

transcriptions which are made available to scholars and students. If one regrets that the material was not made fully accessible sooner, this feeling is dispelled by the beauty of the final publication. The work which Sukenik was unable to complete will not be finished for a long time, but the work goes on. This publication will give new stimulus to the already fervid scholarly efforts which these amazing discoveries have provoked.

M. H. P.

The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan, trans. from the Hebrew by Judah Goldin. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955. Pp. xxvi+277. \$4.75.

The tenth anniversary of the remarkable series of Yale Judaica is appropriately marked by the appearance of this translation of perhaps the most important of the extra-canonical minor tractates of the Talmud. *Aboth de-Rabbi Nathan* is partly a commentary on the Mishna tractate *Pirke Aboth* and partly an amplification of it. In bulk it is more than eight times the size of the original *Aboth* and contains a great store of parables, biographical incidents, and rabbinic sayings many of which are only loosely related to the formal structure of the book. The editor suggests that the relationship of the commentary to the tractate is closely parallel to that of the midrashim to the Scriptures. While the final compilation of the work may be as late as the 7th-9th centuries, the material which it contains goes back to a period not later, in any instance, than about the 4th century; so it is an important witness to the development of thought in early rabbinic Judaism. No authority quoted is later than the Tannaitic period.

Especially interesting, from the historical point of view, is the story of the interview between Vespasian and Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai related in chap. iv. The prophecy that Vespasian was about to become emperor, which Josephus in the *Jewish War* claims for himself, is here attributed to Johanan. Chap. v contains a unique, though somewhat enigmatic, account of the origin of the Sadducees. But of greater value than the sparse historical notes are the numerous stories of the rabbis, sometimes perverse for modern tastes, but more often tender and touching, and the rich store of proverbs and apothegms. Typical is this: "If two scholars sit and study Torah and before them passes a bridal procession or the bier of a dead man: if there are enough in the procession they ought not to neglect their study, but if not let them get up and cheer and hail the bride, or accompany the dead."

There are, of course, in this work as in most similar productions, a good many obscure passages, and some which require more technical knowledge than the ordinary reader is likely to possess. One could wish that the explanatory notes on these were more complete, but that is probably an ungrateful wish, since the editor and translator have put the world of scholarship under a sufficient debt in making the text itself accessible in so attractive a volume.

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FURTHER LIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE QUMRAN SECT

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

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

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

4QpNAHUM

- ... a dwelling for the wicked ones of the Gentiles. *Whither the lion, the lioness went, the lion's cub*
- 1 [מִדּוֹר לְרַשְׁעֵי גוֹיִם^a אֲשֶׁר־הֵלֵךְ אֲרִי לְבִיאֵי שֵׁם גּוֹר אֲרִי
- [and none to terrify. Its interpretation concerns Deme]trius, king of Greece, who sought to enter Jerusalem by the counsel of the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things
- 2 [וְאֵין מַחְרִיד^b פֶּשְׁרוֹ עַל דִּמְיוֹטְרוֹס^c מֶלֶךְ יוֹן אֲשֶׁר בִּקֵּשׁ לְבוֹא יְרוּשָׁלַיִם בְּעֶצֶז דְּוֹרְשֵׁי הַחֲלָקוֹת^d
- [... terrify] (?) the kings of Greece from (the time of) Antiochus to the appearance of the rulers of the Kittim, and afterwards [...] will tread (be trodden) down
- 3 [מִחֲרִיד מַלְכֵי יוֹן] מאַנְתִּיכוֹס^e עַד עֲמוּד מוֹשְׁלֵי כְּתִיִּים וְאַחֵר תִּרְמַס^f
- [...] *The lion tears sufficient for his cubs, and strangles for his lionesses prey*
- 4 [אֲרִי טוֹרֵף בָּדִי] גּוֹרִיוֹ וּמַחְנֵק לְלִבְיֹתָיו טֶרֶף^g
- [... Its interpretation] concerns the Lion of Wrath who used to smite (or, smites) with his mighty ones and the men of his counsel
- 5 פֶּשְׁרוֹן עַל כָּפִיר] הַחֲרוֹן אֲשֶׁר יָכָה בְּגִדּוּלָיו וְאִנְשֵׁי עֲצָתוֹ

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

^b Nah 2 12 ed.

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

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

^e As MT, but the *pešer* on this passage reflects the variant tradition found in the LXX's *εἰσελεύσεται* (cf. Syr., Vulg.) = לבוא.

