the "prince of lights" (שר האורים)
of CD V,18.[16] The bracketed phrase at the end of line 4 is, in
our opinion, secondary because it overloads that line; the first
three lines have four stresses each, and the last, five, not even
allowing for the lacuna.

<u>Verse 3</u>   In our opinion, the bracketed phrases in this verse
are all secondary. They are of unequal length, and make the

lines of unequal length. Without these, the lines contain
five stresses (the last line perhaps four). The additions in
any case contribute nothing of interest to the meaning of the
whole, and merely echo, rather weakly, the first half of each
line. To regard these as original would leave extremely long
lines; there is no plausible way of arranging the contents into
six lines.

There is much in common between verses 2 and 3 here and
the speech of the Chief Priest in XVII,4ff., both of which are
dualistic, as follows:

תשוקה (XIII,12/XVII,4);   עזר√ (XIII,10/XVII,6);   ממשלת
(XIII,10/XVII,5.7);   פדות (XIII,9.13/XVII,6); אור (XIII,9/
XVII,6);   אמת (XIII,10.12/XVII,8); עולמים (XIII,9/XVII,5.6.8).

In neither of the two passages under comparison are the terms
בני אור or בני חושך used; the two sides comprise "spirits of truth"
(XIII,10), "party of Thy truth" (XIII,12), "party redeemed by
Him" (XVII,6), "party of God" (XVII,7) and even "Israel" (XVII,7).
But in place of the "prince of light" in XIII,10, we find "Michael"
in XVII,6.7. And instead of "Belial", (XIII,11) we find "prince
of the dominion of wickedness" (XVII,5-6). Thus, in neither
passage are either of the two parties identified explicitly as
parties of light and darkness. But this identification is in
process. Each of the two passages in fact is using some terms
which are different from those used by the other, mainly those
terms which are applied to the participants in the struggle.
Other terms (as above) are used in both passages.

Our own conclusion from this comparison is that here the
evidence points to the fusion of different traditional sets of
dualistic terminology into a common set of terms, namely, "light"
and "darkness".[17] Now, the dualistic theology of XV-XIX's

framework uses the terms "light" and "darkness" throughout to denote the two parties; it also uses "Belial." But there is no equivalent "angel of light". This has disappeared. This may well have been due to a deliberate rejection of such a figure, perhaps for fear of compromising strict monotheism, or some other reason. Evidence for such a process is furnished by the next section as we shall consider.

Let us, however, conclude our examination of XIII,1-13a by suggesting that all three verses have the same setting - in a covenant ceremony. The first verse recalls the covenant made with the forefathers, the second is a dualistic equivalent, and this is continued by the third verse. It is possible that these last two verses, being a statement of dualistic belief, are formally a creed. Such a liturgy could plausibly be assigned to a covenant ceremony also.

Our chief concern in the above has been not only to illustrate the structure of the material in XIII,1-13a, but to indicate certain features of the dualistic material which suggest a line of development approximately the reverse of that argued by Osten-Sacken,[18] since our own interpretation of the literary history of IQM is also more or less diametrically opposed to his own. We need scarcely repeat that no attempt will be made here to offer an account of the development of dualism, even within IQM. It is, however, useful to demonstrate the complexity of the problem, and the inadvisability of trying to use "doctrinal" evidence alone to reach literary-critical conclusions.

XIII,13b-16

Unfortunately, this is only partly preserved, but it appears

to be a hymn of praise to God. Its most interesting feature is
that it opens with a flat contradiction to what has preceded.
It expressly denies that any "angel or prince" (מלאך ושר)
can compare with the help (עז]רה) which God alone can give.
(These three words all appear in the previous section). Here,
too, in col. XIII, we encounter for the first time an explicit
reference to the final confrontation between light and darkness;
and here these two terms are used absolutely to denote the two
sides (line 15), a usage found elsewhere in IQM only in the
framework of XV-XIX, and in those parts of col. I which are in-
fluenced by it.[19] This hymn has no obvious connection with a
covenant ceremony, but has perhaps been added to the preceding
material. There are two reasons why this might have been done;
to complete the preceding dualistic account of existence by
drawing attention to the coming battle between light and dark-
ness; and at the same time to bring up to date the entire account
by eliminating the importance of a Prince of Light and introduc-
ing the terminology of "sons of light" and "sons of darkness".
This might mean that simultaneous with the revision of the war-
rule which produced IQM XV-XIX, there was a revision of other
Qumran institutions such as the covenant ceremony.[20] With the
limited material at our disposal, however, this cannot be more
than supposition. However, it is possible to see, in XIII,7-E
a development similar to that within cols. XIV,XV-XIX, which wit-
nesses the final emergence of a war-dualism using the terms
"light" and "darkness", but itself developing from earlier dual-
istic traditions. Such observations are nonetheless offered with
considerable reserve.

