

Endnotes for Part 6

Chapter 23

1. See my Introduction to *DSSU*, pp. 2–16.
2. See, for instance, 4Q521 ('*The Messiah of Heaven and Earth*'), Frag. 1, Col. ii.12, 4Q434 and 436 ('*The Hymns of the Poor*'), Frag. 2, Col. i.1–3, etc. in *DSSU*, pp. 19–23 and 232–41.
3. See, in particular, nn. 85 of Chapter 21 and 118 of Chapter 22, but also see nn. 21–22, 42, and 82 of Chapter 21 and 3, 10, 39, 172, and 195 of Chapter 22 above.
4. See 4QMMTii.1–3 and iii.29–34.
5. Cf. 1QSviii.12–23 and ix.16–24; for '*the stumbling block of the Tongue*,' see 4Q525 ('*Beatitudes*')ii.1.
6. For '*puffed up*' in the Habakkuk *Pesher*, see vii.14–16, which introduces the all-important exposition of Habakkuk 2:4: '*the Righteous shall live by his Faith*.'
7. Cf. CDiii.6 and v.7.
8. See Romans 14:1–4 and cf. 1QHix.29–35 and Jerome's '*Gospel of the Hebrews*.'
9. See CDiii.19–iv.12 and 1QSiX.22–25.
10. See Plate 54 (4QD266) above, but also the last fragment of 4QD270, both of which contain this empty space at both the bottom and to the left.
11. Cf. CDi.10–16.
12. Cf. 4QD266.5–7 with CDi.15–16, but also see CDviii.18–19 on '*the Judgement upon all those who reject the Commandments of God and forsake them*' – in particular '*the Builders of the Wall*' (probably '*the Pharisees*') mentioned earlier as '*following the Spouter of Lying*' in iv.19–20 and note xx.3–8, which also continues on to mention both '*the Men of Scoffing*' and '*the Liar*.'
13. Cf. 4QD266.7–8. with xx.3–11, but also see 1QSviii.20–24.
14. See pp. 618–628 and n. 118 of Chapter 22 above.
15. Cf. 1QSiI.4–19, words more or less repeated in 4Q286–87 ('*The Chariots of Glory*' – *DSSU*, pp. 222–30): '*The Community Council Curses Belial*' (now known as '*Blessings*' – 4QBer), Frag. 3, Col. ii.1–12.
16. See pp. 590–600 and, in particular, Chapter 20, nn. 50, 53, and 59–60 above.
17. Cf. CDix.1.
18. 4QpNahii.7–8.
19. See CDxiv.9 on the '*Mebakker*' and cf. 4QD266.10.
20. For a discussion of the relationship of '*the Mourners for Zion*' with the birth and development of the Karaite Movement, see A. Paul, *Ecrits de Qumran et Sectes Juives aux Premiers Siecles de L'Islam: Recherches sur l'origine du Qaraisme*, Paris, 1969 and below, pp. 69–70, 120, 176, 182, 446, and 626.
21. 4QD266.18 and see, for instance, G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English (Revised Edition)*, 2004, p. 154, et. al.
22. 4QD266.18–19. (see *DSSU*, pp. 212–19).
23. See Numbers 6:1–21 and *JBJ*, pp. 222–263 and 939–52.
24. This notice in Acts 18:18–22 would appear to be defective, as it speaks of Paul '*sailing away to Syria*,' '*shaving his head*,' '*coming to Ephesus*,' '*sailing from Ephesus*,' and finally '*landing at Caesarea (and) going up and greeting the Church before going down to Antioch*'; when the '*shaving his head*' probably should have come in connection with activities '*up*' in Jerusalem as it does in Acts 21 and not at Cencrea (the Aegean-side seaport of Corinth) – unless even here, he was involved in a '*temporary Nazirite oath*' procedure of some kind.
25. Cf. Acts 21:22–23 and for more on the requirements of '*cutting off one's hair*,' see *M. Naz.* 3:4–6, which even includes reference to Queen Helen's Seven-year Nazirite oath, 6:1–10, and 7:1–9:2 and commentaries. One point of relevance to Paul in 18:18 would seem to be *M. Naz.* 1:6 which seems to put a minimum of '*thirty days*' on a traveler's '*Nazirite oath*' before shaving his head and *M. Naz.* 3:1–3 which pursues this point.
26. Cf. 1QSiI.2, viii.21–3, 25, ix.6, CDxx.2–5, xx.7, etc.
27. 1QSi.16–18.
28. 1QSiI.9–11.
29. Cf. Matthew 5:18/Luke 16:17.
30. 1QSiI.24, ii.26, v.10, etc.
31. Cf. 1QpHabv.11–12 with CDi.15–16.
32. In particular, the kind of texts we are

- talking about are 4QFlor, 4QTest, 4QTanh, and 4Q252-253 (otherwise known as 4QCommGen).
33. The documents of this latter kind which exist are materials like Ben Sira, Jubilees, Wisdom, Enoch, The Testament of Levi, and the like, most from a previous period and not specifically 'new' as such; but even many of these display the characteristics of this 'Opposition' or 'sectarian' Movement.
 34. These usages occur in CDvi.2, vi.7, vi.11, xii.20-21, xiii.2, xx.14, etc., whereas the actual allusion to 'the Teacher of Righteousness' occurs in i.11 as we have seen.
 35. Cf. 1QSvi.12, vi.19-20, CDix.17-19, ix.22, xiii.5-7, 13-16 (these last three references include allusion to being 'over all the camps' just as references to 'the High Priest Commanding the Many' do), xiv.8-12, xv.7-8, xv.11, xv.14, etc.; that to 'the Cohen,' xiv.6-7 and 4QD266.8-9.
 36. Cf. CDxiii.6.
 37. CDxiv.8-10.
 38. CDiv.19-21 and viii.13/CDxix.31-32 and cf. CDi.14-15, xx.10-11, 1QpHabv.11, x.9-12, etc.
 39. Cf. CDvi.10-11 above.
 40. CDxx.10-12.
 41. CDxx.14-15.
 42. Ibid. Note that this is followed in CDxx.15-17 with the quotation from Hosea 1:4 that 'there is no King, no Prince, no Judge, and none to judge with Righteousness.' If we were to associate this with 'Christian' tradition, this would approximately agree with the period between the death of the Gospel 'Jesus' and that of Paul – if we could precisify it – approximately 40 years later.
 43. See 1QHii.31 and iv.9-10 and cf. CDxx.10-11 above.
 44. The material about 'the Dajjal' in islamic tradition is generally to be found in the Hadith literature, but it is a de3p-seated belief among Sunnis.
 45. We shall cover this 'remembrance' notation further below, but not only is it found in Gospel renditions of 'the Last Supper,' but a variation (as we shall see) occurs in CDxx.19 in 'the Book of Remembrance that would be written out for God-Fearers.' Another variation also occurs in Pseudoclementine Recognitions scene of the miraculous 'whitening' of the tomb of the two brothers who were 'remembered before God.'
 46. This is true of passages from CDvii-viii, which can be found in 4QD266, Frag 3, Col. iii; but unfortunately, as far as I can tell, few if any parallels have yet been found to CDxix/xx (i. e., Ms. B) as far as they are not paralleled by vii-viii. This means, of course, that the Damascus Document was probably still in a state of flux or developing at the time of the deposit or abandonment of the Scrolls in the caves, as I have already alluded to above.
 47. Cf. 4QD270, Frag. 2, Col. ii.13-14 and cf. 4QD266, Frag. 8, Col. ii.
 48. Cf. *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Revised Edition), p. 130 and my *DSSU*, pp. 361. I have contended, that this usage 'Mashichehu'/'His Messiah(s)' in Hebrew is idiomatic. For me, as just explained, this is proven by the singular adjective 'ha-Kodesh'/'Holy' attached to it. If understood as a plural, normally the adjective should be plural as well; but, as already explained, in all cases, there are exceptions.
 49. CDv.21-vi.2.
 50. Cf. CDi.14-16 with 4QD266, Frag. 11, Lines 10-14
 51. CDi.20-21; cf. Vermes in *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, p. 130 above.
 52. Cf. CDi.21 with Galatians 5:16, Romans 8:1-8:4, etc.
 53. See 1QpHabii.1-10.
 54. Cf. MZCQ, pp. xv, 35, 41-43, etc, and *JJHP*, pp. vii-viii, 22-41, 52-643, etc.
 55. He started this kind of derogation in his 1995 edition (*The Fourth Edition*) of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, pp. xxx-xxxii above (even though, as he himself admits on p. xxi, he benefited mightily from the publication of almost all the previously unpublished plates by Prof. James Robinson and myself in 991) and continued this on through all subsequent editions up to *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, (Revised Edition), pp. 21 and 65, grouping me with Barbara Thiering and remarking 'Only the sensation-seeking media have been taken in by their theories (sic)' – this from the brave and insightful Oxford don!
- But look at his insightful conclusion in this section on p. 25: 'Essenism is dead...and though the Teacher of Righteousness clearly sensed the deeper obligations implicit in the Mosaic Law, he was without the genius of Jesus the Jew (his own designation), who succeeded in uncovering the essence of religion as an existential relationship between man and man and man and God' – my, my, such profound detachment. This is scholarship? He acts like he was really there. Two hundred years of research into 'the Historical Jesus' have just completely passed him by.
56. 'The straw man,' I am speaking about I described on pp. 47-48, nn. 64-66 above, confusing me with the theories of J. Teicher of Cambridge University in his own *Journal of Jewish Studies* in 1951 and 1955, who in the early days of Qumran research considered Jesus 'the Righteous Teacher' and Paul 'the Wicked Priest.'
- While I am flattered to be grouped in such illustrious company, obviously if Paul is the Establishment Wicked Priest, he can laugh as much as he wants; but he hasn't a clue, as I have explained above as well, that in my theories I have always distinguished between 'the Wicked Priest' and 'the Liar'/'Spouter of Lying' – which he, manifestly lacking in historical perspicuity and text-critical acumen, does not – identifying 'the Wicked Priest' as Ananus ben Ananus, responsible for the death of James, and the internal adversary known as 'the Liar'/'Windbag'/'Spouter of Lying'/'Comedian', as