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

^g For the spelling with *taw*, note the variant (?) אנחפרוס (Targ. II Est 3 1) for אנשיפטרס (Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 76). The normal spelling would be אנשיכוס (e. g., Targ. II Est 1 2, etc.).

^h Cf. Y. Ber. 4.8a הרמסה ביד עריצים (of Jerusalem).

ⁱ Nah 2 13 ab. MT אריה.

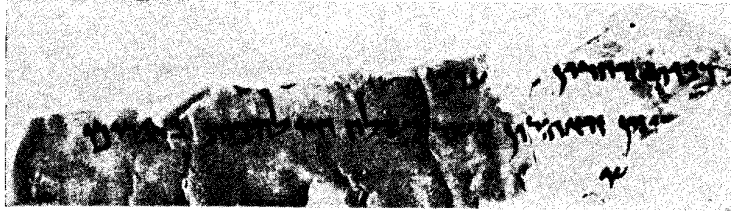
^j MT גרתי. * > MT.



Photograph: Palestine Archaeological Museum

4QpNahum

PLATE 2.



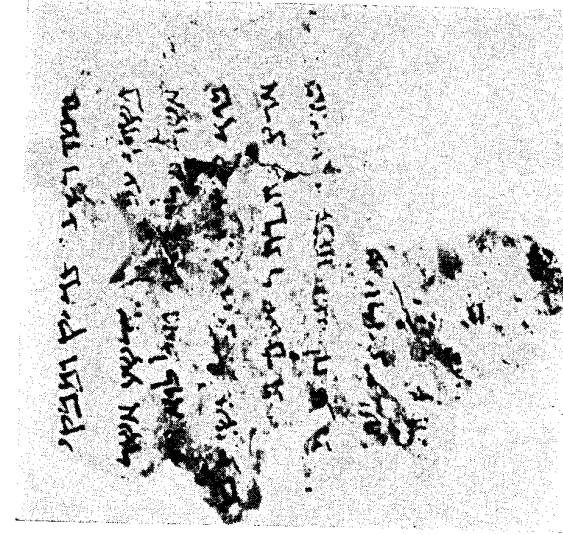
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4QpHosea

PLATE 3.

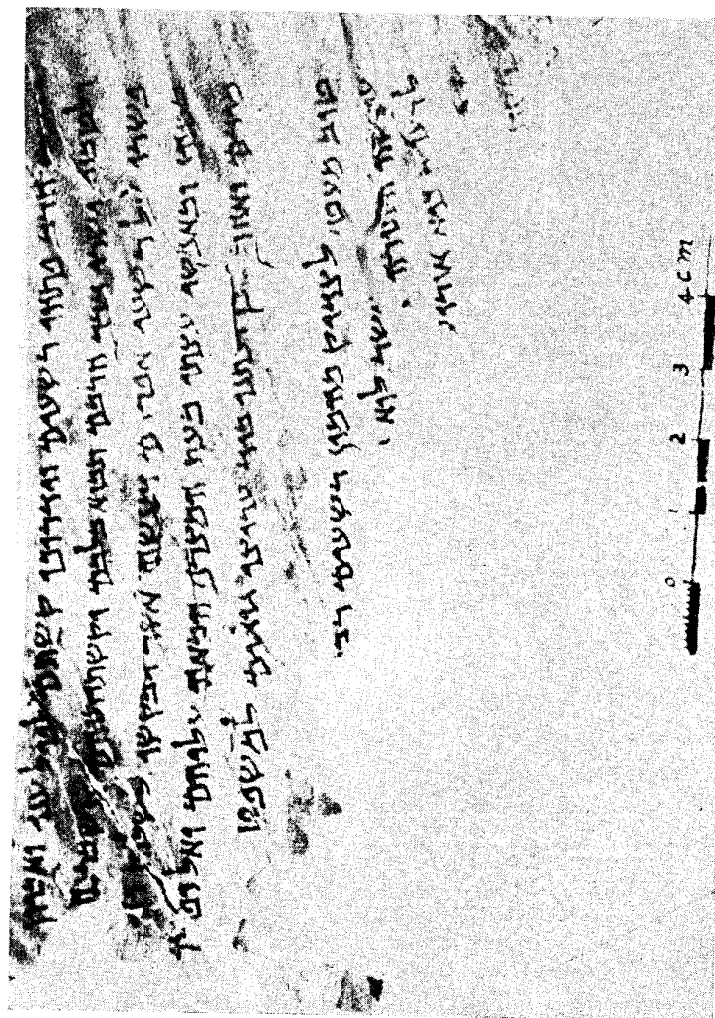


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Photograph: Palestine Archaeological Museum