NOTES

1. For the divisions and a discussion of the contents of col. XIII, cf. Osten-Sacken, p.105ff., whose interpretation is somewhat different from our own.

2. See above, pp.118ff.

3. Osten-Sacken, loc. cit.

4. Cf. Deut. xxvii-xxviii.

5. There is no Chief Priest in IQS.I,18ff. See p.155 below.

6. See above, pp.109ff.

7. Cf. below, pp.159ff.

8. IQS II,5 curses Belial for the "darkness of his deeds", and "sons of light" appears in II,16, but not, apparently, as a regular designation.

9. In fact, at Deut. xxvii,14ff. it is the levites who pronounce blessing and curse, but the other tribes divide, half to bless and half to curse (ibid.,12-14).

10. Restorations generally follow Yadin, followed in most cases by the majority of commentators. Cf. for more detailed discussion, Jongeling, pp.294ff. (None of the proposed restorations is allowed to determine our own conclusions).

11. Restored after Yadin, Dupont-Sommer, van der Ploeg.

12. This is a frequent term in the Qumran documents; cf. van der Ploeg, p.151.

13. Possibly בד[יתחנו ,as Yadin, van der Ploeg; other suggestions, Jongeling, p.297. To distinguish between yod and waw is virtually impossible in IQM; see the alphabet reproduced by Yadin, p.254.

14. See above, p.140f.

15. Cp. a similar phenomenon at X,14b.15a, above, p.136f.

16. Cf. Yadin, p.235 for a discussion of the terms.

17. It is also possible that non-dualistic terminology is being accommodated to dualistic, by the attribution of "making wicked and guilty"(הרשיע , האשים) to Belial. √רשע and √אשם are frequently used in "ethical" glosses (above, p.35) and in passages where the ethical distinctions between the two parties at war are brought out. Cf. √אשם in IQM VI,17; XI,1; XII,12; XIV,3; IV,15 (gloss) √רשע in IQM I,6.13; XI,10; XIV,7; XV,2.9.14(?); XVII,6; and III,9(gloss).

18. For the outlines of Osten-Sacken's view, see above, pp.14ff.

19. For the influence of XV-XIX on I, see below, pp.174ff. N.B. also "sons of darkness" at line 16.

20. See above, pp.124ff. for the reasons and approximate dating of this kind of revision.

IV. FURTHER REMARKS ON COLS. X-XIV[1]

Altough we have accounted for most of the material in IQM
X-XIV, there are several problems about the structure and
arrangement of this material which remain unresolved. These
may be listed as follows:

a. How are we to understand X,1-8a, which is not exactly a
prayer, but seems to be addressed to God?

b. How are we to explain the fact that X,1-8a, and almost cer-
tainly other sections from X-XII, are incomplete?

c. How are we to explain the presence of cols. XIII and XIV in
their present position, and, indeed, in IQM at all?

d. At what point does this central section end, or XV-XIX
really begin? How do we interpret XIV,16-E?

Not all of these questions can be answered at this point,
nor can they all be discussed independently. But a number of
observations ought to be ventured before we proceed to the next
stage of our treatment of IQM.

Questions (a) and (b) can be taken together, because both
raise the possibility that X-XII or X-XIV have been edited.
X,1-8a ends abruptly and another quite different source supplies
what follows. The link between this and the next section is im-
possible to see clearly due to the damaged text at the end of
col. X. The section beginning at XI,7b, if, as we have under-
stood, it is a new liturgical piece, begins rather unusually,
(XI,13-E) begins with כיא . The hymn at XII,1 begins also with
כיא (though of course the true beginning of this section
might be at the end of col. XI). XII,7-10 also begins abruptly,
and seems to be incomplete.

The subject-matter of the material in these columns is
arranged in a fairly orderly way; col. XI contains material

which is linked by various motifs and expressions. All the sources used in this column contain reference to Biblical incidents or prophecies, and stress the power of God and the weakness of Israel. The first two hymns in col. XII both deal with angelic armies in war. Now, this kind of arrangement is what one might expect from a collection of liturgical pieces, in any case. But would one expect some of the component parts to be incomplete?

Unless one is prepared to argue that IQM is entirely a haphazard and motley collection of variegated texts joined only (and only occasionally) by a common theme, the question must arise eventually, how and why and by whom were all the various parts of IQM put together? Cols. II-IX and XV-XIX are self-contained documents, but outside these, ought we to look for signs of redaction? Many commentators have read cols. X-XII as a single prayer, a prayer before battle.[2] Have the hymns in X-XII been formed into a single prayer? This would explain some of the phenomena, namely that the units have apparently been joined together closely, and that the first unit, a war-mishnah, now reads like a prayer.

