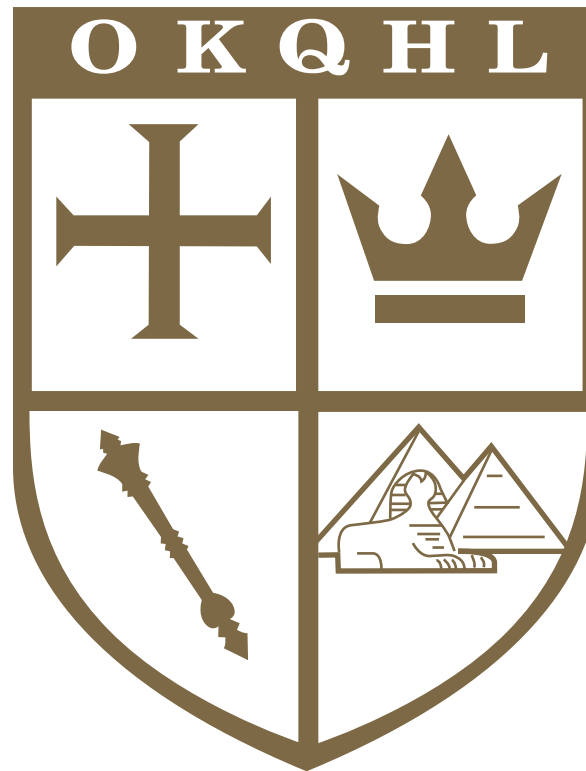




PILGRIMAGES

*A publication of the
Order of the Kings and Queens in the Holy Lands*

ISSUE ONE

2023

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Governor's Starburst

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Greetings



Greetings, Friends,

On behalf of the Order's board, I greet you with sincere joy at the opportunity to convey this publication to our members. Our very own Dr. Lynne A. Kogel graciously agreed to share her work, *Landscapes of Wisdom*, with the Order's members. Many of you are familiar with Lynne's scholarship, which is impressive, if not daunting. I have called Lynne my friend for many years. My respect for her grows annually, and she catalyzes me to think about old things in new ways. Serendipitously her fondness for genealogy allows us the rare privilege of regularly enjoying her collegueship and friendship in the hereditary society community!

Readers may have surmised that this is a new species of publication for the Order...and so it is. The publication you are engaging is called *Pilgrimages*. We will explore a wide array of topical matter focused on academic research and scholarly works related to the Holy Lands. I certainly hope this will draw out research from our own members. Please submit material you believe would provide value for our next issue.

The *Royal Register* will live on in a new context. It will, periodically, be published in demy-octavo format, as a conveyance of our burgeoning membership with updated contact information; a composite record of the Order's relevant symbols, culture and documentation; and a living record of our accruing history. The most recent *Royal Register* was *volume V*; the next will be, as you might suppose, *volume VI*. Special thanks to Leslie Kirk who is leading the work on the next *Royal Register*.

On other fronts we enjoy a quiet but steady cadence forward. Our genealogist, Jim Partin has been doing fine work reviewing and processing our new members. Those who have joined since the last volume of the *Royal Register* are listed herein. Sumner Hunnewell guards the coffers, and all my Officers stand at the ready and have been engaged as necessary. My special thanks to Carla Odom who provided me with the opportunity to lead the Order, and continues to provides me counsel whenever I need it. I am grateful to Carla and her husband Bob for so much.

Of note, life membership fees have not yet been increased, but may be in the coming year. If you know of someone who is interested in joining the Order, you might encourage them to do so, while the current membership fees are in still in place.

This year, members of the Order will gather in Washington D.C. on April 10th at the Army Navy Club for fellowship and a special presentation by, you guessed it... The Rev. Dr. Lynne A. Kogel, our speaker that evening. Her topic will be "Handel's Messiah in 1,000 Years of Stained Glass." I look forward to visiting with many of you then.

It is my pleasure and privilege to lead the Order.

Best Regards,

Barry C. Howard
Governor

New Members

<i>Member</i>	<i>#</i>	<i>Gateway</i>	<i>Royal Ancestor</i>
Karen Marie WILLS	178	Agnes Harris	Charlemagne, Emperor of the Romans
Ashley-Anne Courriades HOBBS	179	Peter Bulkeley	Charlemagne, Emperor of the Romans
Savannah-Marie Forsberg HOBBS	180	Peter Bulkeley	Charlemagne, Emperor of the Romans
Joshua Alan TUCK	181	Thomas Bulkeley	Charlemagne, Emperor of the Romans
		Rose Stoughton	Louis VII, King of France
Jean Clark Krodel HACKER	182	Anne Marbury	Charles Martel, Duke of the Franks
Cletis Murreald MILLSAP	183	William Farrar	Charlemagne, Emperor of the Romans
Todd Bartholomew Draper FRARY	184	Thomas Warren	Charlemagne, Emperor of the Romans
Brenda Gail Clardy WINTER	185	William Farrar	Michael III, Byzantine Emperor
Vicki Lynn PRESLEY	186	Thomas Ligon	Fulk V, King of Jerusalem
Robert Taylor KOEHLER	187	Anne Marbury	Saint Leo VI, Byzantine Emperor
Sonja Jean Saether HAYES	188	Maria Duncanson	Saint Olga, Princess of Kiev
Deborah Ann DOMAIN	189	Constant Southworth	Edward I, King of England

Meet Dr. Kogel



A graduate of UCLA, The Reverend Dr. Lynne Alcott Kogel earned graduate degrees from Wayne State University, the University of Michigan, and McCormick Theological Seminary. She is an ordained minister in the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and served as Associate Professor of Biblical Studies at the Ecumenical Theological Seminary in Detroit and as Adjunct Faculty in Humanities at Wayne State University and Macomb Community College. Recently, she completed three years as Visiting Scholar at the University of Michigan in the Department of Middle East Studies.

Lynne is the author/photographer of the book *Christianity in Stained Glass*. She edited *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of the Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism*, and is a contributor to *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible*, to *The Healing Power of Spirituality*, and to *Project India*. She reviewed the

sixth edition of *Culture and Values: A Survey of the Humanities*, Alternate Volume, for Thomson Wadsworth Corporation, and was a member of the production team for the DVD edition of *The Cadet Chapel – United States Military Academy*. Over the years, she has written several articles for the Baronial Order of the Magna Charta's acclaimed magazine, *The Herald*. In January 2023, she published an article, "The Stained Glass Windows of Mariners' Church" for the International Ship Masters' Association, Detroit Lodge No. 7, for whom she serves as Chaplain.

Lynne's photo taken from the top of Mount Sinai is on the front cover of *Heaven, Hell, and the Afterlife: Eternity in Judaism, Christianity and Islam*. Her photo of the stained glass window, "Ruth," by Willet Studios, is on the front cover of *Feminism in Religion*, and her photo of a Giant Kingfisher is on the cover of the May 2012 Tanzanian magazine, *UJUMBE*. She is the recipient of several photography awards from the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan, including First Prize. In the spring and fall of 2017 (to take advantage of different light), and from the vantage points of scissors lifts, scaffolding and attic rafters, Lynne took thousands of photographs of Lincoln Cathedral's historic stained glass for the Cathedral's archival records and publications.

Lynne served on the Board of Trustees for the Ancient and Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, CA, and is a Founder and Board of Director *Emerita* of the Michigan Center for Early Christian Studies for whom she has given many illustrated lectures, including pre-concert presentations before University Music Society performances at the University of Michigan, such as "Handel's Messiah in 1,000 Years of Stained Glass," and "Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*, Coventry Cathedral, and the Poetry of Wilfred Owen." At the University of Michigan's Art Museum, she presented an illustrated lecture, "Biblical and Classical Influences on the Bayeux Tapestry."

Lynne is a member of the Presbytery of Detroit, the Society of Biblical Literature, the American Academy of Religion, the American Schools of Oriental Research, the International Ship Masters' Association, the Professional Photographers of America, the American Glass Guild, and an Affiliate Member of the Stained Glass Association of America. And, of course, she is a member of many genealogical societies, including The Royal Seven!



Lynne A. Kogel for OKQHL March 2023

LITERARY STRUCTURE

“*Gallia est omnis divisa in partes tres.*” - for those of you who remember reading Julius Caesar’s *Gallic Wars* in high school Latin, “*All Gaul is divided into three parts.*” In ancient literature, relating the parts to the whole was a commonly used organizational technique. You may also remember from your high school world literature class that Homer began the *Iliad* in the middle of things, *in medias res*, with the beginning and ending arranged like bookends around a central event, filling in the details that precipitated it, and concluding with an accounting of the outcomes.

Likewise, the Hebrew Bible and its related literature are more approachable with an understanding of some basic organizational principles. The two simplest are letters and numbers.

For example, there are 24 letters in the Greek alphabet. Surprise! There are 24 books in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The Roman historian Flavius Josephus wrote that there are 22 letters in the Hebrew alphabet (even though there are 23 - two look identical but are pronounced differently). Why would Josephus say that? You guessed it. There are 22 books in the Hebrew Bible. Not in the Protestant Old Testament, but in the Leningrad Codex, the oldest complete Hebrew Bible, dating from 1008 CE. Of course, you might observe, 1008 CE isn’t anywhere close to the time of Josephus (37-100 CE), and, besides, the Leningrad Codex is a book (codex means book) and the Hebrew Bible was preserved in scrolls.

It’s all a matter of how you count. For example, in the Protestant Old Testament there are three prophets: Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, plus twelve more Minor Prophets (Hosea - Malachi), each counted separately. In the Hebrew Bible, the twelve Minor Prophets, each relatively short, all fit onto a single scroll and therefore were counted as one. Lamentations went with Jeremiah; Ezra-Nehemiah were counted as one, and so forth. Remember that I am talking about the 1008 CE Leningrad Codex, not the *Biblia Hebraica* (Tanakh) as it is published today with 24 books (like Homer). So why is all this important, and what difference does it make?

Letters were important because the God of the Hebrews was a speaking God, not a statue. God created the universe with his Word and those words were recorded using letters. The prophets spoke God’s Word and those words were recorded with letters. The alphabet was, and is, the container of everything that could or can be recorded, ever, from the beginning of creation all the way to the end. The alphabet is like a mystical container holding God’s Words and the Word of God that the prophets spoke, all in a collective powerful holiness.

When the Israelites went into exile, they had lost everything: their army, their homes, their land, even the Temple. The great Kabod, the Glory of God, went into exile with the people. But what they also had was *a story, a literature that preserved their identity*. Where are the Elamites? Where are the Assyrians? The Phoenicians? The Babylonians? All lost. But Israel lives, as Ezekiel’s dry bones promised - because of the Hebrew Bible, a sacred literature with which they identified and to which they were committed.



Numbers were important because, first of all, letters doubled as numbers, and secondly, numbers were a way to organize the literature itself. For example, you probably associate the number 7 with the Priestly creation story. God created the world in 7 days. But the number that supports the story, the way it is written so simply and so elegantly as the foundation of the universe, is the number 8. The number 8 is an even number, so it easily fits into symmetrical story-telling. The symmetrical way the story is told supports the notion of order, perfection, and intentionality. The infrastructure of the story-telling mirrors the content of the story itself: language as the primordial force of creation; creation organized by design; and, with the reminder that it is impossible to know God outside of the experience of having been created by God, all of it beyond human understanding. Remember God speaking to Job out of the whirlwind, “Where were you when I laid the foundations of the universe?”

So, about creation: Day 1, one creation; Day 2, one creation; Day 3, two creations. The pattern is repeated in Days 4, 5, and 6 - thus a symmetrical duplication of the 1, 1, 2 sequence. Eight acts of creation in 6 days, a perfect telling of the story that underscores the perfect foundations of the cosmos and our place in it. And, of course, God rested on the 7th. The number 8 appears elsewhere in the Bible, and is especially notable and structurally important in Psalm 119 about the Torah.

My goodness, what does all of this have to do with Job and the Dead Sea Scrolls?

Symmetrical arrangements show order and intentionality. Just as God’s creation was perfectly formed by God’s Word (recorded using the alphabet) so, too, the sequence of creation was perfect, expressed in the simplicity and perfection of numerical symmetry.

In biblical and related literature, the *way* a story is told mirrors and illustrates the *meaning* of the story.

THE LENINGRAD CODEX

Roughly a hundred years older than the Leningrad Codex is the Aleppo Codex, a beautiful but incomplete manuscript missing the Pentateuch, Genesis 1:1 to Deuteronomy 28:17, and more, as well. The Aleppo Codex dates from about 920 CE, contained the Ben Asher Masoretic tradition that added vowels, and was endorsed for its scribal excellence by none other than the great Maimonides. The Leningrad Codex follows the textual tradition of the Aleppo Codex. Both differ in book sequence from Bibles commonly used today, with the Torah and Prophets the same, but the Writings, the third section of the Hebrew Bible that contains the Book of Job, appear in a different sequence. In the writings, the first and second books of Chronicles form an envelope around an otherwise disparate collection of Proverbs, Psalms, etc. As a signal that this envelope has been thought out and is intentional, Chronicles II repeats the last chapter of Chronicles I. The Aleppo Codex was housed in the Central Synagogue of Aleppo for about five centuries, until 1947 when the synagogue was burned during anti-Jewish riots.