4QpPs 37



Photograph: Palestine Archaeological Museum

4QpPs 37

- [... And he filled with prey]... 6 וימלאי טרף חירה¹
and his den with ravin. Its in- פשרו על ומעונתו טרפה
terpretation concerns the Lion כפיר החרון
- [...] death (?) by the Seekers- 7 מות בדורשי
after-Smooth-Things, who החלקות אשר יתלה אנשים חיים
used to hang (or, hangs) men up alive
- [... which was never done (?)] 8 אשר לא יעשה בישראל
before in Israel, for it (the מלפנים כי לתלוי חי ע"ל [ח]עץ
Scripture) calls the one hanged [י]ק[רא] הנני אלי[נכה]²
alive on the tree — Behold, I am against [thee],
- saith the Lord of Hosts, and I shall 9 [נאם יהוה צבאות והבערתי בעשן רובכ]ה³
burn up in smoke thine abun- וכפיריכה תאכל חרב והכרנתי מארץ
dan]ce (?), and thy young lions טרפה⁴
the sword shall devour. And I shall cut [off from the land] his [p]rey
- [...] and thine abundance, they 10 [ט ורובכה הם
are his warrior bands[...] and גדודי חילו]
his young lions, they are הם
- [...] and his prey, it is the wealth 11 [וטרפו הוא יהון
which the [pries]ts of (?) אשר קבוצו כוהני ירושלים אשר
Jerusalem gathered together, which]
- [... E]phraim, Israel will be 12 אפרים ינתן
given to [...] ישראל לן] ט י]

¹ Nah 2 13 ed.

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

³ MT ומענתיו.

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

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

⁶ MT רבכה, but cf. l. 10 and LXX's *πληθός σου* (also Syr.).

⁷ MT טרפך; probably the *he* is to be read as a 3rd m. s. suffix, cf. l. 11.

⁸ For the reconstruction, cf. 1QpHab 9.5. The ligature of a letter, possibly *nun*, to the *yodh* at the end of the break is clearly visible.

GENERAL REMARKS

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

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

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

² *Ant.* XIII. xiv. 2.

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

⁴ Supposed to mean 'Thracian,' although it is an impossible form of the gentile, for which the usual Greek is Θράκιος or Θρήκιος. Is there a connection between this word and our "Lion of Wrath"? Certainly this latter nickname gives the impression of being of more general use and not necessarily in a derogatory fashion, than the sectarian terms, "Man of Lies," "Wicked Priest," etc.

What is *not* explicitly stated in this *pešer* is that this Lion of Wrath was the Wicked Priest, the Teacher's persecutor. Yet, this identification seems most probable, and, on other grounds, it has been proposed often enough in the past that this person was Janneus. The identity of terminology used here and in 1QpHab about the gathering of wealth by the priests in Jerusalem, might offer a little support for the idea, and further evidence might be found in the only other reference to the Lion of Wrath so far extant in Qumran literature. This occurs in a very fragmentary *pešer* Hosea (Pl. 2), and seems to be a comment on 5 14 (the next section begins with a quotation from 5 13): עֵיכוֹ כְּשֶׁחַל ל: and on the next line we have: כֹּהֵן הָאֲחֵרֹן אֲשֶׁר יֵדוּ לְהַכּוֹת בְּאֶפְרַיִם.

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

The *Kittim* for the writer of this commentary were clearly the Romans (l. 3), and one presumes that the Antiochus mentioned there was Epiphanes himself, but the meaning of this broken line is obscure. Certainly, the identification of the *Kittim* as Romans in no way invalidates the conclusion that the Teacher's persecutor of 1QpHab is to be placed in Seleucid times. The difficulty which so many scholars have found in trying to place the Kittim and the Wicked Priest in the same age, is largely one of their own making. These commentaries are in no way works of connected history, and the method of the authors does not necessarily require any historical connection to be made between the interpretation of one verse and another,⁵ or even one word and another. The general pattern of interpretation is clear: mention of a righteous man in Scripture is referred automatically to the Teacher, of a persecutor of the righteous to the Wicked Priest, of internal enemies to the Seekers-after-Smooth-Things or the like, of external foes to the Kittim. Thus in 1QpHab, the mention of Roman Kittim in no way implies that the events of 11.4-8 took place in Roman times.