Some reasons have already been given why cols. XIII and XIV might have been included in IQM. They both show considerable resemblance to other parts of IQM; and yet their presence suggests that they both existed, before their incorporation into IQM, as independent fragments. If other fragments of the war-rule of col. XIV had existed, it is unlikely that these would not have been included in IQM also. Moreover, col. XIII has been wrenched from its original Sitz im Leben, which may have come about accidentally, and suggests that XIII existed as an independent fragment before its inclusion in IQM.

The question of the material from XIV,16-E (and also of XV,1-2a) may also be tackled from the point of view of the redaction of IQM as a whole. It presents some unusual features, and some terms which we have attempted to assign to different traditions within IQM appear to come together here. This fact itself, however, point to an attempted union of all the disparate elements within IQM.

The consideration of all these problems, then, leads us on to discuss the redaction of IQM as a whole. We have already, in fact, noted signs of redaction in the removal of the beginning of II-IX and its incorporation in col. I.[3] Col. I remains the only substantial portion of IQM so far left unaccounted for. In our treatment of this column we shall enter into the problem of the redaction of IQM in earnest.

NOTES

1. Analysis of the contents of XIV,2-15 is offered above, pp.118ff.

2. E.g. Dupont-Sommer, p.156; Yadin, p.210; Carmignac, p.138.

3. See above, pp.25ff.

PART FOUR

THE RECENSION OF IQM

I. COL. I

As early ago as 1955, Dupont-Sommer[1] stated that col. I was an introduction to IQM. Since that time, the actual function of col. I within IQM has seemed to become more and more obscured. Much of the problem may have been caused by col. I's undoubted obscurity itself; it clearly has links with XV-XIX through its language, and yet exactly how col. I could be formally connected with XV-XIX was never clearly explained.[2] We have already suggested that col. I offers an alternative version of the first six years of the whole final war,[3] and this involves us in regarding col. I as at least later than II-IX. The formal resemblance between I,11ff. and XV-XIX has recently been explained by the assumption that XV-XIX has built on the framework of I,11ff.[4] An equally plausible explanation, never apparently considered, is that I,11ff. is a summary of XV-XIX.

As a final preliminary observation, we might say that if any redacional material exists in a composite work such as IQM, the most obvious place to search for it is in the first column, at the beginning of the whole work. In our opinion, col. I is indeed an introduction to IM as a whole, and that, properly understood, it enables us to see the meaning of the War Scroll taken as a whole. This is because col. I is a summary of the entire Final War, and brings together the vision of cols. II-IX as well as of XV-XIX, visions which otherwise remain juxtaposed in blatant contradiction.

The contents of col. I may be divided into three, although col. I itself is a unity. The sections are as follows:

1-3a   The first act of aggression

3b-9a   The subsequent campaigns

9b-E   The battle against the Kittim

I,1-3a

An important word here is ראשית . What follows is the
first stage of the Final War. Perhaps this should be taken
with ואחר in line 3b, where the next stage is described. This
first stage is an act of aggression (משלוח יד) against

> "the party (גורל) of the sons of darkness,
> the army of Belial, the troop of Edom and Moab,
> the Ammonites, the arm(y of   )Philistia,
> the forces of the Kittim of Asshur, assisted
> by the offenders against the covenant."

The terms "sons of darkness" and "army of Belial" are
most unlikely to indicate entities in addition to those which
follow. Rather, they seem to be general in application, and to
define all the following groups.[5] This would serve the purpose
of bringing together the terms used of the enemy in XV-XIX with
the enemies of II-IX who are nations. We have, in any case, al-
ready suggested that the names of the nations in this list are
taken from the document now in cols. II-IX.

These, then, are the first "sons of darkness" to be attacked
in the Final War. But by whom are they to be attacked? The
text continues

> "The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah and the
> sons of Benjamin, the exiles of the wilder-
> ness, shall fight against them [...]
> all their divisions, when the exiles of the sons
> of light return from the wilderness of the
> nations to encamp in the wilderness of
> Jerusalem."

The mention of three tribes here is most curious.[6] One
thinks of the system of cols. IIff., where the twelve tribes of
Israel are organised according to Num. i-x,10. In our earlier
examination of col. II, we conjectured that the forty years' war
against the nations might have begun with a battle within Israel's
borders, fought by the tribes then occupying the land, namely the
three so-called "southern tribes", Judah, Benjamin and Levi. The

initial success of their struggle might have been expected to herald the return of the lost tribes to the land of Israel.[7] If this is correct, then the information in I,2b-3 is also taken from the document II-IX. However, it has been adapted, for these are now called "sons of light", terminology derived from XV-XIX. And further development seems to have taken place, for we are given a rather cryptic (deliberately so?) clue as to the time when this will happen. It seems that by the three tribes mentioned, something less than the whole is meant; only the "exiles of the wilderness" are to be understood. These await the return of others of their number return from exile in the "wilderness of the nations". "Exiles of the desert" and "exiles of the sons of light" do not mean the same thing, or a pronoun would have been employed.