- Paul.
- In so doing, as I have also explained in detail above, he demonstrates conclusively and with certitude that he has not read my articles or books to any extent before criticizing them and, moreover, hasn't a clue what they are about. Nevertheless, this doesn't prevent him from criticizing my works in all the ones of his own which he meticulously pinpoints in footnotes just so the reader will not be unaware of all the times he has done so and even giving a reference to the *DSSU*, 1992 as a source, page number (as I have pointed out previously) missing – not surprisingly since the point he is alluding to is not there! Was he relying on a student or hearsay for this citation or did he make this amazing discovery about my position himself? This is what is meant by 'setting up a straw man' and then proceeding to demolish him.
57. Cf. the first paper I gave to the Society of Biblical Literature in 1976: 'James the Just as Righteous Teacher' and my upgrading this and other papers in the two books *MZCQ*, Leiden, 1983 and *JJHP*, Leiden, 1986 and the references in n. 54 above. I continue this in Chapter 26: 'He rejected the Law in the Midst of their Whole Assembly,' pp. 848-888 below. That means I have been talking about this for thirty years. I hope that will be sufficient for Prof. Vermes (and others like him) to understand!
 58. 1QpHabI.11, viii.8 and 16, etc. and 4QpPs 37iv.8-10.
 59. 1QpHabviii.16-17 and xi.12-14.
 60. See *The Messiah Jesus and John the Baptist*, New York, 1931, pp. 540-46.
 61. See Romans 2:25-3:1, 3:30, 4:9-12, 8:1-9:8, 15:8, Galatians 5:2-6:5, etc.
 62. *War* 2.8/Ant.17.207
 63. See also Hebrews 1:17, 4:14, 9:9-10, 10:21-2, etc.
 64. See, for instance, how 'the Sons of Zadok' are described in CDiv.2-4 or 'the Priesthood after the Order of Melchizedek' in Hebrews 5:4-11 and 7:5-28. The point is that both these designations are parallel and playing off the usage 'Z-D-K' or 'Righteousness' in Hebrew.
 65. 1QpHabviii.13 and xii.8
 66. Cf. *War* 2.409-416 with 1QpHabii.3-6.
 67. 1QpHabii.1-6, but also see CDxx.14-15.
 68. Cf. James 1:22-27, 2:9-12, 4:11, and 4:17 and the 'doing', 'keeping', and 'breaking' usages in CDi.20, ii.18-iii.3, iii.12, iv.1, vi.14, xx.2, xx.17, xx.21-22 and 1QpHabii.6, vii.11, viii.1, etc.
 69. Cf. 1QpHabxii.4-5 with 3-5 and 4QpNahiv.5-7 with 4QpPs 37ii.9-10, iii.10, 1QSVi.20, viii.10-25, viii.19, etc.
 70. 4QpNahiv.4-8.
 71. That the Northern Kingdom was referred to throughout the Prophets as 'Ephraim' (Joseph's more powerful son according to the blessings of Jacob), one has only to consult Isaiah 7:2-17, 11:13, Jeremiah 31:6-20, Ezekiel 37:16-19, Hosea 4:17-14:8, etc.
 72. Cf. CDxx.19-20 with 1 Corinthians 11:24-5 and Luke 22:19.
 73. Ps. *Rec.* 1.70-71.
 74. This is to be found in 1QpHabvii.5-14 and clearly involves 'the Last Era', 'the Final Times', and 'the End' and just as clearly states the proposition that these 'shall be prolonged' and 'exceed anything the Prophets have foretold.'
- Moreover the passage under exposition is Habakkuk 2:3 preceding Habakkuk 2:4: 'The Righteous shall live by his Faith' and the exegesis is attributed to 'the Righteous Teacher', and the application (just as the exposition of Habakkuk 2:4 that follows) only to 'the Doers of Torah,' i. e. by implication it did not apply to 'non-Doers' either within or without 'the House of Judah.' Nothing could be closer to 'the Delay of the Parousia' in Christian theology to follow, except it has, once more, been 'Paulinized,' i. e., extended, reversed, and applied now to 'non-Torah-doing Pauline Gentile Christians.'
75. See S. Goranson, 'Essenes: Etymology from 'Asah,' *Revue de Qumran*, xv, 1984, pp. 483-98.
 76. See Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 29.1.3-4, 4.9, and 5.1-7.1.
 77. Cf. 4QpNahiii.1-10 and 1QpHabx.5-13.
 78. 4QpNahiii.1-2.
 79. See, for instance, M. Allegro and A. A. Anderson, *DJD V:1* (4Q158-4Q186), Oxford, 1968 and J. Strugnell, 'Notes en marge du volume V des DJD,' *Revue de Qumran*, vii, 1976, pp. 163-276.
 80. Cf. CDxix.10-11, but also see iii.19, iv.4, vi.10-11, vi.21, xx.5, xx.18, xx.33-34, etc. and cf. *E.I.* 2.23.33 and *pars.*
 81. See 4QSD265, Frags. 1-2 and cf. 1QSVii.13-17, CDxiv.22, and 4QD270, Frag. 7. I had already called attention to this overlap, observing that CD and 1QS were therefore virtually parts of the same ongoing document, without recourse to the new manuscripts in *MZCQ* in 1983.
 82. Psalm 37:17-19 and cf. 4QpPs 37.iii.1 which overlaps CDiv.2-3, vi.4-5, and viii.16, to say nothing of xx.17.
 83. Cf. 4QpPs 37.iii.1-2, which also mentions 'the inheritance of Adam' and 'Salvation' in the same breath, with CDvii.5-6 and xx.21-22.
 84. CDvi.5 and viii.16.
 85. CDiv.2-3 and see pp. 656-670 above.
 86. CDvi.14-vii.5.
 87. See my comments on pp. 44-51 above – in particular nn. 57 and 62 – and in J. Atwill and S. Braunheim (with charts and with my participation), 'Redating the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls' in *DSD* (11/2), Leiden, 2004, pp. 144-57.
 88. Cf. pp. 51-57 above and see below, pp. 731-36, 758, 772, 788, 792, 808, and 904.
 89. 1QpHabvi.3-8.
 90. See *War* 6.316.
 91. See *JJHP*, pp. 27-8 and *War* 3.132-4, 141-339, 409-54, 4.11-83, etc.
 92. See *Ant.* 18.65-84 (an episode, of course, missing from the *War*) and cf. 18.56-59/*War* 2.171-74..
 93. *Ant.* 18.288-309/*War* 2.190-205.

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94. 1QpHabviii.11-13 and ix.4-7.
 95. Cf. *Ant.* 20. 181 and 206-7.
 96. See *War* 2.409-416 above.
 97. Cf. 1QpHabvii.8-viii.3.
 98. 1QpHabvii.4-5.
 99. 1QpHabii.1-10. This, of course, is the same 'believing' we encounter in the Pauline Corpus and would be all the more meaningful if in it we should find a play on just this sort of thing.
 100. 1QpHabii.6-10.
 101. The description of these 'Kittim' – their ferocity, ruthlessness, and unstoppable – dominate Columns 1QpHabii.10-iv.14 and v.13-vi.11.
 102. 1QpHabii.10-iii.11.
 103. The description of these 'Fortresses' as being 'of the Peoples,' once more reinforces our understanding of these term as descriptive of 'Herodians' – cf. *War* 1.364, 1.402-21, 2.484, *Ant.* 16.143, etc.
 104. 1QpHabvi.11. This is certainly borne out by what Josephus describes happened around the Sea of Galilee in 67 CE, particularly Tarichaea – *War* 3.532-42 (*n.b.*, it is here that Josephus observes that Vespasian's advisers insisted that, where Jews' were concerned, 'no offence could be considered an Impiety').
 105. Cf. 1QpHabix.3-10, above pp. 53-56, 538-46. and *JHP*, pp. 44-48 and 100. This formula is so simple, it is hard to envision any other explanation.
 106. See 1QpHabviii.10-ix.12 and cf. 4QpPs 37ii.18-20 and iv.9-10.
 107. 1QpHabxii.2-6.
 108. See above, pp. 45-54, particularly n. 57, and in J. Atwill and S. Braunheim (with charts and with my participation as noted above), 'Redating the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls' in *DSD* (11/2), Leiden, 2004, pp. 144-57.
 109. Cf. 4QpPs 37ii.18-20 and iv.9-10 above.
 110. Note the 'Judgements upon Evil' performed upon the 'corpse' of the Wicked Priest in 1QpHabix.1-2 and 'the Judgement' (here literally, 'the House of Judgement' and probably 'the Last Judgement' as I have explained in detail elsewhere and will explain further below) described in such detail in ix.9-x.5.
 111. 1QpHabxii.2-6 and *E.H.* 2.23.15. Note that, whereas Eusebius quoting Hegeppus only gives Isaiah 3:10: 'they shall eat the fruit of their doing'; Isaiah 3:11 follows this up with: as for 'the Wicked' (in Qumran exposition usually the triphammer for 'the Wicked Priest'), 'the reward of his hands will be done to him' just as here in Habakkuk *Pesher*. Nor can such an exposition be considered accidental. Note, *inter alia*, also 4QpPs 37iv.9-10 and CDvii.9-10/xix.5-6.
 112. Cf. CDxix.8-9.
 113. 4QpPs 37ii.4, iii.12, and iv.18 and cf. CDiii.7, xx.27, etc., above and Paul in Galatians 5:12.
 114. 1QpHabxii.3-9 and *E.I.* 3.27.1-6 on the followers of James as 'the Ebionites.'
 115. See Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 2.
 116. Cf. 1QpHabxii.10-xiii.4 with 4QpPs 37iii.12.
 117. Cf. 1QpHabxii.9-10 with *Ant.* 20.181 and 206-7 and cf. too *Pes.* 57a.
 118. 1QpHabxi.4-9 and below, pp. 786-815.
 119. *Ant.* 20.105-132 and 194-97 and cf. *War* 2.228-46.
 120. 1QpHabviii.8-9.
 121. 1QpHabviii.12.
 122. Cf. *E.I.* 1.9.2-3 and 11.9. It is these 'Acts' that cause him to give the interpolated material from Josephus about 'Jesus' and also even the counter-indicative material about John the Baptist in order to contradict these.
 123. 4QpPs 37ii.18-20.
 124. 4QpPs 37iv.8-10.
 125. 1QpHabix.1-2.
 126. 4QpPs 37iii.1.
 127. Cf. 4QpPs 37ii.19-20 and iv.9-12 with CDi.7-9.
 128. 4QpPs 37ii.6-11.
 129. 4QpPs 37ii.11-13..
 130. 4QpPs 37i.26-7 and cf. 1QpHabx.9-12.
 131. Cf. CDxx.13-5 with 4QpPs 37ii.7-10.
 132. 4QpPs 37ii.7 with CDviii.4-5 and cf. too i.12-13.
 133. 4QpPs 37ii.12-13 and cf. 1QpHabvii.10-viii.3.
 134. 4QpPs 37ii.9-10 and 18-20.
 135. For 'Salvation,' see 4QpPs 37iii.19 and iv.19-20 and cf. ii.7-8 and 19-20.
 136. Cf. 4QpPs 37ii.19 with *Ant.* 20.200-201 and also see 1QpHabxii.3-10.
 137. This is what Eusebius is railing about in *E.I.* 1.9.2-11.9, where he himself actually quotes the two passages from Josephus about Jesus and John the Baptist in *Ant.* 18.63-64 and 116-19.
 138. 1QpHabii.1-10.
 139. 1QpHabii.6-8.
 140. See 1QpHabviii.9-13 above.
 141. 1QpHabix.4-7.
 142. *Ant.* 20.214.
 143. *War* 1.486-87 and *Ant.* 15.253-266 (note the individual called 'the sons of Baba' here (some consider this to be 'sons of Saba'), who are described as popular with the citizens of Jerusalem and who are protected by Costobarus (triggering his execution) because they wanted to resist the Roman take-over. Who are they? Why do we hear so little about them?
 144. *War* 1.486-87 and *Ant.* 15.252-259.
 145. Cf. *Ant.* 15.259-62 with 20.139-47. It is here he also describes the marriage of Mariamne to Demetrius the Alabarch of Alexandria after divorcing Polemo who had expressly circumcised himself at the request of her father Agrippa to marry her. In doing so, he also describes how Drusilla married Felix under similar circumstances and the death of their son in the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE. Moreover, here too, he mentions the role of the infamous 'Simon Magus' / 'Atomus' in this.
 146. *Ant.* 15.164-267.
 147. *Ant.* 15.365-69 with 18.116-19.
 148. 4QMMTii.3-9.