Imagine, now, the astonishing 1949 discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls that date from a millennium earlier, the third century BCE to the first century CE. One of the identifying features of the Dead Sea Scrolls, beside handwriting, is that the spelling does not contain vowels. Keep in mind that people used to memorize things, for example, the bards who recited Homer. Writing was a mnemonic device to help a bard, or priest, recall and remember what he already knew.

Writing also standardized a text, created consistency from generation to generation and across geographical regions, and provided an interplay and check point between oral and written traditions. In short, a written text provided authority, solidifying the identity of a gathered community, much like our Constitution today.

CENTER POINT RATHER THAN END POINT

The idea of balance and symmetry pervades the Hebrew Bible as an unheralded organizational principle. For example, the Primary History (Genesis through Kings) begins with Abraham leaving Babylon and ends with the Israelites exiled back to Babylon. The Primary History is told in nine books (Herodotus wrote nine books). Counting gets tricky here because in contemporary Christian Bibles, Kings is two books. In the Leningrad Codex, Kings is one book - Kings was too long to fit onto one scroll. Likewise, Samuel. A codex is a book, which makes combining two scrolls into one story possible.

Using our clues about odd numbers, what is the central book in the nine book Primary History (Leningrad Codex)? This literature thinks chiasmally where the center point is the highlight. Everything moves toward the center point, then turns and moves back again, with each step in toward the center reciprocal to each step out. (This is completely different from our literary tradition today. It would ruin a detective story if the author revealed the culprit in the middle of the story, or if someone told you the end of the movie before it was over.) Many Psalms are set up this way, as are the first seven chapters of the Book of Daniel. Deuteronomy is fifth in biblical sequence and the center of the nine book Primary History.

THE BIBLE IS NOT GREEK TRAGEDY

Deuteronomy occurs after the return from Babylon. It is a retelling of the community's history, an affirmation of a single God, and an admonition to choose life. The human choice to live on as a community with a distinctive identity after a bitter military defeat changed everything in ancient literature. This is not a Greek tragedy that ends in sorrow and death. This story has a future.

Two features prominently distinguish the Bible from other ancient literature, for example, hundreds of cuneiform inscriptions on cylinders, clay tablets and prisms belonging to the reign of Ashurbanipal (c. 669 - 631 BCE) describe victory. "I am Ashurbanipal, great king, mighty king, king of the World, king of Assyria, king of four quarters [of the world], offspring of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, governor of Babylon, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, descendant of Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria." Miraculously, in 701 BCE, Jerusalem was spared from Sennacherib's invasion by King Hezekiah who paid Sennacherib a hefty tribute. But a century later, in 587 BCE, Nebuchadnezzar II laid siege to Jerusalem and destroyed it. The Hebrew Bible is written by a people who *lost* the war. While it is a literature of lamentation, it is also a literature of *hope*. It is a story of a people trying to figure out the reason why. What happened that caused the crushing defeat, the fall of Jerusalem, and the destruction of the Temple? How will the Israelites move forward.

THE PROBLEM OF THEODICY AND THE BOOK OF JOB

By entering the theological world of the problem of theodicy, the Book of Job, completed after the Cyrus Edict (539 BCE) and the return to Jerusalem and the rebuilding of the Temple, reevaluates history. Well, what does that mean? What is the problem of theodicy?



Deuteronomy says there is only one God. Furthermore, this God is good and gracious. That's a problem. If there is only one God, and that God is good and gracious, how can the existence of loss and evil be explained? When bad things happened, it was easy to blame another god, especially the enemy's god. But with no other god to blame, all eyes turned to the one God for an explanation. This is the starting place for the Book of Job.

The opening of Job sets the stage. Job is described as upright and just, immediately redirecting the issue from a problem of God's righteousness to the problem of human righteousness. Human righteousness is one of the towering issues of Second Temple Judaism (the period between the fall of Temple and the Babylonian exile in 587 BCE and the emergence of the Christian New Testament and Rabbinic Mishnaic literature during the second century CE). Theological answers to that question distinguished the many Jewish groups who lived at the time of Jesus and Gamaliel (a Pharisee doctor of Jewish law with whom Paul studied), including the community who wrote and/or collected and copied the Dead Sea Scrolls, presumably at Qumran.

THE PROBLEM OF THEODICY AND THE BOOK OF JOB

How are the Dead Sea Scrolls related to the problem of theodicy? Well, that's a big question, so I would like to look at just the two-word description of Job, "just and upright," which provide a description of righteousness. The entire premise of the Book of Job is that Job is righteous. For confirmation we need only to refer to Ezekiel who says there were three righteous men: Noah, Job, and Daniel (not the Daniel in the Book of Daniel). In spite of his righteousness, Job's children are dead, his land is unproductive, he has been smitten with sores and sits in dust and ashes while his friends visit and tell him that his misfortune indicates that he is guilty of something. So, he pretty much has lost everything, and apparently his integrity, too, and maybe even friendship as his friends are unsympathetic to his situation. His wife suggests that he curse God and die. The question is asked: if Job is righteous, why does he suffer? How can a good and gracious God be responsible for bad outcomes?

THE SEARCH FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS

The Dead Sea Scrolls contain various kinds of manuscripts: Biblical books, commentaries, and sectarian documents. I am going to look at one sectarian document, the Rule of the Community, identified among ancient manuscripts as 1QS. "1" stands for the cave in which it was found, "Q" stands for Qumran, "S" stands for Serek ha-Yahad or the Rule of the Community.

In the entire Hebrew Bible, the word combination "upright and just" occurs rarely. However, in the Rule of the Community (1QS and related manuscripts), only a short eleven columns long, it occurs a lot. Why?

The Book of Job uses the phrase without much interpretation or explanation. The Rule of the Community wants to know what it means and explores the possibilities. At Qumran, membership depended on a member's righteousness - membership not just in the Qumran Community, the Yahad, but participation in the angelic liturgy and praising God with the heavenly choir. The path to enter the Yahad was narrow. A strict adherence to the Rules of the Community was required in order to stay. Understanding the community's requirements for righteousness was paramount to sustain a holy life - life now, and life later. Righteousness was understood a gift of God and was limited only to those whose righteousness was pre-ordained by God.

POLYSEMY: THE ART OF A WORD'S MULTIPLE MEANINGS HEARD SIMULTANEOUSLY

So, we have the number 8, the notion of intentionality, chiasm, the problem of theodicy, and Job as “upright and just.” Just one more to add: polysemy, the art of multiple meanings simultaneously rendered and the tension between those meanings creating yet another meaning. Challenging to translate, but an example that works in English, is the beginning of the Twenty-Third Psalm. “The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not want” (KJV with “;” semi-colon and RSV with “,” comma). In my own experience, I was taught to hear that because the LORD is my shepherd, I would want for nothing - very reassuring. Remembering there is no punctuation in ancient Hebrew, we need to remind ourselves that punctuation is an interpretation provided by the translator. A possible translation without punctuation is, “The LORD is my shepherd I shall not want,” suggesting that I do not want this LORD as my shepherd (it’s just too hard to be good). In Hebrew, both meanings are true simultaneously. This dichotomy creates a tension that resembles the tension between the Abrahamic covenant and Mosaic law. God willfully and without reservation committed Himself to Abraham and his descendants. Mosaic law is the human obligation to obey the rules of righteousness. While God is totally committed, (The LORD is my shepherd; I shall not want), the requirement for human beings to flawlessly follow Mosaic law is just too difficult. Because of our human imperfections, the situation is uncomfortable and not so reassuring (The LORD is my shepherd I shall not want). Furthermore, Jeremiah reminds us that we are obligated to follow the rules not just with our actions, but with our hearts. In the Twenty-Third Psalm, even in some English translations, David captures the human condition perfectly. Jeremiah gets us a little closer to the Rule of the Community (1QS).

RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE RULE OF THE COMMUNITY (1QS AND RELATED MANUSCRIPTS)

We have looked at how the careful construction of Biblical literature supports its subject matter., how the Leningrad Codex differs from most Bibles today, including the *Biblical Hebraica*, and why the Bible is not Greek tragedy. We have considered the problem of theodicy as a basic theological problem facing Second Temple Judaism and how different communities addressed it.

What is the response to the problem of theodicy in the Dead Sea Scrolls? Well, that’s a big question, so I would like to look just at the description of Job who is “just and upright” and show how those words are used specifically in the Rule of the Community (1QS), the organizing constitution of the community.

MY IMPRESSIONS OF ANCIENT LANGUAGES

Latin is the language of power, authority, administration, and the indirect command. Greek is the language of poetry, the collective experience of tragedy, the human psyche, geometry and irrational numbers. Hebrew is the language of the cosmos and holiness, of covenants promising God’s commitment and delineating human obligations, of continual collective loss and persistent collective hope.

On the other hand, John the Baptist (possibly a former member of the Yahad) preached repentance, offering a baptism of *repentance* in the Jordan River as a pathway to righteousness. Likewise, Jesus preached *forgiveness* as a pathway to righteousness. In contrast to the Qumran community’s notion of limited access to righteousness, for both John and Jesus, righteousness was open to anyone who “had ears to hear.” Other Jewish groups found other paths to righteousness. The Pharisees taught adherence to Torah, the Sadducees rejected the authority of ancestral law and served in the Temple, the Sicarii fought for freedom from Roman Rule. The Zealots were revolutionaries. The Samaritans, many of whom were ostracized descendants of the Assyrian conquest and whose holy book was a Torah with several differences from that of mainstream Judaism, believed that Mount Gerizim was the holy mountain of the Mosaic covenant. The Essenes practiced abstinence. The Ebionites were vegetarians and rejected animal sacrifice. Egyptian Therapeutae were ascetics seeking wisdom. Many were just ordinary folks who made pilgrimages to the Temple, observed circumcision, dietary restrictions, the Sabbath, and festivals. The Yahad of Qumran, isolated as they were in Isaiah’s desert, purifying themselves with strict discipline, a shared sacred meal, dietary restrictions, water lustration, prayer between first light and dawn, and copying manuscripts, some lived at Qumran. Some renewed their annual vows there.

GENERAL NOTES



These musings include a summary of the life's work of my dear friend, David Noel Freedman, with whom I spent endless hours talking about the Hebrew Bible, and who edited the facsimile copy of the Leningrad Codex, the Anchor Bible Dictionary, the Anchor Bible Series, who wrote numerous books and articles, and who co-taught a Distinguished Lecture Series course with me at the Ecumenical Theological Seminary in Detroit

Most of what I know about Second Temple literature, especially the Septuagint, Pseudepigrapha, and Dead Sea Scrolls, I learned from another remarkable friend, Gabriele Boccaccini, an honored University of Michigan Professor of Second Temple Judaism and Early Rabbinic Literature, who also co-taught a Distinguish Lecture Series course with me at the Ecumenical Theological Seminary in Detroit. Gabriele, for whom I edited his first book, also founded the Michigan Center for Early Christian Studies where I am co-founder and Board Member *Emerita*. Gabriele graciously

shared his office with me during the years I was a Visiting Scholar in the University of Michigan Department of Middle East Studies.

Another example of a hidden, but very useful, geometric symmetry is to keep track of the history of the Prophets using nested concentric circles (as per David Noel Freedman). To see it, draw a circle. In it write Ezekiel (593-567 BCE). Draw a circle around that circle and write Jeremiah (728/7-560/1 BCE) in it. Draw another circle around both of those and write Isaiah (740-540 BCE). And once more, draw another circle around the three and write 12 Minor Prophets (785/45-518 BCE). Now the timeline, especially with the complex edition of Isaiah, and the range of dates of the 12 Minor Prophets, makes a lot of relational sense. This is hidden from our 21st century eyes because we think in straight lines. If you list the Prophets in order by date, the 12 Minor Prophets and the various parts of Isaiah are disconnected from their scrolls and appear scattered across the timeline, which yields few, if any, additional insights. Ancient literature thought relationally, in concentric circles. Nested concentric circles are emblematic of the relationship between the parts and the whole, while demonstrating their interrelated connectedness and oneness, just as the architects of medieval cathedrals, or Leonardo da Vinci, designed their art based on geometric principles emblematic of eternal truths.

I learned about the tension between a word's multiple meanings and about polysemy in Psalm 21 from University of Michigan Hebrew Professor Gene Schramm; and about intertextuality from Professor James A. Sanders who translated the Psalms Scroll discovered in Cave 11 (11QPsa), who founded the Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center in Claremont, CA, where I served as a Board member, and who also co-taught a Distinguish Lecture Series course with me at the Ecumenical Theological Seminary in Detroit.

For many years after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947, access to them was restricted to a small group of international scholars. I am deeply grateful that the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, in partnership with Google, has made high resolution digital images of the Great Isaiah Scroll, The Temple Scroll, The War Scroll, The Community Rule Scroll, and The Commentary on Habakkuk Scroll available on the internet to specialists and non-specialists alike.

This paper, originally completed for Professor Gabriele Boccaccini June 22, 2021, was the culmination of my research during three years as a Visiting Scholar in the Department of Middle East Studies at the University of Michigan.