Since IQM was discovered amongst the Qumran caves, and since other Qumran texts refer to "sons of light", we can fairly safely equate the "sons of light" with the Qumran sect. These men were not only from the tribes of Judah, Benjamin and Levi, but were also "exiles of the wilderness" in as much as they lived by the shores of the Dead Sea. Apparently, these men were awaiting the return of others of their number from the "wilderness of the nations". This expression is taken from Ezekiel xx,35, where it denotes Babylon. If the same reference were intended here, we should be led to believe that, according to IQM I, the Final War would commence when other members of the Qumran sect returned from Babylon to join their fellows. The "wilderness of Jerusalem" will thus apply to Qumran, unless it is meant in a metaphorical sense to apply to the religious wilderness of the Jerusalem Temple, as it was seen by the sect.

According to some scholars, the Qumran sect was in fact

established by Jews who returned from Babylon during the
Maccabean period, and were distressed at the religious laxity
which they witnessed in Jerusalem. The ineffectiveness of
their protests, according to this theory, ultimately led to the
establishment of a settlement at Qumran.[8] Our own exegesis of
IQM I,2b-3 would support such a theory; it would, however, imply
that the members of the sect still awaited the return of more of
their numbers when this passage was written.

So far, we have seen that, although certain ideas are
adopted from II-IX, not only are these accommodated to dualistic
categories, but the original pan-Israelite ideal is now restricted
to members of the Qumran sect.

I,3b-9a

We are now dealing with the second stage of the Final War
(...אחר}, 3b). According to lines 5-7, the events here depicted
will bring about the final defeat of Belial and of the Kittim.
Since this is also the consequence of the great battle described
in XV-XIX, we should assume that it is this great seven-stage
conflict which now takes place. The details of this second stage
of the Final War are unfortunately very difficult to reconstruct
due to the incompleteness of the text at this point.

Now, ואחר המלחמה can be taken as referring to the first stage,
in which the inhabitants of the land of Israel were driven out
or exterminated. (Whether or not these nations actually existed
an independent entities at the time of composition of col. I need
not concern us at this point; the list originally belonged else-
where and might well have been re-interpreted symbolically).

The text hereafter becomes extremely difficult to interpret,

and numerous solutions have been proposed. Because of the
importance of this brief passage, it is proposed to deal with
the textual problem in some detail. This is the passage to be
considered:

הכתיים במצרים ובקצו יצא [ ]   [ ] ואחר המלחמה יעלו משם

בחמה גדולה להלחם במלכי הצפון ואפו להשמיד ולהכרית את קרן [ ]

The problems are; the subject of יעלו; the lacuna at the begin-
ning of line 4; the subject of יצא. A relatively minor problem
is the lacuna at the beginning of line 5.

The first two problems are possibly related, since the
subject of יעלו might be located in the lacuna. The alternative
is that...בני לוי is the subject. We are not helped by משם,
for even though it seems to refer to the scene of the first
battle, it is not impossible that certain of the enemy defeated
in that battle retire to prepare for the next battle.

The words הכתיים במצרים not necessarily to be taken to
men "the Kittim (who are) in Egypt". הכתיים, in fact, could
conceivably be the subject of יעלו : במצרים could mean "in Egypt"
or "against Egypt". The following verb, יצא, has no subject;
this has led to the placing by some scholars of a masculine
singular noun in the lacuna, e.g. מלך . However, the suffix
on בקצו ought to indicate God, and thus God might well be the
subject of יצא .

A further consideration is that the whole passage is in-
spired by Dan. xi,44, where the "king of the north" goes with
great fury (יצא בחמה גדולה)(cf. מלך הצפון in Dan. xi,11).
However, there may also be some influence from Ezekiel xxxviii,
18f. where God swears "in the heat of my anger, and in my indig-
nation; in the fire of my wrath" (חמתי באפי ובקנאתי באש עברתי)to
destroy Gog. Together with Gog come other nations (xxxviii,5-6);

hence perhaps "kings of the north" here - for Gog's realm is in the far north (xxxviii,15; xxxix,2). It is unwise, however, to lay too much emphasis on the form of the Biblical phrases which influence the present passage, for clearly, the author here has freely used these.

The following translations have been offered by the commentators and translators of this passage:

Dupont-Sommer (p.29f.):

> "And, after this war, the nations shall
> come up thence, and the king of the
> Kittim shall enter Egypt. And, in his
> time (viz. at the time determined by
> him), he shall come out in a great fury,
> to fight against the kings of the north,
> and his anger shall destroy and annihilate
> the horn of his enemies."