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149. Cf. CDi.20-21 and 1QHr.9-10, ii.32-4, iii.25 (all 'nephesh-Ebion'/'the soul of the Poor One'), and v.14 (this is 'nephesh-'Ani'/'the soul of the Meek One').
150. *War* 4.228-353 and 566-72 and cf. *Ant.* 20.200 on the death of James.
151. See *War* 2.566, 3.11, 20-28 here Niger is called 'the Pereaitē' and emerges from the ground after being thought dead for three days!).
152. *War* 2.520
153. Cf. *War* 2.520, 2.567, and 3.11.
154. *War* 4.359-63. As we have been suggesting, much in Niger's life and death recalls the picture of 'Jesus' life and death in the Gospels.
155. *War* 4.335-43.
156. See 2 Chronicles 24:20-2, where the individual killed in this manner of called 'Zechariah son of Yehoiada the High Priest,' not 'Zechariah son of Iddo' as described in Zechariah 1:1-2; moreover this is sometime in the 700's before the Assyrian conquest. Of course, Ezra 5:1 and 6:14 have the chronology right; and naturally there is nothing in these about the death of one 'Zacharias son of Barachias whom you slew between the Temple and the altar.' The only such individual that even remotely resembles this description is the traitorous collaborator described in *War* 4.335-43.
157. These names are those ascribed to these tombs by tradition, though recently there has been a plaque discovered attached to one of the neighboring tombs, called 'the Tomb of Absalom,' ascribing it to that 'Zachariah' considered to be the father of John the Baptist (see n. 130 in Chapter 2 above and the article referred to by J. Zias and E. Puech). For pictures of these tombs, see Plates 83, 86, and 90 below and for their relationship to 'the Pinnacle of the Temple' and these tombs, see Plate 81.
158. See *War* 2.18-20 above.
159. See *War* 4.81-82.
160. *War* 4.140-46.
161. 4QpPs 37iii.7-8.
162. CDviii.6-8/xix.18-20.
163. 4QpPs 37iii.11-12.
164. 1QpHabix.9-12.
165. 1QpHabv.3-5.
166. For this 'Day of Judgement' and these same 'Evil Ones,' see 1QpHabxii.12-xiii.4 above; for 'the hand of the Messiah,' 'the hand of the Poor' and 'the sword of no mere Man,' see 1QMxi.7-13.
167. 4QpPs 37iii.5-7.
168. 4QpPs 37iii.1-8.
169. See *Vita* 193-204 and cf. *War* 4.160, 238-83, and 316-25.
170. *War* 4.238-42 (Jesus speaking) and 4.326-33 (Josephus' own words).
171. *War* 4.314-325.
172. 1QpHabviii.11-13 and ix.4-7. The allusion about 'collecting taxes' or 'tax-farming' literally occurs in vi.1-7.
173. Cf. *War* 1.152-3/*Ant.* 14.72 for Pompey; *War* 1.354-7/*Ant.* 14.481-2-86 for Herod.
174. See 1QpHabix.4-5 above.
175. Cf. 1QpHabix.5 with CDrx.7.
176. Cf. Vermes, *op. cit.*, p. 514, etc.
177. 1QpHabviii.13.
178. 1QpHabix.6-7 above.
179. Cf. *Ant.* 20.139-47 above.

Chapter 24

1. *War* 2.197 and 409-16 and cf. *Ap.* 2.77.
2. CDv.8-11 and viii.6-7 above and see the Table of Herodian genealogies below, pp. 1010-11, and note the number of nice marriage and marriage with close family cousins.
3. See *Vita* 2-5.
4. Again, see the genealogies on pp. 1009-11 below.
5. For a description of this situation, see *War* 2.407-32 and for Josephus' command and activities in Galilee, see *War* 2.568-76. This use of the term 'Innovators' and 'Innovations' is widespread in Josephus and relates very closely to a combination of religious 'innovation' with revolutionary activity.
6. *Ant.* 19.328-31.
7. *Ant.* 19.332-34.
8. Cf. 1QMxii.1-12., CDiv.3, xx,10, xx.13, 1QSViii.9, ix.6, etc.,
9. Cf. *JBj*, pp. 532-39, 600-04, 640-44, etc., *Ant.* 332-4 above, and *Ps. Rec.* 1.171.
10. *M. Sota* 7:8 and cf. *M. Bik.* 3-4.
11. 11QTLvi.12-19 and lviii.15-20.
12. 11QTXlvi.9-12, xlvi.5-18, and lxvi.13-16..
13. Cf. 11QTXlvi.9-12 above and my Appendix in *JJHP*, pp. 86-94.
14. Cf. See F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library at Qumran*, pp. 135 and 140 (and, in general, pp. 127-60) who set the tone for this whole approach; but also see G. Vermes in his first *Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, London, 1962, pp. 62ff., J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judea*, London, 1959, pp. 44-98, and F.F. Bruce, *Second Thoughts on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Exeter, 1956, p. p. 100, who sums up their general position quite succinctly; and cf. *Ant.* 12.414, 419, and 434.
15. Cf. 1QM.4-ii.13, CDi.5-12, xx.13-17, Matthew 3:7, 18:22, 24:15 and *pars.*, Revelation 6:17, 14:10ff., etc.
16. *War* 2.7.
17. *War* 2.406-502, 6.236-43, *Vita* 340-67, 402-10, *Apion* 1.51, etc. and see, *JBj*, pp. 67-69 citing Tacitus, *Annal.* 2.85 and 15.44 and Sulpicius Severus, *Historia Sacra* 2.30-1.
18. *War* 2.427.
19. Note the peculiar usage 'be-'orot' in 11QTXlvii.4-18 (following allusion to 'ballar' and protecting the purity of the Temple) and 4QMMTii.18-24 (following allusion to beginning 'things sacrificed to idols' as representative of all 'Gentile' offerings in the Temple and cf. *San.* 105a-106b.
20. See 2 Samuel 16:7. 20:1, and 2 Chronicles 13.7; in 1Kings 21:13, for instance, two 'sons of Belial' are directly involved at the instigation of Jezebel in the stoning of