Landscapes of Wisdom

תם וישר

in the Rule of the Community (1QS)
and Related Manuscripts

Lynne Alcott Kogel
OKQHL
April 2023

תָּם וְיִשְׁרָאֵל in the Hebrew Bible

The Prophet Ezekiel

In the Book of Ezekiel, two principles are established: it is possible, although extraordinarily rare, for a human being to be righteous; and it is the LORD GOD who makes that judgement and assigns the acclamation. The LORD declares three men righteous: Noah, Daniel, and Job. “And the word of the LORD came to me: ‘Son of man, when a land sins against me by acting faithlessly, and I stretch out my hand against it, and break its staff of bread and send famine upon it, and cut off from it man and beast, even if these three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job, were in it, they would deliver but their own lives by their righteousness (בְּצִדְקָתָם), says the LORD GOD” (Ezekiel 14:12-14). In 1 Kings, Psalms, and Proverbs, words about righteousness are more vivid and complex, circumscribing qualities and outcomes of righteousness, תָּם וְיִשְׁרָאֵל. In the Hebrew Bible, תָּם is paired with יִשְׁרָאֵל ten times (1 K. 9:4; Ps. 25:21; 37:37; Prov. 2:7, 21; 28:10; 29:10; Job 1:1, 8; 2:3).

תָּם וְיִשְׁרָאֵל in 1 Kings

When the LORD appears to Solomon a second time, He says to Solomon that his father, David, had integrity of heart and uprightness, בְּתָם-לֵבָב וּבְיִשְׁרָאֵל (1Kings 9:4). Significantly, in the eyes of the Philistine Achish, David is honest and good, וְיִשְׁרָאֵל . . . וְטוֹב (1 Sam. 29:6), but the accolade by human being stops short of תָּם וְיִשְׁרָאֵל. Only the LORD uses the words תָּם וְיִשְׁרָאֵל in combination.

תָּם וְיִשְׁרָאֵל in Psalms and Proverbs

The Psalmist claims that the qualities of תָּם וְיִשְׁרָאֵל will preserve him in the future. In Proverbs, God gives wisdom and land to the upright who act with integrity; treacherous men resent and accost the integrity of the upright and those who are blameless; and those who mislead the upright and those who are blameless face different futures.

(Psa. 25:21) תָּם וְיִשְׁרָאֵל יִצְרְנִי כִּי קוֹיָתִידָא:

May integrity and uprightness preserve me, for I wait for thee.

(Psa. 37:37) שְׁמֹר-תָּם א וְרָאָה ב יִשְׁרָאֵל c כִּי-אַחֲרָיִת לְאִישׁ שָׁלוֹם:

Mark the blameless man, and behold the upright, for there is posterity for the man of peace.

(Prov. 2:7) וְצִפָּן a לְיִשְׁרָאֵל תּוֹשָׁעָה כְּמוֹן לְתֹלְכֵי תָם:

He stores up sound wisdom for the upright; he is a shield to those who walk in integrity.

(Prov. 2:21) כִּי-יִשְׁרָאֵל יִשְׁכְּנוּ אֶרֶץ וְתָמִימִים יִהְיוּ בָּהּ:

For the upright will inhabit the land, and men of integrity will remain in it;

(Prov. 29:10) אֲנֹשֵׁי דָמִים יִשְׂנְאוּ-תָם וְיִשְׁרָאֵל a יְבַקְשׁוּ b נַפְשׁוֹ:

Bloodthirsty men hate one who is blameless, and the wicked seek his life.

(Prov. 28:10) מִשְׁגֵּה יִשְׁרָאֵל א בְּרִדְדוֹ לֵעַ בְּשִׁחוּתוֹ a הוֹאֵל b לְיִתְמִימִים וְנַחֲלֵי-טוֹב:

The blameless will receive a desirable inheritance. He who misleads the upright into an evil way will fall into his own pit; but the blameless will have a goodly inheritance.



LA VISION D'EZÉCHIEL, (EZÉCHIEL, I, 4 14) ,1956, ETCHINGS FOR THE BIBLE, 1930-1939, 1952-1956, MARC CHAGALL¹

תָּם וְיִשָּׁר in The Book of Job

The narrator's opening sentence in The Book of Job describes Job as תָּם וְיִשָּׁר, blameless and upright (Job 1:1). David Noel Freedman, summarizing critical scholarship, concluded that, in general, characterizing the assignment of such wisdom and flawlessness to a human being is literary exaggeration, hyperbole impossible in real life.² The reader is asked to suspend disbelief, to reject hesitations and restrain objections. If there is any doubt left in the reader's mind, the LORD asserts the identical description of Job's character in verse 8, "...my servant, Job, there is none like him on earth, a blameless and upright man," אִישׁ תָּם וְיִשָּׁר. Again, in chapter 2, the LORD describes Job to the Adversary, "Have you noticed my servant Job? There is no one like him on earth, a blameless and upright man (אִישׁ תָּם וְיִשָּׁר) who fears God and shuns evil" (Job 2:3).

Two things are interesting here. First, it is the LORD who make the claim. (The narrator is not identified as either earthly or heavenly.) Secondly, the Adversary, Ha-Satan, does not dispute the fact that this is true. Instead, he challenges the reason *why* it is true. Two heavenly witnesses, the LORD and Ha-Satan, have testified to Job's integrity as a human being, both confirming the narrator's introductory assertion that Job is innocent. Again, just as in 1 Kings, only the LORD uses the words תָּם וְיִשָּׁר in combination. (It should be noted that the narrator's "voice" is not identified, so there is no knowing whether it is earthly or heavenly. Here the narrator is a non-participant and is "setting the stage," functioning in a way similar to a Greek Chorus).

What if The Book of Job is more than a story? Could Job be interpreted as a historical example of a life lived as אִישׁ תָּם וְיִשָּׁר? What if righteousness and flawlessness are indeed possible in the earthly sphere and, as the root of wisdom, create a link between the earthly and heavenly spheres?

Purpose

But left unsaid is what תָּם וְיִשָּׁר looks like. Where is this wisdom to be found? Is wisdom linked to a life lived as a person who is seen by God as just and upright? This is the prayer for vindication in Psalm 25:21, "May integrity and uprightness, תִּם וְיִשָּׁר, preserve me, for I wait for thee." In the Book of Job, Eliphaz asks Job, "Can mortal man be righteous before God? Can a man be pure before his Maker?" (Job 4:17). The Rule of the Community (1QS) provides an answer by framing the life of the Community around the multiple meanings of תִּם וְיִשָּׁר.

What I find interesting about the words תָּם וְיִשָּׁר is that they are messy and subtle. Meanings twist and turn, their contours shaped by the landscapes of place, time, biblical traditions, human acts and attitudes. To absorb them requires a high tolerance for ambiguity, or rather, polysemy. Ambiguity - or better, antinomy - suggests preferring one meaning over another. Polysemy, on the other hand, explores the myriad of possibilities, keeping them all, and blending them into something new and unexpected, in the same way that Léonid and Pérotin created polyphony when, at the Notre Dame School of Music during the twelfth century, they played two melodies simultaneously. Surprise! They created a third thing that did not exist in either melody independently: harmony. Harmony, that is, in its simplest sense. More precisely, assonance and dissonance. It is the tension between assonance and dissonance that characterizes music, and, likewise, how the words תָּם וְיִשָּׁר are used in the Rule of the Community (1QS).

The purpose of this paper is to re-examine the תָּם וְיִשָּׁר pairing in order to highlight its place in Qumran literature, and to show that תָּם וְיִשָּׁר (in their many meanings) are foundational to understanding the distinctive response of The Community Rule to the problem of theodicy (a problem shared by other Second Temple monotheistic Jewish communities): confession, repentance, forgiveness, wisdom, membership in a community, and participation in ritual ceremonies, such as water lustration, communal meals and, in the case of the Qumran Community (the Yadad), the angelic liturgy.



JOB CONFESSING HIS PRESUMPTION TO GOD WHO ANSWERS FROM THE WHIRLWIND, OBJECT 1 (BUTLIN 461), C.1803-05, WILLIAM BLAKE³

Honoring the תם וישר in the Dead Sea Scrolls: David, Jacob and Rachel

The scrolls remember and honor those who have been recognized as תם וישר. Whether or not Job was acknowledged by the Community as historical or mythical, the same cannot be said of David, Jacob and Rachel, all three of whom who are recognized as historical figures and all of whom are denoted as blameless, or are identified precisely with the phrase תם וישר, perfect and blameless.

A recipient of revelation, David was given plans for the first temple, which he passed on to his son, Solomon (1Chr.28). David is recognized in 11Ps^a DavComp as having a “discerning and enlightened spirit,” who wrote 4, 050 psalms and songs. The Psalms Scroll (11Ps^a)⁴ identifies David as blameless and associates his blamelessness with wisdom. With David, righteousness, wisdom and revelation are co-mingled.

11Q5 27:2 || ויהי דויד בן ישי חכם ואור כאור השמש אסופר
11Q5 27:3 || ונבון ותמים בכול דרכיו לפני אל ואנשים. ויתן

Now David the son of Jesse was wise and shone like the light of the sun,
a scribe and man of discernment, blameless in all his ways before God and humankind.

The Book of Jubilees identifies both Jacob and Rachel with the precise phrase (תם וישר), התמים (partially supplied), respectively.

4Q223_224 f2i:53 [מרחם עלינו. וימר עליכה על אשר ברכת את יעקב בנכה התמים והישר כי אין אתו רעה]

He is embittered against you because you blessed Jacob, your perfect and upright son, in whom is no evil

4Q223_224 f2iii:18-19 על[יה. כי הוא אהב אותה במאוד מאוד מיום מות רחל אחותה] כי תל[ימה]
For he loved her very, very much since the death of Rachel,] her [sis]ter, for she was per[fect] and upright in all her ways. She honored Jacob, and during all the d[ays] of her life [with him] never...

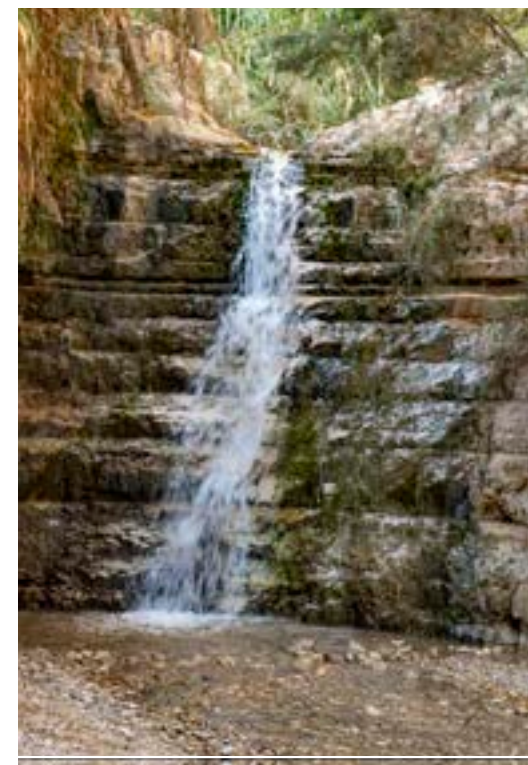
In the Testament of Qahat, Jacob is remembered as desiring integrity and perfection in his descendants (4Q542 f1i:7-f1ii:1).

So hold firm to the command of Jacob your ancestor... and be holy and pure from all intermingling, holding firm to the truth, walking in integrity (בישרותא) and not with a divided heart, but with a pure heart, and with an honest and good spirit. Then you will have among them a good reputation... because you have kept and passed on the inheritance that your ancestors left you: truth, good deeds, honesty, perfection (והמימותא), purity, holiness, and priesthood, according to everything that I have commanded you... from this time forth and forever.

Jacob dreamed of angels ascending and descending a stairway reaching to heaven (Gen. 28:11-14); and he wrestled with an angel (Gen.32:24-31). Israel, the name given to Jacob by the angel, became the eponymous name of the nation. Scholars debate whether the name Israel is two words combined: the upright (ישר) of God (אל).⁵



WATERFALL OF DAVID, EIN GEDI, WHERE
DAVID ESCAPED FROM KING SAUL⁶



WATERFALL OF DAVID, EIN GEDI, WHERE
DAVID ESCAPED FROM KING SAUL

Enoch and Noah

Fragments of Sirach (Ben Sira), were discovered in Cave 2 (2QSir), and among the Masada scrolls (Mas 1H). According to Sirach, Enoch was an example of repentance, and Noah was perfect and righteous.

Enoch pleased the Lord, and was taken up;
he was an example of repentance to all generations.

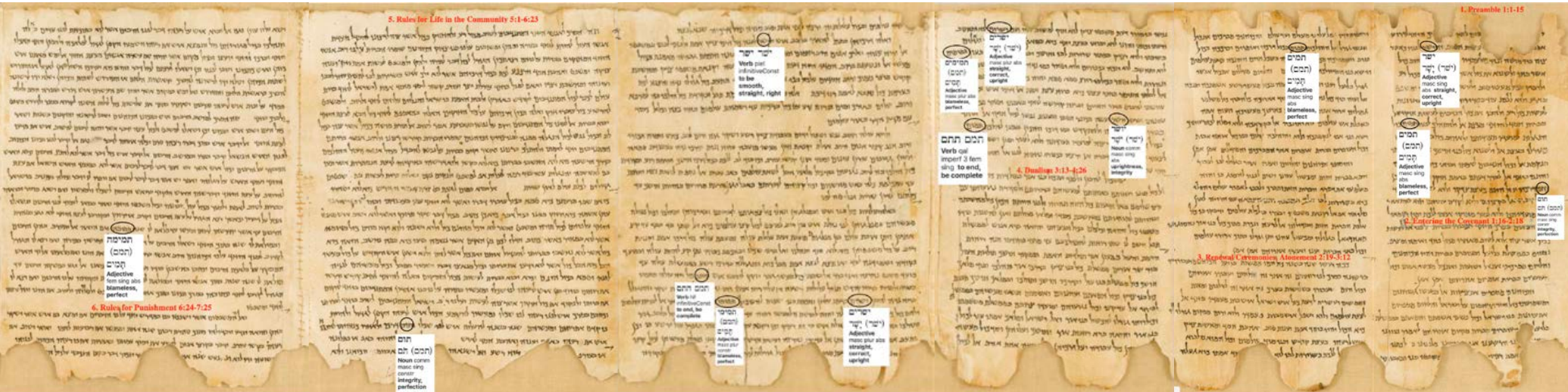
Noah was found perfect and righteous;
in the time of wrath he was taken in exchange;
therefore a remnant was left to the earth
when the flood came (Sir. 44:16–17).