Yadin (p.238):

> "After the battle they shall go up thence
> against all the troops of the Kittim in
> Egypt. In His appointed time He shall go
> forth with great wrath to fight against the
> kings of the north, and His anger shall be
> such as to destroy utterly and to cut off
> the horn of Belial."

Van der Ploeg (p.35):

> "And after the war, (they?) shall go thence.....
> king of the Kittim in Egypt. And in his time,
> he shall go out in great anger to fight the
> kings of the north. And in his anger he shall
> seek to destroy and cut off the horn of his
> enemies."

Carmignac (p.6f):

> "And after the war they shall go up thence
> and God......the Kittim in Egypt. In His
> time, He shall go out in great fury to
> fight against the kings of the north, and
> His anger shall destroy and smite the horn
> of....."

Jongeling (p.60):

> "And after this battle, they shall go up
> thence.....God(?)...the Kittim in Egypt, and
> in His time He shall go out in a great fury
> to fight against the kings of the north. And
> His anger shall be (ready to) destroy and to
> cut the horn of....."

These examples contain what may be regarded as the reason-
able alternatives. All offer a translation which grammatically
makes sense, but the main problem is to relate this episode to
what follows. What is indicated is a defeat of a mighty army,
comprising the Kittim. Other nations may be involved also. It
is this battle which marks the end of the Kittim. Hence, our
own interpretation of the above passage would read:

> "And after this battle, the kings of the
> north shall come up thence, with the Kittim
> in Egypt. But in His appointed time He
> shall go forth with great fury to battle
> against the kings of the north, and His
> anger shall be such as to destroy and cut
> off the horn of His enemies."

The restored Hebrew text:

ואחר המלחמה יעלו משם מלכי הצפון עם הכתיים במצרים ובקצו יצא
בחמה גדולה להלחם במלכי הצפון ואפו להשמיד ולהכרית את קרן
אויבו

The advantage of the proposed restoration is that the
passage now describes a great battle in which the Kittim and
those who have joined them are defeated in a single battle by
an act of God. This accords with XV-XIX. It would be rash,
however, to claim that this passage is now perfectly lucid, for
it retains a certain awkwardness of expression. But this can
hardly be removed by any restoration so far proposed.

The sequel makes it clear that now Belial and the Kittim
are finally overcome. Lines 5b-7

וכלת עולמים לכול גורל בליעל והיתה מהומה ג[דולה ב]בני יפת
ונפל אשור ואין עוזר לו וסרה ממשלת כתים

might be an adaption of XVIII,2-3a

בהנשא יד אל גדולה על בליעל ועל כול ה[נ]ל ממשלתו במגפה עולמים
]   [ותרועת קדושים בידף אשור ונפלו בני יפת לאין קום
וכתיים יכתו

Only in these two passages do we find Belial, the Kittim, Asshur and Japhet all together. That XVIII,2-3a is the earlier is proved by its punning: יפת | נפלו and כתיים/יכתו .

Before passing to the next and very important passage, lines 8-9a, we ought to comment on the "Kittim in Egypt". Such a phrase can be applied with equal plausibility to the Ptolemaic dynasty or the Romans. We have already concluded that "Kittim" in XV-XIX refers to the Romans,[9] and in col. I we seem to have merely a slight refinement, for "Kittim of Asshur" has already appeared in 1,2. Although, in our opinion, this applied to the Seleucid kingdom when in the context of cols. II-IX, in col. I it might have been re-interpreted to refer to the Roman legions of Syria. Hence, since these have been defeated in the first stage, the second stage, the great battle in which the Kittim and forces of Belial are defeated, includes the Kittim in Egypt, namely, the Roman legions stationed there. On the other hand, it is equally likely, if not more so, that the writer is attempting to reconcile his vision of the future as far as possible with Dan. xi,40ff. and that the "king of the south" there mentioned finds it only con- temporary counterpart in the Roman forces in Egypt. In the same way, the Danielic "king of the north" has been pluralised.

The events of col. I, we have submitted, are intended to harmonise with the chronology of II,6ff., and to fall within the first six years of the forty years' war. The defeat of the Kittim must surely mark the culmination of this period. The differing portrayals of the last war in II-IX and XV-XIX can be reconciled partly by holding the one to follow the other; which order is our compiler suggesting? If the Final War is

a. to involve the Romans and

b. to hold any plausibility,

then any scheme of world conquest will have to <u>begin</u> with the defeat of the mightiest power on earth. To imagine a war being fought against the other nations of the world whilst no conflict with the Romans materialised is rather difficult. Hence against van der Ploeg[10] and following Yadin,[11] it is our opinion that the "Kittim war" precedes the campaigns of II,10ff. This is the impression left by col. I, for the second phase of the Final War, as we have seen, is the "Kittim war". This is now followed by a brief reference to the ensuing campaign. The powers of darkness having been removed, it remains only for the dominion of Israel to be extended.