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

⁵ A possible reconstruction for the space might be עֵיכוֹ כְּשֶׁחַל ל, 'to crush, or emasculate him,' הַמַּעֲיֵךְ being a non-biblical Hifil form of מָעַךְ, cf. מָעוּךְ, 'crushed, or emasculated,' and perhaps is the original reading of the unsatisfactory MT אֵלֶךְ in vs. 14c (|| אֲטַרְךָ).

⁶ There is thus no necessary connection between Demetrius in l. 2 and the Lion of Wrath in l. 5, since they are commenting on different verses. But here other factors make the connection probable.

⁷ *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, LXXXVI (1954), 69-75.

pPs 37 32-33

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

1 צופה רשע לצדיק ומבקש נְהַמִּיתוּ יְהוָה
לא יַעֲזֹבנוּ בְּיָדוֹ וְלֹא יִרְשִׁיעֵנוּ
בְּהַשְׁפָּטוֹ

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

2 פִּשְׁרוֹ עַל הַכֹּהֵן הָרָשָׁע אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח אֶל מוֹרֵה הַצִּדִּיק ? [לְהַמִּיתוֹ] תְּ הַתּוֹרָה

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

3 אֲשֶׁר שָׁלַח אֵלָיו וְאֵל לֹא יַעֲזֹבנוּ בְּיָדוֹ וְלֹא יִרְשִׁיעֵנוּ בְּהַשְׁפָּטוֹ וְלֹא יִשְׁלֹם [אֶל אֶת גְּמוּלוֹ לַתּוֹרָה]

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

4 כִּיד עֲרִיצֵי גֹאֲלִים לַעֲשׂוֹת כּוֹ נְ

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

pPs 37 14-15

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

1 ... חָרַב פָּתְחוּ רִשְׁעִים וַיִּדְרוּכוּ קִשְׁתָּם
לְפִילִי עֲנִי וְאֶבְיֹן

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

2 וְלִטְבוּחַ יִשְׂרָאֵל דֶּרֶךְ חֲרָבָם תִּבּוֹא כָלֵם
וְקִשְׁתֵּיהֶם תִּשְׁבֶּרֶנָּה

⁸ Cf. 1QpHab 12.2 f.

⁹ MT וּדְרָכוֹ.

¹¹ MT לִטְבוּחַ.

¹⁰ MT לְפִילִי.

¹² MT וְקִשְׁתֵּיהֶם.

LANGUAGE AND STRUCTURE IN THE HODAYOT (1QH3)

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IN THE past year we have been fortunate in having offered to us two translations and annotations¹ of the text of column three of the Hodayot (1QH3)² which, in the words of one pair of translators, "is, no doubt, one of the most difficult of the Hodayot. It contains ambiguities in both wording and syntax."³ These difficulties and the various approaches dealing with them in the studies thus far offered indicate that other attempts are yet required before all the problems are solved and all the obscurities effaced.

An examination of the texts in the scroll makes it apparent that the series of hymns shares a more or less common structure similar to Gunkel's *Gattung*, "Die Danklieder Des Einzelnen."⁴ They begin with an introduction "in which the purpose and content of the song is given," frequently in the MS before us, אֲדַכָּה 'I thank Thee,' and which contains the "indispensable word," the name of God, in this MS, אֲדֹנִי. This is followed by a section denoted by Gunkel "the characteristic of the type," viz., "the narrator's tale," often, as in our text, in the form of a prayer, i. e., a direct address to God. The narrative, whether in this form or with God referred to in the third person, reports the poet's plight, his call for help and his deliverance, although not necessarily in this order. Equally important is the acknowledgment to God that it is he who is the deliverer from anguish.

¹ J. V. Chamberlain, "Another Qumran Thanksgiving Psalm," *JNES*, XIV (1955), 32-41 [=AQTP]; "Further Elucidation of a Messianic Thanksgiving Psalm from Qumran," *JNES*, XIV (1955), 181-82 [=FEMT]; J. Baumgarten and M. Mansoor, "Studies in the New Hodayot (Thanksgiving Hymns) — II," *JBL*, LXXIV (1955), 188-95 [=B-M]. See also M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (N. Y., 1955), [=DSS], pp. 403-4 and G. S. Glanzman, "Sectarian Psalms from the Dead Sea," *Theological Studies*, XIII (1955), 505, 522-23.

² E. Sukenik, *Oṣar ha-Megillot ha-Genuzot*, Pl. 37.

³ B-M, p. 188.

⁴ H. Gunkel, *Einleitung in die Psalmen*, pp. 265-92.