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- Naboth for blasphemy and for opposing the King.
21. See *San.* 105a above and my Appendix on 'Ballā'/Bela' in the Temple Scroll' in *JJHP*, pp. 87-94, which also includes a discussion of Job 20:15, which is replete with Qumranism such as 'stealing from the Poor,' 'the Tongue,' 'the poison of asps,' etc. and contains the original of the passage found in the Temple Scroll in XLVI alluding to 'Ballā'/Bela' and playing on 'swallowing'.
 22. See *War* 3.445-502.
 23. Cf. 1QpHabvi.1-11 above and note that this has been interpreted as 'the Year of the Three Emperors' (68CE) and how these changes in the Senate Chamber were perceived abroad.
 24. See, for instance, Josephus' description of Pontius Pilate's attempt to introduce the military standards into the City of Jerusalem which carried upon them 'the busts of the Emperor' in *Ant.* 18.55-59 and *War* 2.169-74 and cf. A. D. Nock, 'The Roman Army and the Roman Religious Year,' *HTR*, XLIV, 1952, p. 239, Tacitus, *Hist.* 4.62 and *Annals* 1.39.7 and 2.17.2, Tertullian, *Apology* 16.8, and Pliny, *N.H.* 13.3.23. Also note, Suetonius on Vespasian 6.2 and Titus 4.1 on the number of busts and statues of the latter among his former legionnaires.
 25. 4QpNahii.2-4 and note how, in the rest of this *Peshet*, usages like overseas 'Apostles,' a 'Lying Tongue,' 'walking in Lying,' 'deceitful lips,' 'the Last Days,' 'the Simple of Ephraim,' 'joining,' etc., are pervasive.
 26. This accusation is very strong in Christian theology as it develops and note how Josephus himself several times uses it, starting with his Introduction to the Jewish *War* 1.10.
 27. Such a reference may be found in that to 'Mezad-Hassidim'/'the Fortress of the Hassidim' in the parallel documents from the Wadi Murabba'at (*Mur.* 45.6), which may in fact actually refer to Masada if not to the actual structures at Qumran.
 28. For a general description, see *Ber.* 47b, but for the widest employment of this description in the *Mishnah*, see, for instance, *M. Dem.* 1.1-2.3. *M. Sh.* 3:3-4:6, *Hag.* 2:7, *Git.* 5:9, etc.
 29. CDVIII.5-10 and cf. v.13-4.
 30. CDVIII.6.
 31. CDV.11-12
 32. CDVIII.3/xix.16
 33. CDVIII.12-13/xix.24-6. There are two versions here: the first (Ms. A) literally mentions 'the Spouter of Lying.' The second (Ms. B) actually speaks of 'the Spouter of Adam for Lying,' which is obviously corrupt but trying to say something. Still it contains the material about 'walking in the Spirit' from Micah 2:11 upon which the whole passage is based.
 34. CDVIII.13/xix.21.
 35. 4Q434-7 and cf. *DSSU*, pp. 233-41.
 - 36(16).4Q434ii.5-6 and ii.8-9/4Q437ii.8-10 amid reference 'vipers,' 'cursing' and a general picture of Hell and cf. the parallels in 4Q525 (*Beatitudes*)v.1.1-8.
 36. See A. N. Sherwyn-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford, 1939, pp. 270-5 and Chapter 23, n. 77 above – the Romans being 'the Princes Gentium'/'the Lord of the Peoples.'
 37. 1QpHabviii.11 and 16 and cf. CDi.3 and 20 and viii.3/xix.15-16.
 38. 1QpHabix.1-2 and cf. Vermes, *op. cit.*, p. 514 and *pars.* and note my full discussion of this passage and this word in *JJHP*, pp. 49-51 and 97.
 39. See Vermes above, Cross, pp. 142-160, Milik, pp. 59-70, etc. and note the word 'woundings'/'mahalalot' with the feminine plural in the document Prof. Wise and myself discovered (4Q285: 'The Messianic Leader,' since considered part of the War Scroll) and the verb based on the same root in 11QTXLVI.11 clearly meaning not 'to cause disease' but to 'defile it,' i. e., 'the Temple.'
 40. *Ibid.* and cf. 4QpPs 37iv.8-11 with 1QpHabix.1-2 and 9-12 above.
 41. *War* 2.647-51 is his first use of it and it is not insignificant that it occurs in conjunction with the mention of Ananus and what he calls the 'misinterpretation' of certain 'omens' (among which he most certainly includes his later mention of 'the Messianic Prophecy'). His second is in *War* 4.160-61 where he discusses the opposition of 'the Zealots' to Ananus (whom at one point he even opposed himself), as usual turning the usage around, saying it did not mean 'zealous in the cause of virtue, as they claimed, but rather for vice in it most disgusting and unbridled form.'
- Cf. the way Paul makes the same reversal in describing his more 'zealous' opponents in Galatians 4:16-18 who are obviously calling him 'the Enemy' and/or 'the Liar' and whom he feels 'are not zealous in the right way!'
42. *War* 4.314-15. One should not that in 4.316 in describing the desecration of the bodies of these High Priest, he actually uses the word 'corpse' just as the Habakkuk *Peshet* does here in relation to 'the Wicked Priest.'
 43. *Vita* 193-216 and 309 and in these passages, Josephus (contrary to here in the *War*) shows real animus towards Ananus – this is very odd. Something peculiar is transpiring between 75 and 96 CE.
 44. *War* 4.318-323
 45. Here, one should note 1QpHabxi.4-11 which, in discussing the 'pursuit' and obviously death or destruction of 'the Righteous Teacher,' alludes to 'the completion of the Fast Day, the Sabbath of their rest.'
 46. 4.318.
 47. The use of this word 'Arab' for Greco-Roman historians was, as we have seen, a very general one that certainly encompassed areas such as Northern Syria; cf. *JBJ*, pp. 886-90 and Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.28, Tacitus, *Annals* 6.44 and 12.12 (who calls King Agbar 'Abar King of the Arabs'), etc.
 48. See *War* 1.6 and cf. Origen, *Contra Celsus*

- 1.47, 2.13, and Comm. in Matt. 10.17 and Eusebius, *E.I.* 2.23.20-21.
49. Cf. *War* 4.317 with 4.316 above.
50. *War* 4.319-20.
51. Cf. Eusebius, *E.I.* 2.6.1-8, 2.23.20-22, 3.6.32, 3.7.8-9, etc. and *pars*.
52. 4QpPs 37ii.19-20 and iv.8-11 and cf. 1QpHabix.1-2, ix.9-x.5, and xi.12-xii.3.
53. 1QpHabxii.6-10.
54. 1QpHabix.4-7.
55. Cf. 1QpHabviii.2-3 (in interpretation of Habakkuk 2:4) and xii.14-xiii.4 with x.3-5.
56. Eusebius, *E.I.* 2.23.15-16 and *pars*.
57. Cf. CDi.18-21.
58. 1QpHabviii.2-3, CDv.4-5, etc.
59. Eusebius, *E.I.* 2.23.12.
60. 1QpHabx.3-4 and x.9-12.
61. Cf. *E.I.* 2.1.4, 2.23.3, and 2.23.16-18 and *pars* with Ps. *Rec.* 1.70.
62. See *War* 4.335-43 and cf. n. 157 in Chapter 23 above about the Tombs of Zechariah and the neighboring one on the other side of the one attributed to James, the so-called 'Tomb of Absalom,' Plates 83, 86, and 90 below.
- 63(62). In Apocryphal Literature, as for instance in 'the Gospel of the Hebrews' reported by Jerome in *Vir. ill.* 2, James will also drink 'the cup of the Lord,' but this will be an entirely different kind of 'Cup,' or so it might seem. Here in 1QpHabxi.2-11, the 'Cup' which the Wicked Priest will have to drink for what he did to the Righteous Teacher will be 'the Cup of the Right Hand of God,' which will more or less parallel what it is here in the Gospels and what it will be in Revelation.
64. I coined this term to make things comprehensible to journalists and in television in television appearances and described this 'Consensus' and its preconceptions and erroneous outlooks in the Introduction to *MZCCQ* (Brill, 1983, pp. xi-xvii and 1-3; but Baigent and Leigh in *Dead Sea Scrolls Deception*, Jonathan Cape, 1991 (under my tutelage), popularized it.
65. See n. 39 above.
66. Cf. 1QpHabxi.5-6 with viii.2 and x.3-5 above.
67. *Loc. cit.*
68. *Loc. cit.*
69. Matthew 24:30, 26:64, Mark 13:26, 14:62, Luke 22:69, Acts 2:33, 7:55-56, Romans 8:34, etc.
70. *Loc. cit.*
71. Cf. 'the Arizei-Go'im' / 'the Violent Ones of the Gentiles' in 4QpPs 37ii.20 and iv.10 above.
72. 1QpHabv.6-8.
73. We have already seen how this theme of 'the Day of Judgement' / 'the Last Judgement' – all synonyms – is repeated in the last two, summing-up columns – the conclusion: 1QpHabxii.14 and 1QpHabxiii.2-3.
74. 4QpPs 37iv.9-10. The word here, which is reconstructed, may either be 'Vengeance' or 'Judgement.' It is 'Judgement' in ii.20.
75. 'Blasphemy' is defined in *M. San.* 7:5-6 and it does not include the expression of sentiments of this kind. It only relates to 'pronouncing the (Forbidden) Name' of God. In any event, the stoning for such an infraction is stoning and not 'hanging' or in this instance supposedly being handed over to the Gentiles for crucifixion.
76. CDi.19-21 and see n. 175 in Chapter 22 above. One should note that in the original expression of this in Deuteronomy 19:6 even the term 'lehamen' / 'heated' or 'to become hot' is employed to characterize how 'the avenger' or 'the pursuer of blood' / 'the go'el's' 'heart' may have become 'overheated'; but this is exactly, as we shall see below, how 1QpHabxi.5-6 will express this in describing the 'anger' or 'fury' / 'hemah' of the Wicked Priest in his 'pursuit' or 'pursuing after' the Righteous Teacher 'to cast him down' or 'destroy him.'
77. *Ibid.*
78. Cf. *War* 2.254-56. In *Ant.* 20,162-66, this account is contradicted somewhat, but having the Roman Governor Felix complicit in this murder. This makes the whole approach of Josephus at this point somewhat suspicious. What is going on here? Does he mean that James was complicit in this murder as a putative inspirer of 'the Sicarii'? If Felix is involved in this murder, it makes no sense to then go on to assert that it was because of these 'impieties' that God withdrew his support from the City and brought the Romans in to 'fire' it and the Temple and reduce 'our wives and out children to slavery' as he does in 20.166.
79. *Euthyphro* 2a-3b.
80. See *R.H.* 31a and cf. *A.Z.* 8b and *San.* 41a, this last having both 'ha-bayit' and 'galtali' in direct conjunction.
81. *A.Z.* 8b and *San.* 41a and see my article in *DSSF*, pp. 247-71: 'Interpreting Abeit-Galuto in the Habakkuk Pesher: Playing on and Transmuting Terms' – in particular, pp. 268-69.
82. This is made particularly clear in *ARN* 4, which actually refers to Isaiah 10:34 and Zechariah 11:2 and likewise even asserts that 'Lebanon' / 'the Strong Forest that is going to fall refers to the Temple'; and it does so in the course of a conversation R. Yohanan is having with Vespasian (of course, an anachronism, but no matter – Josephus is probably the original anyhow), in which he applies to him the 'Lebanon being felled by a Mighty One' as Josephus had doubtlessly done before him and as we have it in 4QpIsiii.7-11 (directly followed by 'a Shoot will spring from the Root of Jesse and a Branch from its roots').
- A stronger First Century dating confirmation could not be found, but one can also find it in *Git.* 56a, also referring to Isaiah 10:33-4 and *Yoma* 39b referring to Zechariah 11:1 as here in *ARN*. Actually 4QpIs^c, in fact, combines Isaiah 30 with Zechariah 11.
83. Cf. *R.H.* 31a-b above. For this issue of