Among the Dead Sea Scrolls are works in the Wisdom Tradition: Proverbs, Job, Ecclesiastes, Psalms, Ben Sira (Sirach), and the Wisdom of Solomon. 1QS blends Wisdom and Apocalyptic Traditions with an emphasis on the Torah of Moses.



ENOCH, STAINED GLASS GENEALOGY WINDOW,
ATTRIBUTED TO THE METHUSELAH MASTER,
CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL, 1178-80

תם וישר in the Rule of the Community (1QS)⁷



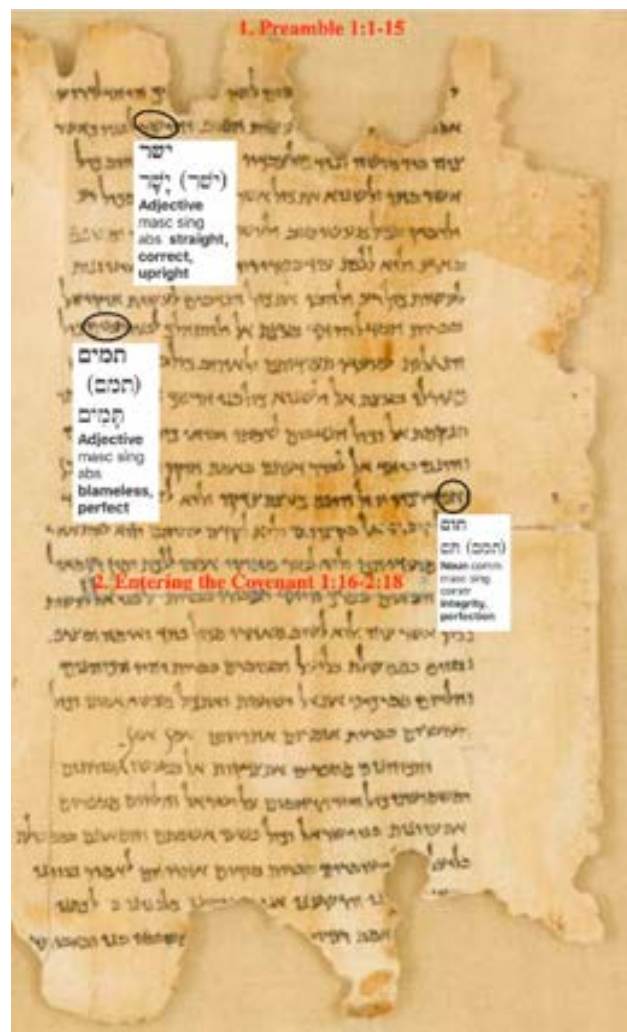
RULE OF THE COMMUNITY, COLUMNS 1-6 (1QS 1-6)

ADDED RED WRITING INDICATES THE BEGINNING OF EIGHT CONTENT SECTIONS

ADDED WHITE BOXES INDICATE THIRTY-FOUR OCCURRENCES OF THE WORDS תם AND ישר WITH GRAMMAR AND TRANSLATION.

**RULE OF THE COMMUNITY, COLUMNS 7-11 (1QS 7-11)**

1. Preamble (1QS 1:1-15)



PREAMBLE (1QS 1:1-15)

The Preamble contains one occurrence of תָּם and two occurrences of יָשָׁר.

In his book, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, Rule of the Community and Related Documents*, James H. Charlesworth identifies eight content sections in 1QS: Preamble (1:1-15); Entering the Covenant Community (1:16-2:18); Renewal Ceremony, Denunciations, Atonement (2:19-3:12); Qumran's Fundamental Dualism (3:13-4:26); Rules for Life in the Community (5:1-6:23); Rules for Punishment (6:24-7:25); Rules for the Holy congregation (8:1-10:8); and Hymn of Praise (10:9-11:22). The Preamble contains one occurrence of תָּם and two occurrences of יָשָׁר. Entering the Covenant Community contains one occurrence of תָּם and no occurrences of יָשָׁר. Renewal Ceremonies, Denunciations, Atonement contains two occurrence of תָּם and two occurrences of יָשָׁר. Qumran's Fundamental Dualism contains two occurrences of תָּם and two occurrences of יָשָׁר. Rules for Life in the Community contains two occurrences of תָּם and no occurrences of יָשָׁר. In contrast to all of the other sections, Rules for Punishment contains no occurrences of either תָּם or יָשָׁר. The lack of their use in the discussion about punishments corroborates their importance in characterizations of the Yahad's actions, attitudes of the heart, and requirements for membership. Rules for the Holy Congregation contains thirteen occurrences of תָּם and one occurrence of יָשָׁר. Hymn of Praise contains five occurrences of תָּם and one occurrence of יָשָׁר.

Charlesworth consulted many scholars and translations, including the extensive notes of Preben Wernberg-Møller's work *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* which does not mention the תָּם ויָשָׁר pairing.⁸

There is a brief reference to the pairing in the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*, but without citations. In *The Theological Lexicon of the Hebrew Bible*, K. Kock passes over the pairing of תָּם ויָשָׁר in preference for תָּמִים in the sense of “holy completeness” which he observes, citing especially CD, occurs uniquely in the DSS and, consequently, is a distinctive characteristic of Qumran literature.⁹

As shown above, in the entire Hebrew Bible, תָּם is paired with יָשָׁר ten times. Remarkably, in 1QS, only a brief eleven columns long, תָּם is paired with יָשָׁר seven times. Frequency suggests a significant identification with the terms.

In the Preamble's opening sentence, a long list of infinitives comprising the Yahad's, the Community's, mission/purpose statement, lines 2 and 8 state that seeking God by doing what is good and *upright* (הַטוֹב וְהַיָּשָׁר), and by devoting themselves to walking *perfectly* before him (וְלַהֲתַהֲלֹךְ לִפְנֵי תַמִּים), membership in the Yahad is possible.

תָּם occurs a second time in line 13 in an outcome statement: all those having freely submitted themselves to the Community and to the law of Moses, do so in order to “marshal their energies in accordance with his *perfect* (כְּתָם) path.” Throughout 1QS, תָּם is frequently used with “path” or “way.”

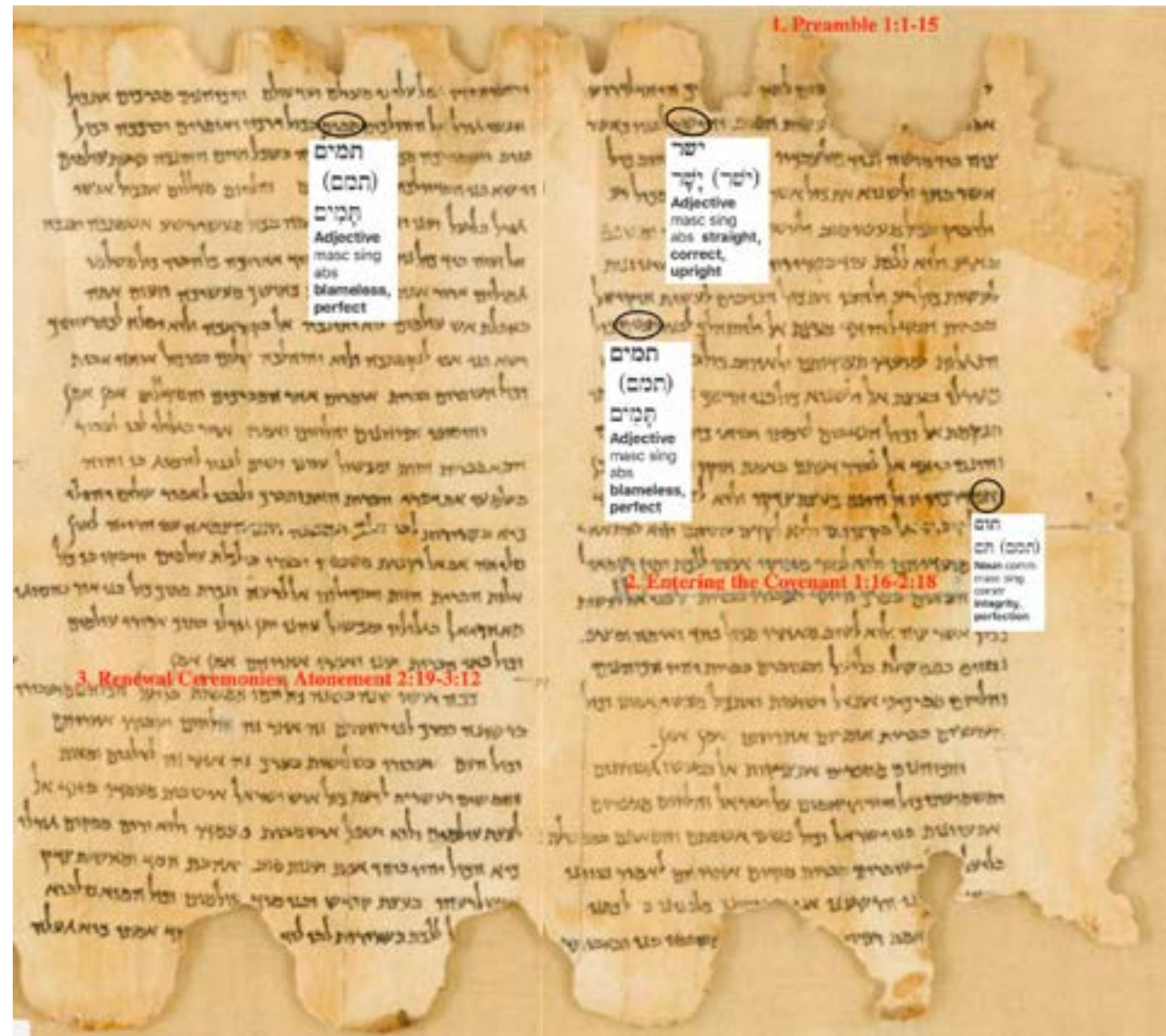
תָּם ויָשָׁר frames the path to membership in the Yahad. Implied in the Preamble is the belief that through membership in the Community, it is possible to be righteous before God.

2. Entering the Covenant Community (1QS 1:16 - 2:18)

In Section 2, Entering the Covenant, **הם** occurs once and describes the righteous whom the priests are blessing "...the men of God's lot who walk *unblemished* (so Martínez), **ההולכים תמים**, in all his ways" (2:2).¹⁰

Unblemished is used here in the sense of an unblemished sacrifice (Lev 9:2f.; Num 6:14).¹¹ The Yahad is offering itself as an atonement for the sins of Israel during the dominion of Belial. Atonement follows the confession, "We have been wicked, transgressed, and [sin]ned. We have been wicked—we and our fathers before us - walking [in rebellion to the laws] of truth and righteousness, [wherefore God] has judged us, both we and our fathers (1:24-26).

There is no forgiveness for those who succumb to the dominion of Belial (2:1-8).



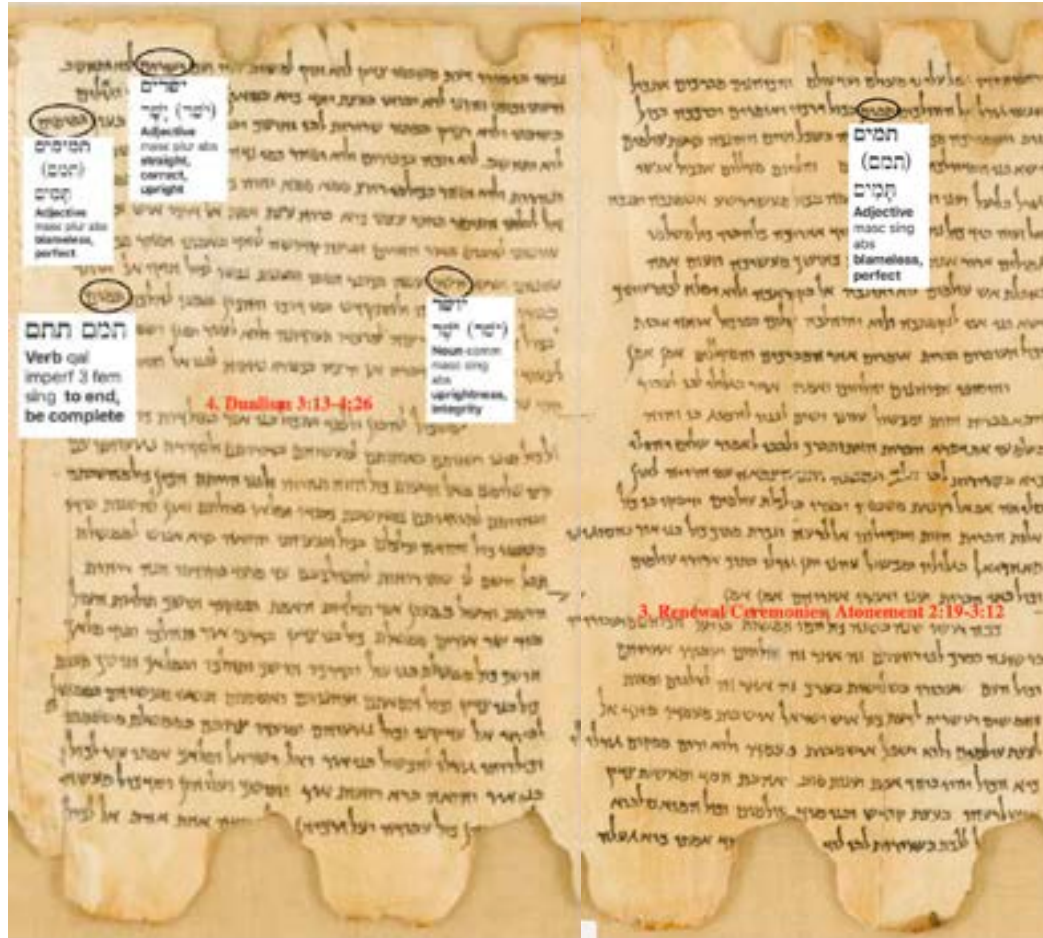
ENTERING THE COVENANT COMMUNITY (1QS 1:16-2:18)

Entering the Covenant Community contains one occurrence of **הם** and no occurrences of **ישר**.