Lines 8-9a, therefore, state that after the victory over Belial, the elimination of darkness proceeds "gradually" (הלוך). It is stated, quite flatly (line 8) that

> ".....justice shall shine out to all the ends of the world, shining more and more until the time allotted to darkness is completely finished....."

In XV-XIX there seems to be no question that Belial and his allies are exterminated in one battle. Here we find that in fact after the extermination of Belial, the time allotted to darkness has still to run until the ends of the world are filled with light. This reference, in our opinion, is to the campaigns outlined in col. II, in which the whole world is gradually conquered. This, then, is how col. I reconciles the two major documents which comprise IQM, II-IX and XV-XIX. The manner in which this is done is perhaps rather confusing; but no other account of col. I seems possible which does not entail greater difficulties.

I,9b-E

This section of col. I, beginning with the words ובים נפל בו

mark the end of the summary of the Final War and begin a des-
cription of the course of the "Kittim war", a summary, in fact,
of XV-XIX.[12] Here the terms "sons of light" and "sons of dark-
ness" occur. At lines 11b.12a is a phrase taken from the
introduction to XV-XIX (XV,1-2a)[13] with very slight alteration:

כיא היאה עת צרח לישראל for והיאה עת צרה ע[ד]י על[ם] לעם פדות אל

This introduces the summary proper, which begins at line 12b with
the words וביום מלחמתם בכתיים. Although the end of col. I is
missing, and lines 15-17 are incomplete, it seems that col. I
ends with the outcome of the "Kittim war" and, since the docu-
ment in cols. II-IX begins midway through a sentence, we may
suppose that the account of the end of the "Kittim war" led on
to the next stage, the war of II-IX.

It might seem rather untidy that the second half of col. I,
after the summary of the entire Final War had been completed,
should concern itself with a description of the "Kittim war".
This, however, would be necessitated by the fact that col. II
begins a detailed account of the war against the nations. In
order to avoid further confusion, this would have to be preceded
by a summary of the Kittim war. The following table will make
this point clearer:

General Outline of Final War

I,1-3a   First act of aggression; defeat of neighbouring nations,
            undertaken by the "sons of light" from Judah, Benjamin
            and Levi.

I,3b-7   Second act of aggression; defeat of coalition between
            armies of Kittim, kings of north - forces of Belial.

I,8-9a   After defeat of Belial, gradual dissemination of the
            power of light throughout the world.

It seems probable that these three were to be understood as taking

forty years to achieve; the first two stages would be completed
in the first six years, and the third stage would occupy the
remaining years.

Description of the two major stages

1,9b-E   The battle against Belial and the Kittim; general
           course of the battle.

II   The battles against the nations; general course
           of the campaigns.

The rest of IQM contains:

III-IX   General rules about equipment, men and tactics for
           the entire Final War.

X-XIV   Liturgy for the entire war.

XV-XIX   Detailed description of the war against Belial and
           the Kittim; (liturgy particularly).

If our above analysis is correct, it means that the material
in IQM has been reinterpreted, and prefaced with an introduction
so that a coherent composite document emerges, which describes
the course of the Final War. Our analysis leaves open the
question whether there followed any detailed description of the
wars against the nations, but this would surely be extremely
lengthy and repetitive; such a description is not perhaps needed,
since the course of these wars will vary tremendously. With the
defeat of the Kittim and the forces of Belial, the climax of the
war is effectively reached, and further description would cert-
ainly be an anti-climax.

Now that we have suggested a scheme of interpretation for
IQM as a whole, we may discuss a few remaining questions regarding
the arrangement of the material in IQM, before presenting our

conclusions as to the date and purpose of the whole document, IQM, as distinct from its parts.

NOTES

1. Dupont-Sommer, p.26.

2. See above, pp.12ff., passim, for discussion of this question.

3. Above, p.26.

4. Above, p.12.

5. Cf. XY,2b-3a, where the opposing forces are "the king of the Kittim and all the army of Belial". The term "sons of darkness" is probably interpreted in col. I to mean all the enemies which will be fought, including the nations in col. II. In XV-XIX it perhaps means just the Kittim army and the "army of Belial" which comprises various nations (XIX,11).

6. The mention of Benjamin here is unique at Qumran, the designation "Judah and Levi" being the normal usage.

7. This is envisaged in Ezekiel xxxix,25, which is influential in most of the various strands of material in IQM.

8. Cf. Murphy-O'Connor, RB (1970), p.214f. and Iwry, Was There a Migration to Damascus? The Problem of שבי ישראל , Jerusalem, 1969.