- 'swallowing,' see my 'The Historical Provenance of the "Three Nets of Belial" Allusion in the Zadokite Document and Balla' Bela' in the Temple Scroll,' *Folia Orientalia*: U. of Cracow/Mogilany, xxv, 1988, pp. 31–66 and 'The Final Proof that James and the Righteous Teacher are the Same,' *DSSFC*, pp. 332–51 and below, pp. 798–849.
84. See *M. San.* 6:3–4, *San.* 45a–b, which is directly followed by all the discussions about 'being hung upon a tree,' and 2 *Apoc. Jas.* 62.1–14; for 'the Enemies,' see 105a–107a and above, pp. 740–69.
85. See, in particular, *A. Z.* 8b above, which actually sets forth this proposition. The same by implication in *San.* 41a although with less specificity. Both are concerned with the fall of the Temple in 70 CE.
86. Cf. 1QpHabix.1–x.5, xi.12–15, and xii.2–10 above.
87. 1QpHabxi. In received Habakkuk, this is significantly different: 'looked upon their privy parts' which, of course, would have the most profound meaning for what Paul is so concerned about in Galatians 2:3–5, with particular emphasis on what turns out to be 'circumcision' (a reference to which will now directly follow in the *Pesher* in Line 13) or the lack thereof. Also see my translation of this line and my comments in *DSSFC*, pp. 412–14. It is impossible to say which is correct.
88. 1QpHabxi.13 and see n. 87 above.
89. 1QpHabxi.6–9 and see my article in *DSSFC*, pp. 247–71: 'Interpreting Abeit-Galuto in the Habakkuk *Pesher*: Playing on and Transmuting Terms' in n. 81 above. Also see n. 45 above.
- This article was first given at the Groningen conference in 1989, but the promise to publish all papers at this Conference in the *Revue de Qumran* was broken by the editors of the Journal at the time (including E. Puech of the *École Biblique*) and that is the reason it was finally published by Z. Kapera – to his credit – in Cracow in 1991 as part of his Second Volume of 'Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls,' pp. 177–96 before it was then reprinted in *DSSFC* in 1996.
90. 1QpHabxi.6–8.
91. Cf. 1QpHabxi.14–15 with 1QpHabxii.2–6.
92. 1QpHabxiii.1–4. It should be noted that these 'Evil Ones of His (Own) People who kept His Commandments only when convenient' have already been referred to in 1QpHabv.4–7 in its description of how 'by the hand of the Elect (i.e., 'the Sons of Zadok' in CDiv.2–4) God would execute Judgement on all the Nations' and not the other way round as people like Josephus, Paul, the authors of the Gospels, and theologians like Eusebius seem to think in the light of their observation of history and, in the course of this, their reversal of this proposition.
93. See, for instance Ko 2:39, 126, 174–75 (including the palpably 'Jamesian' dietary regulations), 3:185, 73:12, 74:26 (including use of 'the Day of Judgement' in 46 as we saw), 82:15 ((including use of 'the Day of Judgement'), 84:12, 92:14, etc.
94. See, for instance, J. T. Milik, *op. cit.*, p. 67f., F. M. Cross, *op. cit.*, p. 153, S. Talmon, 'The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judaean Desert' in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Jerusalem, 1958, pp. 162–99, A. Jaubert, 'Le calendrier des Jubiles et de la secte de Qumran: Ses origines bibliques,' *V.T.* 3, 1955, pp. 250–64, etc.
95. This is the position of G. Vermes, *op. cit.*, p. 515 and, in fact in all his previous published translations starting in 1962. For my complete translation of the Habakkuk *Pesher* (which I hope to be a little more accurate) with Hebrew transcription, so the reader may judge for him or herself, see *DSSFC*, pp. 403–21.
96. See the 'Translator's Foreword,' Line 28, which explains that 'It was in the Thirty-eighth Year of the Late King Evergetes' (probably Ptolemy VII and, therefore, around 132 BC) upon his arrival in Egypt that the translator – who identifies himself in Ben Sira 50:27–29 as 'Jesus ben Sira Eleazar of Jerusalem' – found the work. One should also note the additions in Hebrew *Ben Sira* from 50:4–51:55, which has now been found at both Masada and in the materials in the Cairo *Genizah* and, not only speaks of 'the Pious Ones,' but also attributes to this Simeon the Righteous at the point of this Yom Kippur Atonement in the Holy of Holies in the Temple, the Zealot 'Covenant of Phineas,' identifying it to some degree with that to 'the Sons of Zadok'; see *MZCQ*, pp. 6–15.
97. Cf. Eusebius, *E.I.* 2.23.2–1, quoting Hegesippus and Clement, Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 2, Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 29.4.1–4, 78.7.7–9, and *pars.*
98. *War* 2.7/*Ant.* 17.207 in the aftermath of the disturbances in 4 BC at Herod's death and leading up to the imposition of direct Roman Rule and the Census of Cyrenius in 6–7 CE. It is interesting that these are the two times associated in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke respectively with the birth of 'Jesus' – the first 'Seventy Years' before the outbreak of the final War against Rome in 66 CE.
- But, what is equally if not even more interesting, it is precisely at this moment that Josephus takes time out to describe the sects among the Jews as he knows them – in the first, in particular, 'the Essenes' whom he dotes over in loving detail as if they were first established at this time (for the Pseudoclementines, they were); in the second, the 'Movement' initiated by 'Judas the Galilean' we now all know of as 'the Zealots' or 'Sicarii.' Why?
99. For the issues behind this event, see Josephus, *Ant.* 20.197–207; for this matter of 'blasphemy' and unlawfully pronouncing the Divine Name God, see *M. San.* 7:6 and n. 75 above.
100. Cf. 1QpHabv.3–5, viii.2–3, ix.1–2, ix. 8–12, xi.7–15, xii.10, 4QpPs 37ii.14–20, iii.12,

- iv,8-11, 4QpIs^m.1-10, 4QpIs^r Frags. 8-10 and 21-23, etc. and see how many parallels there are to this kind of language. One should also not all references to 'yeshu' / 'salvation' and the like there are in this Third Chapter of Isaiah. In fact, this is the way, as I have tried to point out, Biblical passages were probably chosen for exposition at Qumran – in order to bring this kind of exegesis out of the text.
101. Cf. Eusebius, *E.I.* 2.23.15 and pars. and see my JBJ, pp. 466-88. etc. One should also note that similar versions of this passage with slight linguistic variations in the Greek are to be found in Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 133 and Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.* 3.22.
102. Cf. 1QpHabix.1 and xii.2-3 and 4QpPs 37iv.9-11 above and see my revised discussion of the parallel of this passage from Isaiah 3:20-11 with its insertion into Column xii of the Habakkuk Peshier in JJHP in DSSFC, pp. 184-95.
103. For 'the Poor' as the followers of the Righteous Teacher in the Habakkuk Peshier, see this description in xii.2-10; but also see the introduction of this term in crucifixion contexts at Qumran, such as 1QMxi.9ff., xiii.13f., and 1QHii.32ff., iii.25, v.18, and v.23 in conjunction with 'Hesed'; i. e., 'the Ebionai-Hesed' / 'the Poor Ones of Piety.'
104. Cf. 4QpPs 37ii.9 (here 'Anayyim' / 'the Meek' plural), ii.10, ii.15 and ii.23 ('Doers of the Torah' as in 1QpHab), ii.16 ('cAni and Ebion'), and iv.11 with 1QpHabvii.10-11, viii.1-23, and xii.4-5.
- Chapter 25
1. *War* 1.32.
 2. 1QMxii.10/xix.2.
 3. See ARN 4.4, 19b-20a and cf. Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 30.16.4-6..
 4. *Tā'an.* 5b and also see 6a-6b, evoking Isaiah 45:8: 'the day on which rain falls is as great as the day Heaven and Earth were created' (note the allusion 'Heaven and Earth' again so often associated with James' name or being in the sources), and my article 'Eschatological "Rain" Imagery in the War Scroll and the Letter of James,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 49(2), U. of Chicago, reprinted in DSSFC, pp. 272-87.
 5. Cf. CDvi.10-11 and xx.13-14.
 6. See n. 173 in Chapter 23 above and cf. *War* 1.152-3/*Ant.* 14.72 for Pompey; and *War* 1.354-7/*Ant.* 14.481-2-86 for Herod.
 7. See above, pp. 559 and 732 and cf. Matthew 26:59-65 and pars.
 8. See nn. 75 and 84 in Chapter 24 above and cf. *M. San.* 6:3-4 and 7:5-6 and *San.* 45a-b.
 9. See Matthew 26:57-66/Mark 14:53-64, and by implication Luke 22:66-71 and the curious discussion in John 10:22-38 which tries to explain the whole issue in terms of claiming to be 'the Son of God,' but these are all framed in terms of later 'Christian' theology and claiming to be 'the Christ the Son of God,' as Matthew/Mark/and Luke would put it in their own various ways, is not a blasphemous offence according to *M. Sanhedrin* above. From the material, too, we have already seen about the death penalty being withdrawn from the Sanhedrin in the forty years before the fall of the Temple when the Sanhedrin was transferred from 'the Chamber of Hewn Stone' to a 'House' called 'Beit-Hanut' outside the city (not very different from the note here about 'the House of the High Priest' in the Gospel of Luke). In any event, Pilate had the power to impose the death sentence for sedition by crucifixion, which was never in the lexicon of Jewish capital punishments as we have seen.
 10. Cf. 11QTXLVI.9-12 above.
 11. *Ant.* 20.214-16.
 12. See, for instance, references such as those concerning the final Apocalyptic War against Evil in 1QMii.9-14, etc. and chronology relating to 'the Righteous Teacher' and 'the Community' in CDi.5-10 and xx.14-15.
 13. 1QpHabix.9-11.
 14. See, for instance, F. M. Cross who, as in most things concerning the Dead Sea Scrolls, sets the tone for the debate, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 1958, pp. 149-52 and like Vermes in 1962 and thereafter, even includes the translation 'drunkenness' in his rendering of this passage (1QpHabxi.12-14). so sure is he of his translation that he even comments somewhat casually by way of humor, 'Simon (his candidate for 'the Wicked Priest') consumed one cup too many,' This is typical; cf. Milik, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-72, Vermes, in his earliest work in 1953, pp. 99-100, et. al.
 15. Cf. Vermes in his Third Edition of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*, 1988, p. 33.
 16. This is the reference incorporating the all-important citation from Isaiah 3:10-11, applied in Early Church literature to the death of James, I referred to above; 1QpHabxii.2-3.
 17. Cf. 1QpHabxi.14-15 with 1QpHabxi.4-7.
 18. *Loc. cit.*
 19. Cf. how D. H. Lawrence puts this in his fulsome attack on the language of *The Apocalypse* in his autobiographical treatise by that name and see Revelation 2:9, 6:10, 11:18, 13:1-6, 14:7, 14:10, 15:4, 16:1-17, 16:21, 17:1-3, 18:10, 18:8, 19:2, , 11, 20:4, 20:12-13, etc.
 20. *Loc. cit.*
 21. Cf. CDVIII.21 (which breaks off here) and xix.33-xx.13 and note the parallels in language found throughout the Pseudoclementines and even Ibn Gabirol, *Fons Vitae*.
 22. Cf. Paul in 1 Thessalonians 2:15, Matthew 5:12, 23:30-7, and pars., Acts 3:25 and 7:52, and Koran 1.61, 1.87, 4.157, et. al.
 23. In Revelation, see all the references to 'blood,' but in particular 1:5, 5:9, 7:4, 12:11, 16:6, 17:6, 19:2, etc. Of course, for a 'Christian' man, Eusebius' ire and call for vengeance against 'the Jews,' is 'blood'-