3. Renewal Ceremony, Denunciations, Atonement (1QS 2:19-3:12)

In section 3, Renewal Ceremonies, Denunciation and Atonement, תמים occurs 2 times and ישר occurs 2 times in a discussion about the necessity for repentance.

Interestingly, Charlesworth includes תמים in the Consistency Chart for faithful and consistent translation, but does not include ישר. In their lists of the community's self-designations, Neither Charlesworth nor P. Wernberg-Møller include, תמימים or תמימי דרך, but in light of the importance of repentance to becoming upright and perfect (3:3-8), and the discussion in Gabriele Boccaccini's book, *Paul's Three Paths to Salvation*, about repentance, I would add these self-designations; see especially 1QS 3:1; 3:3, 4:22; 8:10, 8:18, 8:20, 8:21, 9:2, 9:5, 9:9, 11:11; 4Q510 f1:9; 4Q511 f10:7. Charlesworth himself translates these self-designations as "the upright ones," "the perfect ones," the perfect of the Way," "men of perfect holiness" and adds a note that self-designations need further study.^{12, 13}



RENEWAL CEREMONIES, DENUNCIATIONS, ATONEMENT (1QS 2:19-3:12)

Renewal Ceremonies, Denunciations, Atonement contains two occurrences of תמים and two occurrences of ישר.

Without repentance, an initiate cannot be counted among the upright (ישרים) or the perfect ones (תמימים), nor can he be purified by atonement in sanctifying waters. Atonement is only possible with an upright (ישר) and humble spirit. Only then is iniquity cleansed, by the Holy Spirit (3:3-8). It all begins with repentance. Repentance, atonement, membership in the Community, and ablution by purifying waters are all dependent on being reckoned among the upright, ישרים, who walk flawlessly, להלכת תמים, in the ways of God. and offer themselves in atoning sacrifice.

“Upright,” ישר, is an internal quality, an attitude and commitment. Walking flawlessly, תמים, is a behavior. This distinction in Qumran literature helps to explain why Job repented. While he did not curse God with his lips (an action), in his heart he cursed the day he was born (an attitude), and, by extension, his Creator. To become a member of the Community requires uncompromised compliance in both action and attitude. Taken together, תמים and ישר are a signature identifier of the Yahad.

“He lacks the strength to repent. He is not to be reckoned among the upright, ישרים. His knowledge, strength and wealth are not to enter the society of the Yahad. Surely, he plows in the muck of wickedness, so defiling stains would mar his repentance. Yet he cannot be justified by what his willful heart declares lawful, preferring to gaze on darkness rather than the ways of light. With such an eye, בעין תמימים, he cannot be reckoned faultless. Ceremonies of tonement cannot restore his innocence, neither cultic waters his purity. He cannot be sanctified by baptism in oceans and rivers, nor purified by mere ritual bathing. Unclean, unclean shall he be all the days that he rejects the laws of God, refusing to be disciplined in the Yahad of His society. For only through the spirit pervading God's true society can there be atonement for a man's ways, all of his iniquities; thus only can he gaze upon the light of life and so be joined to His truth by His holy spirit, purified from all iniquity. Through an upright (ישר) and humble attitude his sin may be covered, and by humbling himself before all God's laws his flesh can be made clean. Only thus can he really receive the purifying waters and be purged by the cleansing flow. Let him order his steps to walk faultless, תמים, in all the ways of God, just as He commanded for the times appointed to him. Let him turn aside neither to the right nor the left, nor yet deviate in the smallest detail from all of His words. Then indeed will he be accepted by God, offering the sweet savor of atoning sacrifice, and then only shall he be a party to the Covenant of the Eternal Yahad”(3:1-12).

4. Qumran's Fundamental Dualism (1QS 3:13-4:26)

The Problem of Theodicy Solved

In section 4, Dualism, **הם** occurs twice and **ישר** occurs twice. The problem of theodicy is solved: God knows everything and is responsible for evil. “It is actually He who created the spirits of light and darkness, making them the cornerstone of every deed, God’s love for one spirit (the spirit of truth rather than the spirit of perversity) lasts forever. He will be pleased with its actions for always. The counsel of the other, however, He abhors, hating its every impulse for all time. Upon earth their operations are these: one enlightens a man’s mind, *making straight*, **לישר**, (intertextual with Isaiah 40:3) before him the paths of true righteousness and causing his heart to fear the laws of God” (3:26-4:3).



DUALISM (1QS 3:13-4:26)

Qumran's Fundamental Dualism contains two occurrence of **הם** and two occurrences of **ישר**.

Adding to the Wisdom Tradition

In contradiction to Qoheleth's position that humankind cannot know wisdom (1:14, 7:28, 8:16-17) and in contradiction to 1 Enoch that wisdom has no dwelling place on earth (1 Enoch 42:1-2; 49:2-4), 1QS is clear that it is possible for humankind to be granted insight into the knowledge of the Most High and to have access to the wisdom of the angels, although it is limited to those who are chosen to be **הם וישר**. “Thereby He shall give the upright, **ישרים**, insight into the knowledge of the Most High and the wisdom of the angels, **להשכיל**, making wise, **הכמות בני שמים**, those following the perfect way, **המימי דרך**. Indeed, God has chosen them for an eternal covenant” (4:22).

1QS has a distinctive voice in the Wisdom Tradition: drawing from Sirach, the importance of Torah (Sir 24:1-23); drawing from Job, the possibility of access to insight into the knowledge of the Most High to those who are **הם וישר** (Job 1:1, 8; 2:3; 38:1); and drawing from the Book of Jubilees, access to heavenly knowledge given to revealers, Enoch, Noah, Jacob (also in Baruch 3:18-4:4), and Moses. Especially important for the Community is the interpretation of written texts. In The Book of Jubilees, God's will includes the Tablets of Heaven, which includes more books than the Torah alone. Because it is necessary to obey God's will, not just the law, Abraham's problem is to understand the will of God, which is understood as something different from God's law. The written text is not considered enough. It is important that Abraham receives instruction from an angel who speaks the language of creation, the revealed language (Hebrew). Abraham then copies the books and studies them (Jub 12:19-27). In the Book of Jubilees, angelic revelation, copying books and studying them are the foundations of human understanding.¹⁴

Wisdom Tradition in Second Temple Judaism¹⁵

Zadokite Judaism

Sapiential Judaism

Enochic Judaism

ISRAELITE RELIGION, CHARACTERIZED BY HENOTHEISM

Ahiqar, Col. IV:13; 6th century BCE, Before problem of theodicy
Wisdom is a gift from the gods.

Job 28; 6th century BCE, Before problem of theodicy
Wisdom is a gift from the gods.

BEGINNING OF SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM, CHARACTERIZED BY MONOTHEISM

Proverbs 8:1-7; 12-17; 22-36; 5th century BCE, After problem of theodicy
Wisdom was with God at creation.
Wisdom is the agent of creation.
God creates by means of Wisdom.

Job 38:1-7; 4th century BCE
Only God knows Wisdom.

HELLENISTIC JUDAISM

Qoheleth (Ecclesiastes) 1:14; 7:29; 8:16-17; 3rd century BCE
Humankind cannot know Wisdom.

Sirach 1:1-10; 24:1-12, 23; 2nd century BCE, Before Maccabean Revolt
The source of Wisdom is the mouth (word/λόγος) of the Most High.
Wisdom created before time.
God makes a dwelling place for Wisdom in Israel.
The Torah is the historical manifestation of Wisdom.

Baruch 3:9-4:4; 2nd century BCE, After the Maccabean Revolt
Same as Sirach with emphasis on Torah.

Book of Jubilees; c. 150 BCE
Tablets of Heaven (God's will) is pre-existent and acknowledges connection between Mosaic Torah and God's will.
Torah does not contain God's entire will.
Torah only one document in a larger written tradition in which human beings find traces of the only knowledge that counts.
Tablets of Heaven idea comes from earlier text, Book of Astronomy, 1 Enoch 72-82.
Access is given to revealers: Enoch, Noah, Jacob, Moses.

Rule of the Community, 1QS 1:1-3, 4:22; 2nd century BCE
From Sirach: Importance of Torah
From Job: God acknowledges those who are חֲסִידֵי יְהוָה.
Merges Book of Jubilees with Sirach and Job: Access to insight into the knowledge of the Most High and wisdom of angels given to those who are חֲסִידֵי יְהוָה.

Philo of Alexandria, EBR 30-31; cf. Fug 109, Leg All 1:65
Turn of the century
God created the universe according to God's wisdom (λόγος).
Wisdom identified with the λόγος of God.
Wisdom is an emanation of God, God in the act of creating.
Wisdom does not belong to the created world.
Wisdom, not created, generated as an emanation of God's will.
Harmony of the universe according to God's λόγος and Mosaic Law.

Wisdom of Solomon 1:6-7; 7:22-28; 8:4, 13; 9:1-2; 10-12
End 1st century BCE - Beginning 1st century CE
Wisdom is the breath of God, a pure emanation of glory, a reflection of eternal light.
Wisdom a divine attribute of God, or hypostasis, 9:1-2 Word and Wisdom synonyms;
7:25-26 identification between Wisdom and Spirit.

VESPASIAN'S SIDE TRIP TO QUMRAN c. 68
LEGIO X FRENTENSIS' SEIGE OF MASADA 72-73

Wisdom Tradition in Second Temple Judaism, cont.

Zadokite Judaism

Sapiential Judaism

Enochic Judaism

Book of Jubilees, c. 150 BCE

Wisdom of Solomon 1:6-7; 7:22-28; 8:4, 13; 9:1-2; 10-12
End 1st century BCE - beginning 1st century CE

Philo of Alexandria, EBR 30-31; cf. Fug 109, Leg All 1:65
Turn of the century

1 Enoch (Parables of Enoch) 42:1-2; 48:2-3; 49:3; 51:3, Early 1st century

CHRISTIANITY

Proto-Gospel of Thomas, Q, Proto-Letter of James
Before 70 CE
Jesus presented as teacher of Wisdom.

Gospel of Mark 6:2 (Mt. 13:54)
Before 70 CE
Jesus, Son of Man, presented as full of Wisdom not of this world. Wisdom came in the Son of Man (exactly idea of Enoch). Jesus, Messiah, now Wisdom on earth because Jesus came.

Paul, 1 Corinthians 1:24, 30
Before 70 CE
Christ Jesus, Lord, presented as the Wisdom of God on earth.

Fall of the Temple, 70 CE

2 Baruch 57:2, End 1st century CE
Abraham observed unwritten Law.
At time of Abraham and his descendants, the unwritten Law was in force among them, and the work of the commandments were accomplished at that time.

Colossians 1:15-20, After 70 CE
Christ Jesus is presented as the historical manifestation of Wisdom, first born of creation.

Gospel of John 1:1-14 Prologue, End 1st century - Beginning 2nd century CE
Christ becomes divine theos, uncreated λόγος of God. Jesus Christ, Son of Man, is presented as divine Wisdom itself, the uncreated (before creation) λόγος of God, with God from the beginning. Wisdom is identified with λόγος, φῶς, and δόξα.

Justin Martyr, Dialogue of Trophe 61:3 (Prov. 8:22; 19:5; 23:1,3, Middle 2nd century CE
Existence of righteous people before Moses evidence Torah not necessary for salvation.
From the beginning (ἀρχὴ) salvation relies on the preexistent Christ.
There was a Law unwritten, which was habitually understood naturally, and by the fathers habitually kept.

Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autolycum 2:9-10, 2nd half 2nd century CE
Translating and of Gen. 1:1, waivers between σοφία and λόγος. Reflects earlier doctrine, σοφία God's agent of creation and later doctrine replacing σοφία with λόγος.