9. Above, pp.124ff.

10. Van der Ploeg, p.20.

11. Yadin, p.19.

12. This division within col. I has already been suggested by Osten-Sacken, p.30.

13. For a discussion of this passage, see below, pp.181ff.

II. OTHER REDACTIONAL ELEMENTS WITHIN IQM

In this chapter we shall consider briefly the structure of
X-XIV again, and XIV,16-XV,2 in particular. Now that we have
gained an impression of the meaning of the entire composition,
it may be possible to suggest a solution to the questions raised
above, on pp.165-168.

We remarked that X-XII showed some evidence of having been
compiled into a single hymn, or prayer. We were also concerned
with the presence of cols. XIII and XIV in IQM.

Our approach to this question begins with the already ob-
served fact that at XV,4-6a refers to two other documents
probably to be identified as the present II-IX and X-XII.[1] These
two documents, at the time XV-XIX was compiled, were being pre-
served independently. Now, we have argued that IQM is the
product of a compiler, whose work we have already examined. It
is not at all certain, however, that this compiler was himself
responsible for bringing II-IX, X-XII, XIII, XIV, XV-XIX to-
gether in the first place; they might have existed side by side
already. The reference to II-IX and X-XII, in XV,4ff. might have
resulted in the three documents being brought together, copied
together, read together; but not fused into a single unit. Such
fragments as col. XIII and XIV, existing independently, might
also have been included in the collection because of resemblances
they bore to other material in XV-XIX. If these documents were
kept together, it is possible that certain changes in the con-
tents might occur over a period of time as a direct result of
the bringing together of this association with other documents.
In particular, X-XII, XIII, XIV and XV-XIX might come to be
copied as a single document. In view of the rubrics which
introduce cols. XIII and XIV these colums might come to be

regarded as an intrinsic part of XV-XIX. Since the one major item of liturgy missing from XV-XIX is the "prayer for the appointed time of battle" without which the war-rule of XV-XIX cannot be fulfilled, cols. X-XIII might have been understood as comprising this. Hence the transformation of these columns from a collection of independent hymns into a continuous prayer; the form of X,1-8a might have come about also through its being adapted to fit into the rest of the prayer.[2]

Such a reconstruction is naturally hypothetical, although the facts which it explains demand some such account. A further consideration is that the compiler of 1QM (the author of col. I) might have arranged II-IX, X-XIV, and XV-XIX differently had he not already found these documents in that order. It would have been more logical for XV-XIX, the account of the "Kittim war", to have preceded II-IX; but instead of this, the reversed order is compensated by the insertion of a summary of XV-XIX at 1.9bff.[3]

We should therefore be inclined to conlude that 1QM, although finally compiled by a single hand, had begun its existence through a gradual process whereby the components were brought together. Before the final compilation, however, there had been no attempt to present a systematic account of the Final War through the fusion of these components; they were allowed to stand in juxtaposition, with only a certain amount of adjustment to the shape of the material.

We must finally offer some remarks about XIV,16-XV which would seem to belong with XV-XIX by virtue of the mention of "sons of darkness" in XIV,17a (and "sons of light" in XIV,17b?)[4]. The phrases "eternal redemption" (עולמים פדות) and "party of God" (גורל אל) in XV,1 also reflect the terminology of XV-XIX.[5]

However, since XV,2b seems to commence the war-rule proper,

and since XIV,16 bears no marks of introduction, and is evidently
the same kind of material as the rest of col. XIV - namely, a
hymn, there may be great difficulty in establishing exactly at
what point XV-XIX begins. Possibly there is no beginning in
IQM; it may be that the end of col. XIV and the beginning of
col. XV have been fitted together in such a way that the two
appear to run together.

This, of course, ignores the missing end of col. XIV; but
the terminology of XV-XIX has already appeared in XIV,17. Hence
this passage XIV,16-XV,2a is perhaps the result of an editorial
process.

We have seen already that the material in cols. II-IX con-
tains certain "dualistic glosses" as well as "ethical glosses".
Such glosses might be attributed to the period during which
II-IX, X-XII, XIII, XIV, and XV-XIX existed side by side. There
are also possible indications of secondary alteration of
material at XV,2 ("nations of wickedness") and XIX,11 ("....the
Kittim, the multitude of Asshur, and the army of all the nations
that were assembled (הנקהל'ם) unto them" - cf. XIV,5 קהל גויים).

It is our opinion that by positing a process of reduction
prior to the final redaction including col. I, many of the
phenomena such as we have indicated may be explained, as well
as the shape of the final redaction itself. It must be admitted,
however, that our conclusions in this chapter are offered tent-
atively as a possible explanation; there is not sufficient
evidence, it would seem, to support a firm conclusion.

NOTES

1. See above, p.21f.

2. This would involve only the addition of אתה at X,1.

3. See above, p.177f.

4. According to Yadin's very hypothetical reconstruction of the text, these lines follow closely 1,8-9 (Yadin, p.330). This is not unlikely, in view of the similarity between I,11b.12a and XV,1 or 1,5b-7 and XVIII,1-3a (see above, p.174,177.