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- curdling; cf. 1.1, 2.5, 2.6, 2.26, 3.5, but particularly 3.6, where he rises to a fever pitch of 'blood' lust, and then, of course, 3.7, etc.
24. *Loc. cit.* and cf. CDi.21-II.1, IV.14-16, ,v.16, VIII.13, etc.
 25. See DSSU, pp. 222-230, 4Q286 (now called 4QBerachot/Blessings'), Fragment 1, Column II.4-6, including allusion not only to 'the Fountain', but also, 'the Fountain of Understanding' and 'the Fountain of Discovery.' Where the titles of such manuscripts were concerned and their sections headings, we chose such names because of the vividness of some of the allusions in them.
 26. Cf. 1QpHabix.12-15 and 1QpHabx.3-5. Again, this 'cutting off' will be an expression found throughout the Damascus Document, especially in Columns I-III.
 27. CDVIII.12-13/xix.25-26. One should note that it is here that most translations prefer to use the English language in translation of 'spouting,' but it should be appreciated this is based on the underlying real Hebrew usage implying 'pouring.'
 28. We have explained this whole issue of 'the Pierced Messiah' as opposed to 'the Messianic Leader' language above. Primarily the former was popularized by Hershel Shanks in his *Biblical Archaeological Review*. For our presentation of these things, see DSSU, pp. 24-29. The passages we are talking about are 4QpIs^aIII.11-22 (this really is 'the Messianic Prophecy' of Isaiah 10:34: 'Lebanon with its grandeur shall fall' or 'Lebanon shall fall by a Mighty One') obsequiously applied by Josephus and R. Yohanan to Vespasian); cf. 4Q285, Fragment 7, Lines 1-6. The expression 'woundings' appears in Line 5 as we have seen.
 29. *Ibid.*, especially Lines 17-22 above.
 30. Cf. 4QpIs^aIII.11 with 4QpIs^aIII.20, speaking of 'the Throne of Glory' and 'the Crown of His Holiness' and cf. 4Q285, Fragment 7, Line 4, but also see 4Q252 (The Genesis Peshet)iv.2-5, which also makes reference to 'the Staff' of CDVI-VII and in no uncertain terms identifies 'the Branch of David' with 'the Messiah of Righteousness.' One can't get much more singular and specific than this; but also see 4QFlor^a113, which speaks of 'raising up the Branch of David (here now designated as 'the Zemach David') along with the Doresh ha-Torah' who would themselves 'raise up the fallen Tent of David' of Amos 9:11 'in the Last Days' as we have seen – and all of this Second Century BC and two-Messiah ideology? Hardly.
 31. *Ibid.*, 4QpIs^aIII.11 and 4QpIs^aIII.20 and on this 'Netzer'/'Nazir'/'Nazirite' confusion. see above, pp. 390-409 and JBJ, pp. 222-47.
 32. 4QpNahi.1-11.
 33. See 1QpHabVIII.13 and cf. 1QpHabXII.1-9. It is interesting that 'the dumb beasts' are identified with 'the Simple of Judah doing Torah,' who themselves would appear to be the same as the followers of 'the Righteous Teacher' designated as 'the Poor' or 'the Ebionim.'
 34. Cf. 1QpHabXI.10-11 with 1QpHabXI.12-15.
 35. Cf. CDVIII.13/xix.25-26 above and cf. n. 27 above. Also see my article 'Playing on and Transmuting Words – Interpreting Abeit-Galuto in the Habakkuk Peshet' in *Folio Orientalia: Mogilany*, 1989 and in DSSFC, pp. 247-71 above.
 36. Cf. CDIII.20-IV.12. These allusions to 'circumcision' have to be seen as relating to a certain degree to 'the Party of the Circumcision' associated with James in Jerusalem Paul's Galatians 2:12-13.
 37. Cf. E.I. 2.1.4-5, 2.23.4 and 18, Epiphanius, *Haeres*. 78.14.5-6, etc. and also see *M. San.* 6:3-4, 7:5-6, and *San.* 45a-b above.
 38. Cf. CDIX.17-20, but also see XII.21-23, XIII.7-13, and XV.10-14.
 39. Cf. CDVI.17-VII.5. This is in the context of 'separating between polluted and pure,' 'Holy from profane,' 'setting up the Holy Things according to their precise specifications,' 'loving each man his brother as himself' (James' 2:8's 'Royal Law according to the Scripture'), 'keeping away from fornication' (lehazzir – using the 'Nazirite' language of James' directives to overseas Communities in Acts 15 and 21), 'separating from all pollutions according to their Statute,' and 'walking in these things in Perfect Holiness' (cf. Paul in 2 Corinthians 7:1).
 40. 1QpHabXIII.1-4. Here we have the same allusion to 'Evil Ones' as we have in 1QpHabv.4-6 ('Evil Ones of His own People') above.
 41. Cf. *War* 4.146-61 with Matthew 12:5-6 and *pars.* and Acts 24:6-25:8.
 42. 1QpHabVIII.13 and XII.8-10.
 43. Cf. 4Q286('The Chariots of Glory' – 4QBer), Fragment 1, II.9-12.
 44. 1QpHabXII.5-10 and cf. the same usage in 1QHiv.7-10 surround by allusions to 'the Sons of Belial' and their 'nets,' not to mention 'the Scoffers of Lying' who lead the People astray 'with Smooth Things,' 'give vinegar to drink,' and whose 'works are of boasting.'
 45. 1QpHabXII.7-10.
 46. Cf. 4QMMTII.2 and III.29-32 (DSSU, pp. 180-200), itself based on Genesis 15:6 and Psalm 106:31, 4:2, 2:16, 2:21-5.
 47. Cf. *Loc. cit.* with CDVI.15-VII.3 and VIII.4-8/xix15-20.
 48. Cf. *Ps. Rec.* 1.71 with Matthew 17:2, 28:3, Mark 9:3, Luke 9:29 and *pars.* and see JBJ, pp. 680-87 and 753-56.
 49. 1QS VIII.4-10.
 50. Cf. 1QS VIII.1 with Matthew 17:1-8 and *pars.* and Galatians 2:9.
 51. Cf. Galatians 2:9 with Matthew 17:1-8 and *pars.* above and Galatians 1:19 and 1 Corinthians 15:7 with E.I. 1.9-12 and see my section 'The Brothers of Jesus as Apostles' in JBJ, pp. 644-850.
 52. For 'Balaam' as 'Swallower of the People,' see *San.* 106a and cf. my Appendix on 'The Three Nets of Belial' in JHJP, pp. 87-94; for Herod as the first 'Innovator' into the Religion of the Jews, see *Ant.* 15.365-9.
 53. Cf. 1QSv.2 and v. 9 above.
 54. E. I. 2.23.2-7 and *pars.* Cf. Ezekiel 44:15-