Tertulian, Contra Iudaeos 2:9, Beginning 3rd century CE
Dependent on Justin but knows preexistence of Law.

Targum Neofiti Gen 1:1, 2nd half 2nd century CE
Preexistence of Torah.

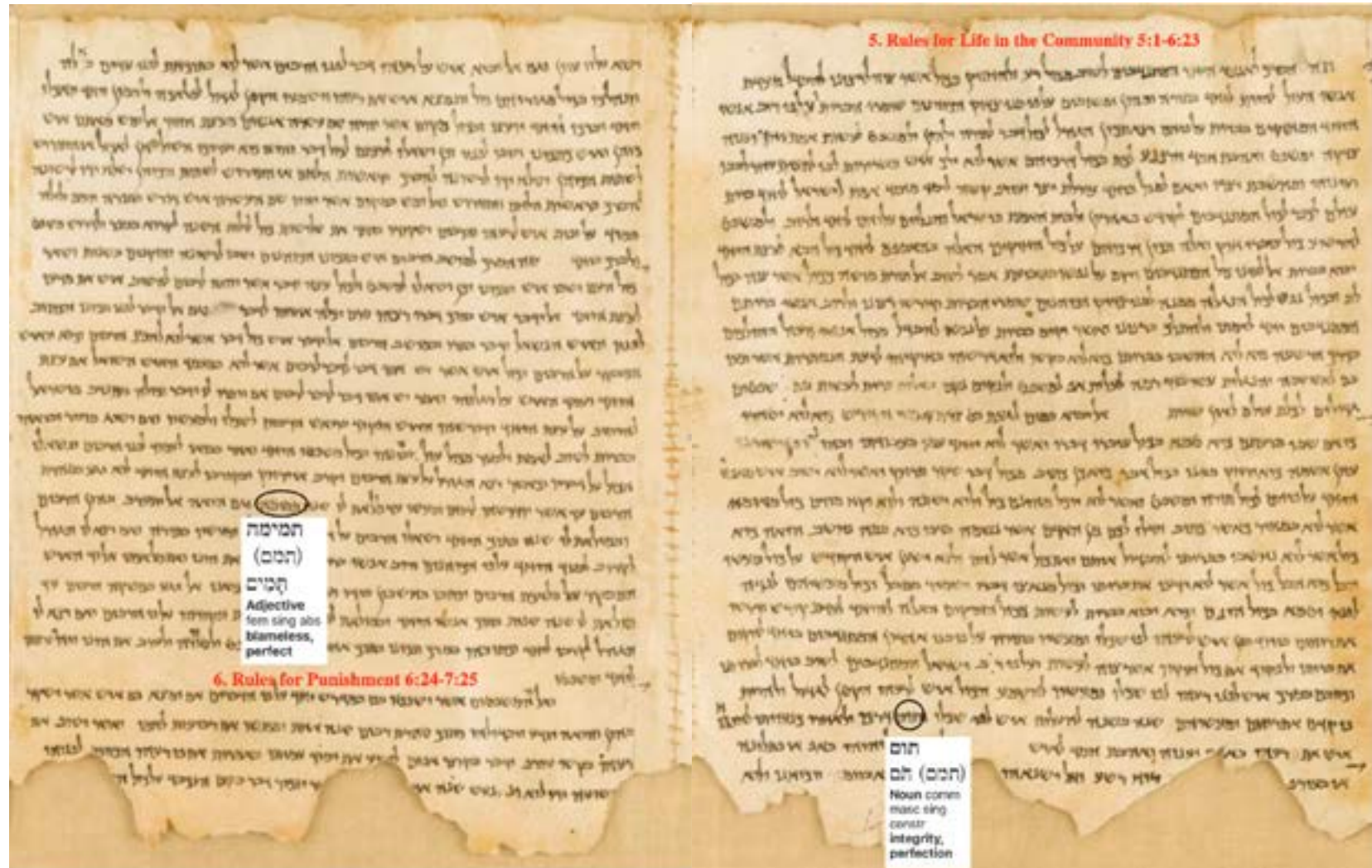
Rabbinic Judaism

Mishnah, Beginning 3rd century CE

Exegetical Principal Rabbinic Judaism: Torah = Wisdom
(Wisdom disappears.)

Exegetical Principal Christianity: Christ = Wisdom
(Wisdom disappears.)

5. Rules for Life in the Community (1QS 5:1-6:23)



RULES FOR LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY (1QS 5:1-6:23)

Rules for Life in the Community contains two occurrences of תם and no occurrences of ישר.

Charlesworth notes that "The Many" is a technical term for the fully assembled Community.¹⁶

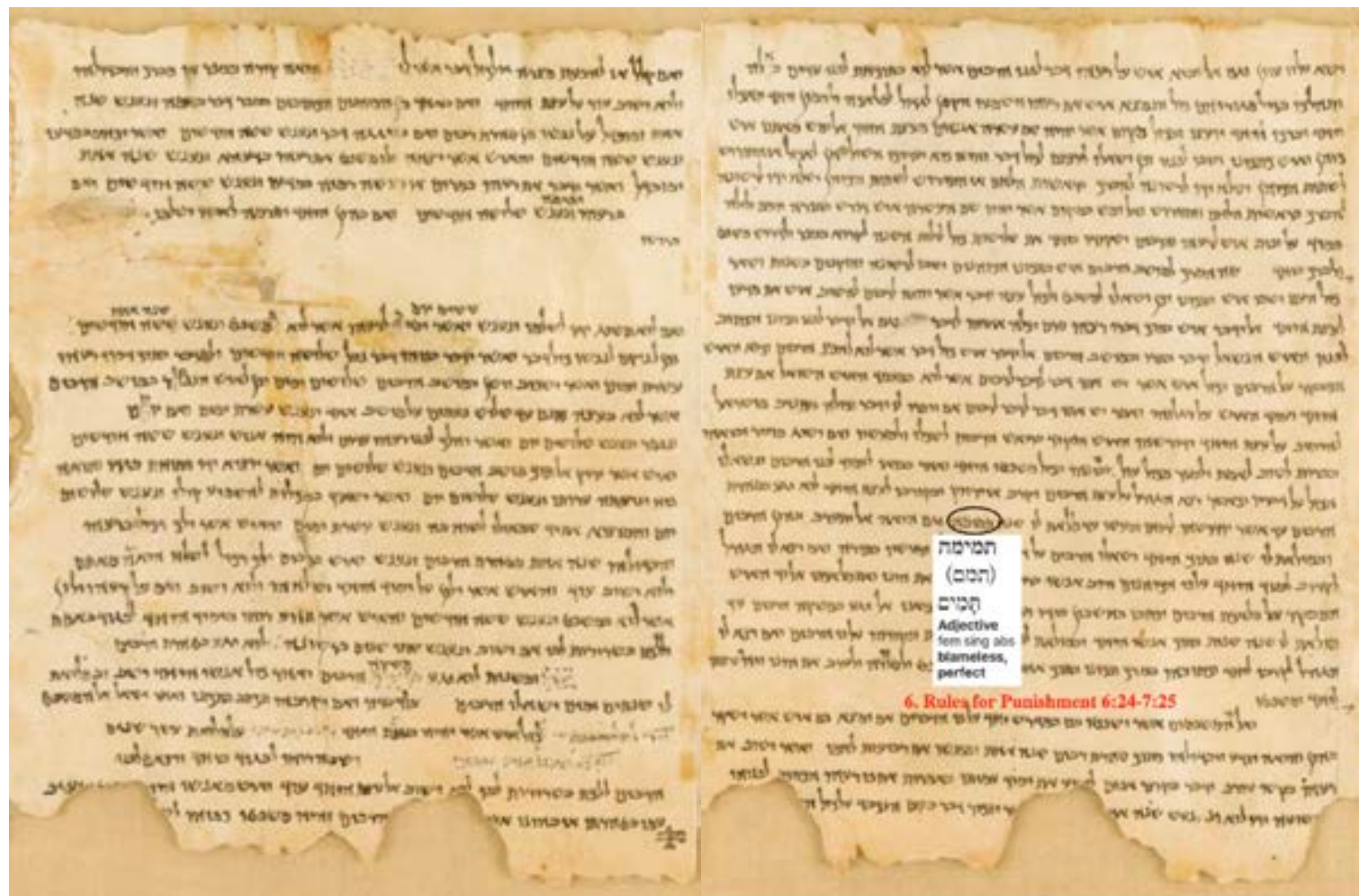
6. Rules for Punishment (1QS 6:24-7:25)

There are no occurrences of ישר or references to Isaiah 40:3 in Section 5, Rules for Life in the Community, or in Section 6, Rules for Punishment, which constitutes a change in self-identification vocabulary from the Upright Ones to “The Many.” This suggests that a scribe combined different recensions of 1QS in response to a new social situation in the Community.

Further, there is no occurrence of ישר or a reference to Isaiah 40:3 in Section 2, Entering the Covenant Community, which suggests that the scribe deleted a reference to Isaiah when adding Sections 5 and 6; or initiation into the Community happened in the wilderness of Qumran so there was no need to mention it; entry and wilderness were originally synonymous.

However, perhaps for new initiates, “each Israelite” (2:22), going to the wilderness became impractical and the demand for it was changed in order to accommodate a growing and diverse group of newcomers.

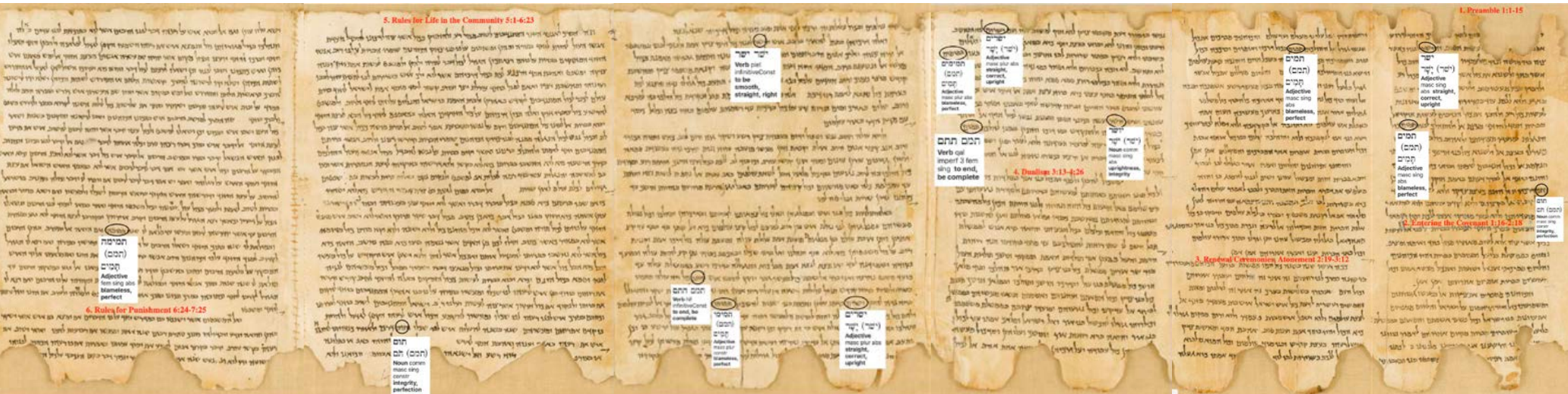
Nevertheless, in Sections 5, 6, and 2, forms of ישר are unattested, making it challenging to look at chiasmus in 1QS.¹⁷ I think, though, it's worth an investigation and may shed light on document history.



RULES FOR PUNISHMENT (1QS 6:24-7:25)

In contrast to all of the other sections, Rules for Punishment contains no occurrences of either תם or ישר. The lack of their use in the discussion about punishments corroborates their importance in characterizations of the Community's actions, attitudes of the heart, and requirements for membership attested in Sections 1, 3, 4, 7, and 8.

Revisiting תם וישר in 1QS to look for Chiasmus



There are no occurrences of **תם** or references to Isaiah 40:3 in Section 2, which suggests that either Section 2 was added later along with Sections 5 and 6; or that the scribe deleted a reference to Isaiah in Section 2 when adding Sections 5 and 6; or entry into the Community happened in the wilderness of Qumran, as per Isaiah, so there was no need to mention it. Entry and wilderness were synonymous.



There are no occurrences of **תם** or references to Isaiah 40:2 in Sections 5 and 6, which constitutes a change in vocabulary from “Upright Ones, **ישרים**, to “The Many,” **הרבים**. This supports Charlesworth’s idea that a scribe combined different editions of 1QS in response to a new social situation in the Community.¹⁸

The Case for ישר Chiasmus

There are seven attested occurrences of ישר in 1QS, each strategically placed. The chiastic formation indicates an intention to highlight the central importance and interconnected meanings of ישר. The following is a chiastic arrangement of ישר using Charlesworth's consistent translation, but leaving out the later additions, Sections 5 and 6. Isaiah 40:3 is interwoven into and inseparable from external acts of righteousness and an internal uprightness of the heart, 11:2. In addition, if Isaiah's wilderness was attested in an earlier recension of Section 2, then ישר would have appeared eight times, which could be additional evidence of an interest in creation, as there are eight acts of creation (Gen. 1:1-2:3).