5. Cf. XVII,7; XVIII,10.

III.   DATE AND STRUCTURE OF IQM - CONCLUSIONS

The Structure of IQM

Briefly, we have reached the following conclusions regard-
ing the contents of IQM. Two major documents are to be found,
contained in cols. II-IX and XV-XIX. The former represents a
compilation made in the Hasmonean period of traditions which
arose during and immediately after the Maccabean wars, applied
to an eschatological war in which the twelve tribes of Israel
would vanquish the nations. The inspiration for this compilation
arose from Num. i-x,10. XV-XIX is the end-product of a long
history of development from an original Maccabean war-rule, an
early stage of which is represented by the fragment in col.
XIV,2-12a. The final redaction, in which many of the most dis-
tinctive themes are introduced, such as the seven stages of the
war, casualties, and Kittim, is to be attributed to the period
after the Roman occupation of Palestine, i.e., in the second half
of the 1st century B.C.

X-XII was originally a collection of hymns and prayers many
of which reflect a Maccabean setting, but has possibly been
altered to form one continuous prayer. Cols. XIII and XIV ex-
isted as independent fragments at the time when they were in-
cluded in the collection of documents dealing with the last war.
For this, the rubrics which occur at the beginning of these two
columns are a sufficient explanation.

These three documents plus the two fragments existed side
by side and gradually came to be regarded as belonging together;
certain minor adjustments within the text of all three suggest
this. Finally, an attempt was made to produce a coherent war-
rule from these collected documents, and this compilation was

prefaced by an introduction in which a logical scheme was imposed upon the constituent material. The final result is the document IQM.

Date of IQM

We have already a terminus aquo furnished by the date of XV-XIX, in the second half of the first century B.C. The terminus ad quem is the date of the manuscript itself, which is held to be Herodian; it can perhaps be dated in the first half of the first century A.D.[1]

Yadin has expressed the view that IQM "was not essentially written for the purpose of consolation and description of the splendid future at the End of Days. Its purpose was to supply an urgent and immediate need, a guide for the problems of the long-predicted war, which according to the sect would take place in the near future."[2] There is no lack of evidence that the period to which IQM must be assigned was one in which the prospect of an imminent eschaton was widely held, and that Rome's increasing oppression (as the Jews saw it) of the chosen people was the prelude to the Final War.

In response to such a mood, the appearance of a document such as IQM is not surprising. The Qumran sect itself appears to have been actively involved in the war of 66 A.D.[3] and therefore the existence of a document providing a detailed account of the course of the Final War is scarcely surprising. At all events, the compilation of IQM was probably undertaken in the belief that a military confrontation was inevitable, and therefore a plausible date for IQM could be found at almost any time during the first half of the first century A.D. A more precise dating is not possible, although a late rather than

early point within this period might be suggested by the necessity of a reasonably long period between the appearance of XV-XIX and the final edition IQM. Again, the prospect of war grew more and more certain towards the middle of the first century, and the task of compiling the documents relating to the final war which were kept by the Qumran sect might have been undertaken only as the inevitability of the coming war became quite apparent.

The material in IQM thus extends from the Maccabean period to the first century A.D., and contains several different traditions. IQM would thus seem to be a document of central importance to the study of the traditions of the Qumran sect. Considerable research in this direction needs to be undertaken, and a number of modifications will undoubtedly become necessary in our own arguments. However, the literary structure of IQM will always be one of the most important foundations upon which our understanding of the history and traditions of the Qumran sect will ultimately have to rest.

NOTES

1. Cf. Cross, <u>The Development of the Jewish Scripts</u>, pp.174ff.
   Avigad, Scr. Hier. IV, pp.71ff.

2. Yadin, p.15.

3. Cf. the figure of John the Essene in Josephus, War, II,xx,4.
   It appears, moreover, that the Qumran site was destroyed
   in a skirmish with the Roman forces, cf. de Vaux,
   <u>L'archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte</u>, Schweich
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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
Bibl.	Biblica.
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.
GGA	Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal.
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature.
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies.
NRT	Nouvelle Revue Théologique.
NT	Novum Testamentum.
OTL	Old Testament Library.
OTS	Old Testament Studies.
PEQ	Palestine Exploration Quarterly.
RQ	Revue de Qumran.
RB	Revue Biblique.
RHR	Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology.
Scr. Hier.	Scripta Hierosolymitana.
TB	Theologische Bücherei.
TLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung.
TZ	Theologische Zeitschrift.
Sem.	Semitica.
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica.
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah.
StUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments.
VT	Vetus Testamentum.
ZNW	Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft.
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.