Notes

- 31, Numbers 6:1-27 (following to 'the Suspected Adulteress' material in Chapter 5 so dear to the thoughts of Helen of Adiabene), Jeremiah 35:2-19. and see *JBj*, pp. 229-47, etc.
55. 1QpHabv.13-vi.11.
56. This 'ballā'/'ballo' language has many parallels and parodies among 'Essenes' (War 2.143) and at Qumran (1QSVIII.22), and cf. my article in *DSSFC*, pp. 332-51: 'The Final Proof that James and the Righteous Teacher are the Same.'
57. Cf. Ananus in *War* 4.317; Zachariah, *War* 4.344.
58. Cf. 4QpIsⁱⁱ.9-11 and III.15-17 with Revelation 1:7, 14:8-20, 16:17-21, 18:2-19:21 and Hebrews 1:13 and 10:13.
59. Cf. 4QpIsⁱⁱ.9-11, III.15-17, 1QMxi.9-xii.11, xix.4-14, CDVII.20-21, and 1QHvii.2 with Matthew 22:44 and *pars.*, Acts 2:35, Hebrews 1:13, 10:13, James 2:3, etc., all based on Psalms 110:1, a psalm which also speaks of the cognomen applied to James, 'the 'Oz-le-^cAm' and 'the Day of His Wrath.'
60. This ideology of the 'only-begotten' is an important one and primarily we find it applied in Josephus by Helen to her favorite son, her 'only-begotten' Izates; *Ant.* 20.18.
61. *Haeres.* 30.13.7-8. The Qumran position on this is best seen in 1QHvii.25-27 and IX.29-33.
62. Cf. See Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 2 and cf. *Ps. Rec.* 1.71, where James was still limping from his broken leg when he sent Peter out on his first Missionary Journey from outside Jericho.
63. Cf. *E.I.* 2.1.4, 2.23.3, and 2.23.18 and *pars.*
64. Cf. *JBj*, pp. 444-54 and note how the words and vision attributed to Stephen about 'crying out' (repeated three times), the mob being 'cut to their hearts,' and 'the Heavens opening and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God' in Acts 7:55-60 more or less duplicates the account here of the stoning of James in these Early Church sources. Only the date has been inverted, the early 40's taking the place of the early 60's.
65. See *War* 1.566 and 1.666, the 'Helcias' in Herod's time who was married to his sister Salome. However in *Ant.* 18.273 and 20.140, we have a second 'Helcias,' also a Temple Treasurer who was married to another woman within the Herodian family and evidently the aunt of the 'Saulos' under consideration. See my Genealogical Table, below pp. 1010-11.
66. See *War* 2.556-58.
67. *War* 2.418 and see my article 'Paul as Herodian' in *The Journal of Higher Criticism*, III, Spring, 1996, pp. 110-22, reprinted in *DSSFC*, pp. 226-45.,
68. Cf. CDi.19-21 with QpHabi.6-8,
69. Cf. 1QpHabi.10 and note that this word 'Crown' not only incorporates the usage of the *Netzer* worn by the High Priest but also the basis of a Greek name like 'Stephen' who is said in *E.I.* 2.1.2 to have earned the first 'Crown of the Martyrs.'
70. 1QpHabi.11, which goes on in II.2-10 to describe the Scriptural exegesis sessions of the 'Righteous Teacher' and his identification with 'the Priest' or 'High Priest.'
71. 1QpHabxii.11-xiii.1.
72. CDi.19.
73. *E.I.* 2.23.7 and 15.
74. 1QpHabv.11-12.
75. This is the preoccupying background concern of the *Pesher*, starting with the reference to 'God raising up the Chaldeans, a cruel and aggressive nation,' in Habakkuk 1:6, distinctly interpreted in terms of 'the Kittim in who are swift and strong in way, causing Many to perish by the sword and all the world to fall under (their) Dominion' in 1QpHabii.10-14, which could hardly be any other group after Alexander than the Romans and certainly not the Seleucids, even taking into account possible hyperbole! This continues throughout in III.1-IV.13 and the reference to 'their Guilty Council House' and 'their Leaders coming one after another to despoil the Earth' – again hardly descriptive of any other People than the Romans except in the tendentious eyes of those with an agenda. This has generally been interpreted to mean 'the Year of the Four Emperors' in 68-69 CE.
76. This is certainly true if one interprets 'Babylon' in passages like Revelation 14:8, 16:19, 15:5, and 18:2-21 as Rome, as we have here, i. e., 'Chaldeans'/'Kittim' = 'Babylon'/'Rome,' another strong bit of internal verification and correspondence. Here the passage is 1QpHabv.6-8 and is preceded by condemnation of 'the Evil Ones of His People who kept His Commandments only when convenient' (we know who these are) and followed, so typically, by like-minded fulsome condemnation of 'Traitors' and the passages in VI.3-11 about 'their eating being plenteous' and 'sacrificing to their standards and worshipping their weapons of war' – as if we don't know who these are.
77. Cf. 1QpHabv.6-8 with 1QpHabxi.4-15 and see my whole discussion of this in 'The Final Proof that James and the Righteous Teacher are the Same,' *DSSFC*, pp. 332-54 and first given to the Society of Biblical Literature in Chicago in 1994.
78. Cf. 1QpHabv.12-14. This of course has everything to do with the picture of 'Jesus' 'Galilean' Disciples as 'casting out their nets' on the Sea of Galilee and that of 'Jesus' own action of sending Peter in Matthew 17:27 'to the Sea to cast down a hook' (this directly following the Paulinized statement 'the truly the Sons are free') and what comes up, why 'a stater' (even this in perfect Romanized language) – the coin to pay the Roman taxes of course, referred to here in 1QpHabvi.5-7 concerning 'parceling out their yoke and their taxes, consuming all Peoples year by year' – and, of course too, the perfect statement of 'Christian' tax-paying policy. See also above, pp. 54-55, 324-6, 724-5, etc.

Notes

79. *Loc. cit.* and see also 1QpHabvi.6-11, ending with the blood-curdling 'the Kittim who destroy Many by the sword – young men, grown-ups, and old people, women and children, and have no pity even on the fruit of the womb,' which is exactly what Josephus describes happening following the brutal Roman decimation of the towns around the Sea of Galilee!
 80. *Loc. cit.*, but see in particular, 1QpHabvii.4-5.
 81. 1QpHabii.6-10.
 82. CDxx.14-15. This expression is quite literally 'Men of War' / 'Milchamali' and certainly recalls the kind of companions from the Herodian family Saulos' in Josephus is pictures as keeping company with in *War* 2.556-58 and *Ant.* 20.214 directly following the death of James and roundly condemned in the so-called 'Zealot Woes' in the *Talmud*.
- Chapter 26
1. 1QpHabv.8-12.
 2. *Ibid.*
 3. Cf. *Ant.* 18:8-10 and note that his description of their 'philosophy' from 18.23-26, not only disagrees with *War* 2.117-8 about who the actual founder of this particular 'school' or 'sect' was, but actually basically substitutes for the much longer description of the 'Essenes' in the *War* which follows in both.
 4. Matthew 17:27 – here 'Jesus' doesn't wish to 'offend,' 'scandalize,' or 'cause to stumble' those charged with 'collecting the tax'; but see Paul in 1 Corinthians 8:13 about 'food causing the ("weak") brother to stumble' and therefore (like James) proclaiming his intent 'not to eat flesh again forever' – a vow he promptly gainsays in 10:25 also amid the language of 'conscience' and 'stumbling' – but also see 1 Corinthians 1:23, 8:9, and 1QpHabxi.8.
 5. Matthew 17:26 – the same 'freedom,' of course Paul is referring to in Galatians 3:28, 4:26-31, Romans 5:15-18, 6:18-22, 1 Corinthians 7:21-22, 9:19, 12:12, etc.
 6. Cf. 1QSVii.13 ('the Way in the Wilderness' exposition in the Community Rule) and CDvi.14-15, xiii.14-15, and xv.7.
 7. Epistle of Peter to James 4.1-2 and see the reference to 'the Pit of Destruction' in 3.1.
 8. Cf. the introductory salutations to both *The Epistle of Peter to James* and *Clement to James* prefacing the *Homilies*.
 9. See *Epistle of Peter to James* 3.1 above and cf. passages among the Qumran documents like CDvi.14-15, xiii.14-15, and xv.7. above and 1QSiX.16, ix.20-21, etc.
 10. Cf. Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 30.21.1 and cf. Ps. *Hom.* 8.2, 9.23, 10.1, 11.26-31, etc.
 11. Ps. *Hom.* 11.35.
 12. *Epistle of Peter to James* 2.1.
 13. Cf. 1QpHabv.11-12 above.
 14. Cf. *War* 2.130 with 1QSVi.20-21.
 15. CDxiv.6-10.
 16. CDxii.1-5.
 17. Cf. *Epistle of Peter to James* 4.2 and 5.1 with 1QSi.24-ii.18.
 18. CDxv.2-3, an injunction which relates to that of 'profanation of the Name' of Leviticus 19:12.
 19. *Epistle of Peter to James* 4.4 and cf. CDi.14-15, vii.13, 1QpHabii.1-2, v.11, x.9, etc. and Romans 1:25, 9:1, 2 Corinthians 11:31, Galatians 1:20, etc.
 20. *Epistle of Peter to James* 4.4.
 21. 1QSi.5-17. The translation of some of these lines in Vermes is somewhat questionable.
 22. Cf. *War* 2.141-42 which is also the opposite of Paul to passages like 1 Corinthians 2:7-2:16 and 4:5.
 23. Cf. *Epistle of Peter to James* 5 with Josephus in *War* 2.139-40 on the Essenes and *Ant.* 18.117-18 on John.
 24. *Epistle of Peter to James* 4-5.
 25. *Epistle of Peter to James* 5.1.
 26. 1QSi.3-5.
 27. 1QSV.11-14
 28. 1QSV.12-13 and cf. CDiii.14.
 29. 1QSV.18-23.
 30. Cf. *Epistle of Peter to James* 4.4 with 1QSV.2-9.
 31. *Ibid.*
 32. Cf. 1QMvii.5-7, xii.7-10, and CDxv.15.17.
 33. See Romans 13.1-3 and cf. Josephus in *War* 2.140-41.
 34. Cf. 1QSiV.10-11 and CDv.11-13. Also see 1QSiX.23 and 1QHvii.11-12.
 35. CDv.11-vi.2.
 36. 1QSi.18-iv.15.
 37. Cf. DSSU, p. 170 and 4Q525 (*Beatitudes – The Demons of Death*)iv.24-26 (repeated three times in three lines).
 38. Cf. Galatians 1:10-12.
 39. 1QSViii.20-24.
 40. Cf. CDxx.7-10 and 4QD266, Fragment 11, Lines 14-16.
 41. Cf. Koran 2.124-139, 3.65, 4.125, etc.
 42. Koran 37.102-16 which, though note naming Ishmael per se, is generally interpreted by commentators in this manner and is probably the only possible interpretation of the phraseology of the passage.
 43. See above, pp. 77-97, 390-91, 539-40, etc. and *JBj*, pp. 886-95, 907-24, and 939-46.
 44. *Ant.* 20.20 above and cf. John 1:14-18 and 3:16-18.
 45. See the Genealogy below, pp. 1010-11 and Josephus on Agrippa I's two daughters, Bernice and Mariamme, *Ant.* 19.276-77 and 20.147.
 46. See *Naz.* 19a-19b and n. 14 of Chapter 8, pp. 198-200 above.
 47. See CDiii.4-12.
 48. CDiii.6-7 above.
 49. See Jubilees 19:9; cf. 17:18, 19:30 and especially 30:19-22 on how Levi ('zealous in the exercise of Righteousness' – in the passage about 'living for a thousand generations,' also quoted twice in the extant Damascus Document) and others 'not transgressing the Ordinances or breaking the Covenant' would