Used in Section 1, The Preamble, as a substantive adjective, הטוב והישר, “the good and the upright” sets the standard high. “Good” and “upright,” descriptions of God, set the stage for what is to come in 1QS. It is mirrored by the use of ישור לבבי in Section 8, Hymn of Praise, for internal righteous character. The emphasis on righteousness as both external behavior and internal attitude, a subject of debate in Second Temple Judaism, is expressed in a more metaphorical way in the wisdom sayings of Jesus who preferred teaching orally with stories to anyone who would listen, rather than in writing with rules for the pre-destined “Many.” Included in the wisdom sayings is the metaphor of the cup: “Jesus said, ‘Why do you wash the outside of the cup? Do you not understand that he who made the inside is also he who made the outside?’” (λόγον 89, Gospel of Thomas; Luke 11:40).¹⁹

In Section 2, Entering the Covenant Community, entry is synonymous with Isaiah's wilderness. Presumably, initiation originally took place at Qumran. Perhaps, as the Community included more “Israelites” (2:22), the necessity of ceremonies taking place at Qumran became impractical. Nevertheless, identification with the Isaiah's wilderness is presumed. In Isaiah, ישר is used as a verb, “make straight”; except for Isaiah, it is used in 1QS as a noun or substantive, “to be upright in character.” In any case, ישר is not attested in 1QS, Section 2. This is one of the problems of reading these manuscripts in an office rather than reading them in the desert. In an office, it is just too hard to connect with the physical circumstances of the desert and to read the words emically (from inside the group looking out), rather than etically (from outside the group looking in). When reading them or reciting them in the desert, ישר is already there, both in location and in the commitment of the initiate to become ישר by entering the Community. Although unattested, Isaiah 40:3, “in the desert make straight a highway for our God,” is understood.

Section 1, doing what is “good and right,” parallels Section 8, “perfection of my way and uprightness of my heart,” emphasizing that righteousness of action must be integrated with righteousness of thought in order to be “good and right.” In Section 2, the initiate presumably enters the Community in Isaiah's wilderness, paralleling Isaiah's call to the wilderness in Section 7. Sections 3 and 4 define the qualities of the Upright Ones: an “upright and humble spirit” (an internal quality) with leveling (intertextual with Isaiah 40:3) the paths of righteousness (actions a member must take). The sequence in Sections 3 and 4 is a second chiasmus, where once again internal righteousness is coupled with external righteousness, all surrounded by “Upright Ones”:

“Upright Ones” -

“upright Spirit” -

“level paths of true righteousness” -

“Upright Ones.”

Central to becoming a member of the “Upright Ones” are unity of outward action and internal integrity. All this explicitly addresses Job's problem of blessing God with his lips, but cursing his Creator in his heart (Job 2:10; Job 3:3).

Section 1: Doing what is good and right (1:2), הטוב והישר, (1:2)

Section 2: [*Make level* in the desert” at Qumran where the Community was located and, presumably, originally where initiates entered the Community]

Section 3: The *upright ones* (ישרים) 3:1; An *upright* and humble spirit (יושר), 3:8

Section 4: *To level* before him all the ways of true righteousness (לישר) 4:2; *upright ones* (ישרים), 4:22

Section 7: *Make level* in the desert, Isaiah 40:3 (ישר),

Section 8: The perfection of my way and the *uprightness* of my heart (תום דרכי עם ישור לבבי), 11:2

7. Rules for the Holy Congregation (1QS 8:1-10:8)



RULES FOR THE HOLY CONGREGATION (1QS 8:1-10:8)

Rules for the Holy Congregation contains thirteen occurrences of תם and one occurrence of ישר.

In Part 7, Rules for the Holy Congregation, the one occurrence of ישר appears in a quotation of Isaiah 40:3, followed by an interpretation that the passage means the study of the Law of Moses as well as the revelations of the prophets. Below are several quotations of Isaiah 40:3, as well as literary allusions to it, set against images of Isaiah's wilderness.

In the wilderness

קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך יהוה וישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו.
1QIsa^a 33:2-3

A voice cries out, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD,
and in the desert make a smooth highway for our God."
Isaiah 40:3



[קול קורא במדבר פנו דרך] יהוה ישרו [בערבה מסלה לאלהינו].
IQIsab (1Q8 16:24-25)

[A voice cries out, “In the wilderness prepare the way of the]
LORD, [in the desert] make a smooth [highway for our God.”]
Isaiah 40:3

אנשי היחד להל{{ֹ}} כ תמים איש את רעהו בכול הנגלה להם. {{ה}} היאה עת פנות הדרך
למדבר. ולהשכילם כול הנמצא לעשות בעת הזואת והבדל מכול איש ולוא הסר דרכו
1QS 9:19-20

...the men of the Yahad, each will walk blamelessly with his fellow, guided by what
has been revealed to them. That will be the time of “preparing the way in the
desert.” He shall instruct them in every legal finding that is to regulate their works
in that time, and teach them to separate from every man who fails to keep himself
from perversity.

1QS 9:19-21 quoting a phrase from Isaiah 40:3





כתוב [במדד] זָרַף [נו דרך האמת יש] לו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו.
4Q (4QS^e) Rule of the Community^e (259 3:5 = 1QS 9:19-20)

it is written, [“In the wildern]ess pr[epare the way of the Lord,
make stra]ight in the desert a highway for our God”].

Isaiah 40:3

Echoes of Isaiah 40:3

[[ואלה דרכיהן בתבל להאיר בלבב איש ולישר לפניו כול דרכי צדק אמת ולפחד לבבו במשפטי אל]]

Upon earth their operations are these: one enlightens a man's mind, *making straight before him the paths* of true righteousness and causing his heart to fear the laws of God.

1QS 4:2-3

Pesher on Isaiah 40:3

The wilderness is the place where the Community expounds on the Law of Moses and “what the prophets have revealed by His holy spirit.”

הדרש אל יסתרהו מאלה מיראת רוח נסוגה. ובהיות אלה ליחד בישראל
בתכונים האלה יבדלו מתוך מושב הנשי העול ללכת למדבר לפנות שם את דרכ הוואהא
כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו דרך ייי ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו.
היאה מדרש התורה א[ש] צוה ביד מושה לעשות ככול הנגלה עת בעת
וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו.
1QS 8:12-16

When such men as these come to be in Israel, conforming to these doctrines, they shall separate from the session of perverse men to go to the wilderness, there to prepare the way of truth, as it is written, “In the wilderness prepare the way of the LORD, make straight in the desert a highway for our God.” This means the expounding of the Law, decreed by God through Moses for obedience, that being defined by what has been revealed for each age, and by what the prophets have revealed by His holy spirit.

1QS quoting and interpreting Isaiah 40:3 *

Isaiah 40:3 elsewhere in the scrolls

קול קורה
במדבר פנו דרך יי ישר ב[ערבה] מסלה לאלוהינ[ו]. כול גיא ינשא
[וכל הר וגב] עה ישפלו והיה העקוב ל[מי] שור [והרכסים לב] קעה
4QTanhumim (176 f1_2i:6-8)

A voice cries, "In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord,
make straight [in the desert] a highway for our God.
Let every valley be filled, [every mountain and hill] be level,
let every rugged place be a plain, [and the rocky areas a] meadow.
Isaiah 40:1-5

WHEN A WORD CAN MEAN ITS OPPOSITE: THE INTERESTING CASE OF תָּם

In Section 7, תָּם is used in opposing ways. Positive affirmation is couched in the completeness of human perfection (8:1, 9, 10, 18, 20, 21; 9:2. 5, 6, 8, 9, 19). This is especially true in combination with יֵשׁוּעַ (see especially 4:22 and 11:2). As a positive, תָּם is used to convey the total and irreversible finality of extinguishing perversity. Elsewhere in IQS, the shadow of darkness looms toward cataclysmic total destruction of wickedness. “By His truth God shall then purify all human deeds, and refine some of humanity so as to extinguish, לְהַתֵּם, every perverse spirit from the inward parts of the flesh, cleansing from every wicked deed by a holy spirit” (4:20-21).

As a negative, the possibility of human failure is laid out clearly. The totality of the experience of completing two years of perfection is presented in a contrary to fact “if” clause, (8:25) אִם תִּתֵּם דְּרַכּוֹ. Completion of time is presented in a negative way. “Not before a full year has passed...” לֹא שָׁנָה תִּמְלִימָה (6:17). Those under the influence of Belial will have no comfort, “...the smitten I shall not comfort until their walk be perfected, עַד הוּם דְּרַכּוֹ, again using in a negative way, something that will not be done (10:21). Human rebellion, made full by sin, תּוֹם פְּשָׁעוֹ, is everything an initiate does not want to happen (10:23-24).

Hope is expressed in a conflicting way. “Surely apart from You, the way cannot be perfected,” לֹא תִתֵּם דְּרַךְ, “nor can anything be done unless it please You” (11:17-18), indicating that, although all is possible with God’s help, the way will be difficult.

The total destruction of evil is countered by hope that that God will forgive. This dichotomy expresses the world view of the Community that envisions both Endtime and eternal life, a narrow focus on everything good wrapped around by a world under the all-encompassing dominion of evil Belial.



**MASADA, EASTERN EDGE JUDAEAN DESERT, OVERLOOKING THE DEAD SEA AND JORDAN
THE SEIGE OF MASADA, 73-74 CE, BROUGHT A CATAclysmic END TO THE SICARII AND FAMILIES OCCUPYING THE FORTRESS**

8. Hymn of Praise (1QS 10:9-11:22)

With the acquisition of heavenly wisdom comes access to participation in the angelic choir (4:22). Most importantly, this transcendent experience is not delayed but happens during a human lifetime. Thus the importance of Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Moses, David, Ezekiel, Job, and Daniel, all of whom had transcendent experiences during their lifetimes. The question of when encountering the angelic hosts actually happens is problematic. It is implied rather than specific. Nevertheless, the consistent lifting up of historic figures, all of whom have had extraordinary and transformative experiences during their lifetimes, is persuasive. “He has made them heirs in the legacy of the Holy Ones; with the Angels has He united their assembly, a Yahad party. They are an assembly built up for holiness, an eternal Planting for all ages to come” (11:7-9). “My psalms are for the upright, לִישְׁרִים, let] all those who are blameless, דרך, תְּמִימִי, exalt Him!” (Wisdom Canticles, 4Q510, 2.8-9). “For the upright, לִישְׁרִים, the psalms of his glory. May all those of perfect behavior, דרך, תְּמִימִי, praise him” (Wisdom Canticles, 4Q511, 10:7-8). The Hymn shifts from the Community to the individual. “I stumble, God’s loving-kindness forever shall save me (11:12).²⁰

The Community believed that they were living in Endtimes and were atoning for the land.²¹ With a sense of immediacy, they anticipated the final battle of good against evil. They prepared in the wilderness, claimed Holy Angels were in their midst, and sang hymns of praise.

HYMN OF PRAISE (1Q 10:9-11:22)–

Hymn of Praise contains five occurrences of תָּם
and one occurrence of יָשָׁר.



CASEMENT OF THE SCROLLS, MASADA



SOUTHERN JUDEAN DESERT AND DEAD SEA, FROM MASADA



About Polysemy

It is impossible to climb Mount Sinai to watch the sunrise and not think about Moses and the burning bush. Hard to find a bush anywhere, but easy to imagine a brilliant sunrise lighting it up like slow fireworks. Everything in the wilderness is intertextual.

Likewise, it is impossible to be in Qumran without thinking of Isaiah 40:3. In 1QS, there seems to be no distinction between Qumran (or at least the caves where the scrolls were discovered) and identifying with and committing to Isaiah's call to be in the wilderness. In this sense, the call is not just for the righteous to gather in the wilderness, but also for preserving the scrolls in a desert location, as their best chance for survival was in an arid environment. While it may have been necessary to hide the scrolls from the Romans, it was also theologically necessary to act on Isaiah's instruction.

Isaiah 40:3 is a call to a *place*, the wilderness, but it is also a call for a *time* to prepare and *how* to prepare - to prepare by leveling the pathway for true righteousness.

Who are the righteous? Those who confess (1:24; 5:14, 20) and repent (2:11, 17; 3:15; 5:1, 14-15; 6:15; 7:19; 10:20). "If unable to repent, he cannot be counted among the Upright Ones," ישרים. In other words, he cannot be made straight or upright, in the same way that Isaiah calls for making a pathway straight. The righteous are called by the same word Isaiah uses, only in substantive form rather than a verb. The Upright Ones are those who live their lives in a straight manner, "...veering neither to the right nor to the left" (3:1; 3:10). Isaiah 40:3 is explicitly linked with the study of Torah (8:14-15). It is likely the Community heard all these meanings simultaneously.

The idea of polysemy is that one way of thinking about a word does not overshadow another way of thinking about it. Instead, when the meanings are blended, something new is understood. In this case, Isaiah's "leveling a pathway," לִישֹׁר, is synonymous with the self-identity of the Upright Ones, ישרים. The place is Isaiah's wilderness, the time is now, the action is to study Torah, the "Upright Ones" are those called to be the Community.

IQS 4: 2-8 references Isaiah 40:3, but substitutes "level the pathway of true righteousness" for "making straight a pathway for our God," followed with a lengthy explanation of what righteousness looks like and the rewards righteousness provides. The God of Israel and his Angel of Truth *level*, לִישֹׁר, before him (the Sons of Light)

"...the paths of true righteousness and causing his heart to fear the laws of God. This spirit engenders humility, patience, abundant compassion, perpetual goodness, insight, understanding, and powerful wisdom resonating to each of God's deeds, sustained by His constant faithfulness. It engenders a spirit knowledgeable every plan of action, zealous for the laws of righteousness, holy in its thoughts, and steadfast in purpose. This spirit encourages plenteous compassion upon all who hold fast to truth, and glorious purity combined with visceral hatred of impurity in its every guise. It results in humble deportment allied with a general discernment, concealing the truth, that is, the mysteries of knowledge. To these ends is the earthly counsel of the spirit to those whose nature yearns for truth. Through a gracious visitation all who walk in this spirit will know healing, bountiful peace, long life, and multiple progeny, followed by eternal blessings and perpetual joy through life everlasting. They will receive a crown of glory with a robe of honor, resplendent forever and ever" (IQS 3:24; 4:2-8).

Wordplay and a self-conscious awareness of multiple meanings used together is clear in 1QM 14:7, "And by those whose way is perfect shall all wicked nations come to an end," ובתמימי דרך; and in 4QShirb Songs of the Sageb, יוֹשֵׁר "...uprightness of the upright" (4Q511 f2ii:9). University of Michigan Hebrew Professor, Gene Schramm, lectured on polysemy in the Twenty-third Psalm. In the DJD Series Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11, James Sanders suspects that in Sirach (11QPs^a Sirach) "the *mots à double ententes* are intentional." In his translation of Hymn to the Creator, Sanders notes three meanings of לבו, literally "heart, metaphorically "mind," and "Rare and possibly unique in reference to God" (11QPs^a 26:11-12).²²

Eliphaz' Question Answered

**Eliphaz, “Can mortal man be righteous before God?
Can a man be pure before his Maker?” (Job 4:17, RSV)**

**Eliphaz, “Can mortals be acquitted by God?
Can man be cleared by his Maker?” (Job 4:17, JPS)**



**“THERE WAS A MAN IN THE LAND OF UZ WHOSE NAME WAS JOB.
AND THAT MAN WAS BLAMELESS AND UPRIGHT, תָּם וְיָשָׁר (JOB 1:1)
WILLIAM BLAKE, *JOB AND HIS FAMILY*
WATERCOLOR FROM THE BUTTS SET, 1805-1806²³**

Beginning and ending with the words תָּם וְיָשָׁר (1QS 1:2, 1:8, 1:13, and 11:2, 11:11, 11:17), 1QS directly answers Eliphaz' question in the Book of Job. In a world under the dominion of Belial where evil is everywhere (1QS 1:18, 1:24, 2:5, 2:19, 10:21), is it possible for a mortal man to become an extraordinary man, to be accepted by God as righteous?

In 1QS, the answer is yes.

Although Job does not sin with his lips (Job 2:10), he curses the day he was born (Job 3:3), and, by extension, his Creator. 1QS directly addresses Job's flaw of inconsistency (remembering here Jesus' metaphor about washing the outside and the inside of the cup) with the requirement for the Community to be upright in behavior in addition to having integrity of heart. “I will remove vanities from my lips, impure and tortuous thoughts from the thought of my heart” (10:24, so Charlesworth).

This is possible with God's intervention. “In his hand, is the perfection of my way, תּוֹם דְּרָכִי, and the uprightness, יִשׁוּר לִבִּי, of my heart” (11:2, so Charlesworth).

תָּם וְיָשָׁר is the defining measure of righteousness and the principle point of access to the Community. The initiate hears the words תָּם וְיָשָׁר in the context of repentance, the hope of God's forgiveness, and the call to enter the righteous and holy Community, both in *halakhah* and in the attitude and integrity of the heart.

1QS amplifies the usage of תָּם וְיָשָׁר. Given the paucity of examples in the Hebrew Bible, the number of inclusions in 1QS suggests that the usage is deliberate and results from a specifically sectarian reading of Job.



SUNRISE, MOUNT SINAI



SUNRISE OVER THE DEAD SEA, SNAKE PATH, MASADA

APPENDIX



SUNRISE OVER THE DEAD SEA, EIN GEDI

Musings...

About Isaiah's wilderness

Stripping away everything that is unnecessary, the desert wilderness demands a heightened awareness, reserve, and resourcefulness. It is a battle for life itself. Everything touches the skin: heat; sunlight; sand and salt; thorns; wind; the shadows of early evening; cool vapors of caves; the cold darkness of night; the brine of the Dead Sea; the cruel brutal power and life-giving nourishment of flash floods. Sweat evaporates before it cools. Putrid odors protecting desert plants penetrate nostrils and lungs. A stabbing bite from the venomous Ein Gedi snake is likely fatal. Efforts to avoid poisonous plants or predatory animals can force veering onto steeper paths, perhaps slide-slipping down perilous ravines where scratches and bruises are more welcome than broken bones. In the intensity and agony of survival, skin is the first defense against death.

Water lustration accentuates and elevates the near miss of death, the fear of death's ever-presence. Yet, in its mix of cleansing and ritual, the mikva washes away dirt and sin, soothing skin, punctuating drought with lavish wetness, attenuating pleasure with its cool cavern-covered waters and the promise of hope, the elixir of life. It is this tension between death and pleasure, intimidation and peace, anxiety and gratitude, that lures, that thrills, and enlightens.

Job sat in ashes, a ritual washing that would have sucked out the spittle of death from open sores that made him ritually unclean. Unclean though Job was, God beckoned him, and gave him a chance to see himself as creature distinctive from, and in contrast to, his Creator, thus giving him an insight into repentance.

Stories cleanse beneath the veneer of skin, "the foreskin of the heart" (Lev. 26:41; Deut 10:16; Jer. 4:4), challenging received truth with lived experience, and demanding scrutiny, interpretation, and meaning.

This, I think, is the meaning of Job's "skin for skin" (Job 2:4).

It is the tension between creature and Creator that gives rise to Qumran. According to The Rule of the Community, although unflawed, God is responsible for the dominion of evil, all the while offering the Yahad's **הם וישר** hope for singing God's praises in the company of angelic hosts.



VIEW FROM RUINS TO CLIFFS



STUDY ROOM WITH NICHE

QUMRAN
 Photographs dated 1997, during the 50th anniversary of the
 discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and before the restoration.



CEMETERY



MIKVA STAIRS



ROUND CISTERN



WADI QUMRAN, RUINS, AND DEAD SEA
 VIEW FROM A CAVE



TOWER



WADI QUMRAN



WATER CHANNEL

QUMRAN
 Photographs dated 2018, after the restoration for tourism.
 Water Channel image dated 1997.



MIKVA STAIRS DAMAGED DURING AN EARTHQUAKE, 31 BCE



VIEW FROM RUINS TO CLIFF



QUMRAN RUINS WITH VIEW TO THE EVAPORATING DEAD SEA

MASADA
Photographs dated 2018,
after the restoration for tourism.



CASEMENT WHERE SCROLLS WERE FOUND



RESTORED SYNAGOGUE



RESTORED LOWER TERRACE



**ROMAN SEIGE CAMP
AND SECTION OF THE CIRCUMVALLATION WALL**



RESTORED FRESCO



**CISTERN,
ORIGINALLY A QUARRY**



LYNNE KOHEL, MASADA

NOTES

¹ Marc Chagall, *La vision d'Ezéchiel (Ezéchiel, I, 4 14)* in *Etchings for the Bible*, 1930-1939, 1952-1956, Etching. 33.3 x 26.2 cm (c. 1956). Accessed May 8, 2021. <https://www.wikiart.org/en/marc-chagall/the-vision-of-ezekiel-ezekiel-i-4-14>. Biblical stories about dreams and visions have fascinated artists for thousands of years, an indication of their theological importance as well as their broader cultural significance.

² David Noel Freedman, *Conversations with David Noel Freedman* (University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI; University of California San Diego, CA, 1990-2004). This is David Noel Freedman's summary of contemporary academic commentaries on the Book of Job. In our conversations and correspondence, Noel frequently spoke about Noah, Job, and Daniel in Ezekiel, *הַסְּפָר* in The Book of Job, and lexically related Urim and Thummim in the Hebrew Bible. See also *הַסְּפָר* in 4Q164, 4Q174, 4Q175, 4Q376, and 11Q19.

³ William Blake, *Job Confessing His Presumption to God Who Answers from the Whirlwind*. Water Color Drawings Illustrating the Bible. Object 20, Butlin 461, Scottish National Gallery. (c. 1803-05). Accessed Nov. 29, 2019. <http://www.blakearchive.org/>.

⁴ James A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11: (11QPs^a)* Discoveries in the Judaean Desert IV (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 91-93.

⁵ Scholars debate the lexical source of “Israel,” but, in general, agree it is a compound. “The etymology of the name “Israel,” has not been explained satisfactorily.” G. Johannes Botterweck et al. *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament*. 16 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1974. Electronic text hypertext and formatted by Oaktree Software, Inc. Version 1.4) Vol.6, 398-420, 464-473.

⁶ Lynne Alcott Kogel, *Photographs for Middle East Studies*, (Saint Clair Shores, MI: Scriptoria Codex, LLC, 1997, 2018).

⁷ The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library. Accessed 2012-2021. https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/?locale=en_US; *Accordance Bible Software, Version 13.1.7* (OakTree Software, Inc. www.accordance.bible, 1994-2021). Unless otherwise noted, English translations in this paper are by Accordance provider Martin Abegg, Jr. For occurrences of each lexical form of *הַסְּפָר* and *יִשְׂרָאֵל* in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see James H. Charlesworth, *Graphic Concordance to the Dead Sea Scrolls*. The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. (Tübingen, Louisville: J.C.B. Mohr (P. Siebeck). James H. Charlesworth observes that 1QS is divided into eight Sections, James H. Charlesworth et al. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community. Photographic Multi-Language ed.* (Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/World Alliance, 1996), 28-30. Red division titles indicating Charlesworth's eight Sections and Accordance white grammar notes have been overlaid on the scroll's eleven columns by me for easy identification. 1 QS images, Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Project, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Accessed 2019-2021, <http://dss.collections.imj.org/project>

⁸ Preben Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah (Grand Rapids,: Eerdmans, 1957).

⁹ Ernst Jenni and Claus Westermann. *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament*. 3 vols. (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997, electronic text hypertext and prepared by Oaktree Software, Inc. Version 3.3) 2:588-590; Botterweck, et al.TDOT, 6:463-472; 15:702-711.

¹⁰ Florentino García Martínez, Florentino and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*. 2 vols. (Leiden ; New York: Brill, 1997).

¹¹ For cult sacrifice, both priest and offering must be unblemished, *תָּמִיד*, Lev. 9:2-3; 21:17-24; see also TDOT, 15:702-711.

¹² James H. Charlesworth, and Frank Moore Cross. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations, Vol. 1, Rule of the Community and Related Documents*. Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck); Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1994) XIII.

¹³ See, for example, Gabriele Boccaccini's discussion about the “Many” or “the blameless” in Paul's letters as a way to identify a theological group; Gabriele Boccaccini, *Paul's Three Paths to Salvation*. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2020) 80-89.

¹⁴ For more about the Book of Jubilees, see James C. VanderKam VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text*. Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (Lovanii: E. Peeters, 1989); and James C. VanderKam, *Jubilees: A Commentary Chapters 1-21*. 2 vols. Hermeneia—a Critical and Historical Commentary on the Bible (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress, 2018).

¹⁵ Lynne Alcott Kogel, *The Wisdom Tradition in Second Temple Judaism: Notes from Lectures by Gabriele Boccaccini, University of Michigan, Edited and Augmented* (Scriptoria Codes, LLC, 2021).

¹⁶ “The Many” variant, a “...technical term for the full Community working together,” “...needs to be studied.” Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, 21n, 27n, 55n. See Boccaccini, *Paul*, 80-89, for a comparison of the “Many” in early Christianity: repentance for the Many; who is and who is not included in a group; no salvation for unrepentant sinners; and the responsibilities of those who are forgiven.

¹⁷ Chiasmus could have been attested in an early version of 1QS before Qumran expanded with the inclusion of new members. In this case, new initiates would have been more important than literary chiasmus. For more about chiasmus in ancient literature, see Welch, John W. *Chiasmus in Antiquity: Structures, Analyses, Exegesis*. (Provo, Utah: Research Press, 1999).

¹⁸ Charlesworth, *Rule of the Community*, 2-3; 21n; 23n; 35n; 39n; 41n.

¹⁹ For a Coptic text of The Gospel of Thomas with English translations, see Antoine Jean Baptiste Guillaumont; Puech, Henri-Charles; Quispel, G.; Till, Walter Curt; 'Abd al-Masih, Yassah, eds., *Evangelium nach Thomas*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1959).

²⁰ Regarding the human community's sense of being in the heavenly sanctuary experiencing communion with angels, see Carol Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: A Critical Edition*. Harvard Semitic Studies. (Atlanta, Ga.: Scholars Press, 1985) 17-21.

²¹ For more about polysemy in the ancient literature, see Gene Schramm's article about the Twenty-third Psalm that he wrote in a University of Michigan Department of Near East Studies publication, off print, c. 1992; and James Sanders, *Psalms Scroll*, 81. See also James Sanders' translation of *לֵב* “heart” in *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll* (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1967) 131n.

²² William Blake. *Job and His Family*, Watercolor, Butts Set, (1805-1806). The Morgan Library and Museum. Accessed Nov. 29, 2019. <https://www.themorgan.org/collection/William-Blakes-World/18?id=onDisplay&page=16>.

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