- be 'recorded on the Heavenly Tablets as a Friend (of God) and a Zaddik' (R. H. Charles enumeration).
50. See James 2:21-3 and CDIII.2-4.
 51. See above, pp. 109, 253, 295, 434-44, etc. and cf. CDVI.20-21, VII.5-6/XIX.18-20, XX.17-18, XX.21, etc.
 52. CDVII.1 and cf. VII.3.
 53. *Loc. cit.* Of course, for Paul's attitude towards the consumption of 'blood', see 1 Corinthians 10:14-11:29 and his innovative new ideas on 'Communion with the blood of Christ.' One should also note that in Jubilees there is an especially strong antagonism to the consumption of 'blood' as, for instance in 21:6-7, 21:18-19, etc. and, to be sure, where Paul is concerned, in some redactions 'Belial' is used in 15:33.
 54. Cf. Koran 2.111-146.
 55. Cf. 1 Corinthians 1:3: 'If anyone loves God, he is known by him' (whatever this is supposed to mean more rhetorical obfuscation) and see James 2:5 on 'the Kingdom promised to those who love Him' and Josephus' 'Essenes' in *War* 2.139 and their 'Piety towards God.'
 - 56(35). Cf. 1QSII.10-18 and 4Q286(*Ber* – *The Chariots of Glory*), Fragment, II.1-11: 'The Community Council Curses Belial' in *DSSU*, pp. 229-30.
 57. Cf. 1QpHabx.5-10 above.
 58. Cf. 4QD266, Fragment 11, Lines 5-18 with 1QpHabv.11-12.
 59. 4QD266, Fragment 11, Lines 6-7.
 60. Cf. CDVIII.4/XIX.17, VIII.19-22/XIX.32-35, XX.8-10, XX.23, XX.29-31, etc.
 61. Cf. CDXIV.8-10 and 4QD266, Fragment 11, Lines 9-10 above.
 62. 1QSV.10-18.
 63. Cf. 4QD266, Fragment 11, Line 19 with 1QSVIII.15.
 64. 1QSVIII.15-16.
 65. Cf. 4QD266, Fragment 11, Lines 10-12.
 66. Cf. n. 49 above and Jubilees 30:19-22 on how Levi ('zealous in the exercise of Righteousness' – in the passage about 'living for a thousand generations', also quoted twice in the extant Damascus Document) and others 'not transgressing the Ordinances or breaking the Covenant' would be 'recorded on the Heavenly Tablets as a Friend (of God) and a Zaddik.' This could not be a more telling expression of 'the Zealot Covenant' adhering to 'the Sons of Levi' and their heirs. It also parallels almost precisely the material in CDIII.2-4, not to mention additional parallels in *Surah* 2 of the Koran about who the first 'Muslims' were.
 67. 4QD266, Fragment 11, Lines 12-13.
 68. This of course runs in the face of Paul's contention in Galatians 3:6-26, which also speaks of the 'promises to Abraham and his seed' and is in general exposition of Genesis 15:6 how 'Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him as righteousness' or 'Justification.' As against this, see CDXVI.2-7 above.
 69. See 4QpNahII.5-8 and pp. 592-95 above
 70. See nn. 21 and 56 and cf. 4Q286(*Ber* – *The Chariots of Glory*), Fragment, II.1-11 in *DSSU*, pp. 229-30 above
 71. 1QpHabx.12-13.
 72. Cf. *Wisdom* 2:16.
 73. CD1.1.
 74. For Paul's references to 'Lying,' see n. 19 above and Galatians 1:20 (regarding his 'seeing no other Apostles' except 'Peter' and 'James the brother of the Lord'), 4:16 (on the opposite: 'Have I your Enemy become by telling Truth to you?' – *sic*), 2 Corinthians 12:31 (preceding his attestation to 'being lowered through a window down the walls of Damascus in a basket'), Romans 1:25 and 9:1, etc.
 75. Similar sayings are to be found in Romans 1:14 and Acts 14:1, 18:4, 19:10 and 17, 20:21, etc.
 76. Cf. CDVI.17-20, ending with James' 'Royal Law according to the Scripture' and leading into the ban on 'fornication' in VII.1-2, and cf. 4Q486 ('*The Chariots of Glory*' in the Section we entitled: '*The Splendor of the Spirits*'), Ms. B, Fragment 1, Lines 6-8 above in *DSSU*, pp. 222-230.
 77. 4QMMTI.56-66 in the section following illegal 'mingling' (including marrying 'Ammonites,' 'Moabites,' and presumably non-Jewish foreigners generally) and followed by the ban on 'bringing dogs into the Holy Camp,' that is, James' ban on 'carrion,' i.e., 'because Jerusalem is the Holy Camp' and 'the Chief of the Camps of Israel' and they 'might bring some of the bones into the Temple while the flesh is still on them.'
 78. 1QSM.18-IV.26 and cf. *Didache* 1.1.
 79. 4QNahIII.5-8 and cf. 4QNahIV.4-8 and the definition of these same 'Nilivim' in CDIV.2-4, Esther 9:27, Isaiah 56:3-6 (in the context of 'the Song of the Well,' above, pp. 655-675 and below, pp. 974-88), and my article "'Joining"/ "Joiner," "Arizei-Go'im," and "the Simple of Ephraim," Relating to a Cadre of Gentile "God-Fearers" at Qumran,' first given at a National Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1991 and thereafter reprinted in *DSSFC*, pp. 313-31 above.
 80. Cf. 4QNahIII.8-9 with CDIV.2-4 above and Romans 2:13, 3:20-28, 4:2-5-9, Galatians 2:16-17, 3:11, 3:24, 5:4, etc.
 81. Cf. CDVIII.12-13/XIX.25-26.
 82. *Loc. cit.* Actually, as we have already seen, Ms. A is different from Ms. B, though both are based in this case on the same biblical passages. In Ms. A we have 'one of confused Spirit' ('*Ruah*' – 'wind' and 'Spirit' being the same word or homonyms in Hebrew) 'spouted to them,' so one could possibly read here 'Windbag.' Ms. B has 'and spilled windiness' or 'storms' and, instead of Ms. A's 'the Spouter of Lying spouted to them,' 'the Spouter of Man for Lying spouted to them,' 'Man' being quite mysterious here. In this instance, Ms. A is possibly superior, but both are saying approximately the same thing. Still, as a by-product of this, one can see that the Damascus Document was still in a process of development when the copies found in the Cairo *Genizah* were produced.
 83. This seems to be true throughout the

Qumran corpus. These infuriating circumlocutions were certainly developed for reasons of self-preservation. Of course, members of the Community would know whom they referred to, but they provided plausible deniability. They also seem to prove that these things occurred during the Herodian or Roman Periods, when powerful outside forces were certainly the most over-riding problem. These people 'used their power for Riches and profiteering' and 'wallowed in the ways of fornication and Evil Riches,' each man approaching the flesh of his flesh for fornication' (certainly an allusion to 'Herodians'). For these 'Visitation' and 'Wrath being poured' usages, cf. CDi.3, i.17, ii.6-8, v.15-16, viii.2-3/xix.13-15, viii.5-7/xix.17-20, xx.15-16, etc.

84. CDviii.9-23/xix.23-35.

85. CDxx.2-4.

86. CDxx.6-7. It is interesting that this word 'Avodah' in the sense of 'work' as 'labor,' 'mission,' or 'service' is different in Hebrew from 'works'/'ma'asim' based on the Hebrew root, 'to do' or 'Doers' ('Oseh/'Osei usually 'of the Torah'). Cf. the way 'the Spouter of Lying' is described in 1QpHabx.11 and see as well 1QStv.9-10, v.14, or CDxx.7. On the other hand, I have been particularly insistent on translating 'ma'asim' consistently as 'works,' a subtlety many of my colleagues in the field seem to feel unobliged to recognize; cf., for instance, 1QSt.5, i.19, iii.14, iv.3-4, iv.15-16, viii.18, ix.23, CDi.1-2, i.10, ii.1, ii.7-8, ii.14-15, iv.5-6, v.5, v.16, xiii.11, xx.3-6, 1QpHabx.12 and xii.8. etc.

Chapter 27

1. CDi.21-ii.1.
 2. CDi.4-5. The chronology here has confused many – Paul helps explain it in Galatians 3:17 where he is speaking 'of the Covenant confirmed in advance by God to Christ.' It would appear that things were thought of in periods of either 490 or 430 years. For him, it is the '430 years,' spoken of in Exodus 12:40, from Abraham to Moses, which he considers somehow to be related to the issue of the period from 'God to Christ.'
- The '390 years' referred to in CDi.5-6 as relating to 'the Era of Wrath' obviously has something to do with Daniel 9:24's 'seventy weeks of years,' itself harking back to some extent to Jeremiah 29:10's '70 years,' also mentioned by Daniel 9:2-3 and relating to the time of the 'captivity' in Babylon, cannot be taken literally and should not be. It either relates to one of these two chronological schemes, and a third the '390 days' of Ezekiel 4:5. This is the amount of time that Ezekiel's tongue stuck to the roof of his mouth after he heard about the destruction of the Temple, but which is also interpreted in 4:9 as the number of years 'the House of Israel will sin,' 'one day equalling one year.' If one takes this together with

Paul's version of the Exodus reckoning, then one could imagine we are '40 years' before the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE, i. e., 30 CE. If one, rather, goes with the '490' of Daniel's 'seventy weeks of years,' then it is 'one hundred' years.

In any event, I would imagine that the '390' here absolutely relates to the period of Israel's sinning as in Ezekiel. As to total chronological reckoning, not even Josephus, to say nothing of the *Talmud*, has a firm hand on this; therefore, one cannot just reckon '390 years' from the time of the destruction of the First Temple by Nebuchadnezzar.

3. CDi.10-11.
 4. CDi.10 and cf. Acts 9:2, 16:17, 18:25-6, 19:9, 22:4, 24:14, 24:22, etc.
 5. CDi.11-12.
 6. *Loc. cit.* As we shall see below, pp. 893-4, there are also in the Qumran corpus, two additional *Peshers* on Hosea and Micah, the former alluding to the typical things such as 'leading Israel astray,' 'rejecting the Law,' or 'following the festivals of the Peoples' (4QpHos^b/4Q166-167); the latter, 'the Righteous Teacher who expounded the Law correctly' and those how 'joined' him, 'who would be saved on the Day of Judgements' to say nothing of 'the Spouter of Lying' who, as in the Nahum *Pesher*, 'leads the Simple astray' (cf. 4QpMic/4Q168i.5-10).
- 6a(44).4QD266, Fragment 11, Lines 11-13. Also see 1QpHabvii.17-viii.3 above.
7. 1QpHabvi.6-8.
 8. See the points I first made in my conclusion to *MZCQ* in 1983, pp. 35-38.
 9. 4QpNahiii.2-3 and 8
 10. I have explained the importance of this term 'ger-nilveh' and/or 'nilvim' in n. 79 of Chapter 26 above, but cf. 4QpNahiii.5-8, 4QpNahiv.4-8, and see the definition of these same 'Nilvim' in CDiv.2-4, Esther 9:27, Isaiah 56:3-6 (in the context of 'the Song of the Well,' above, pp. 655-675 and below, pp. 974-88), and my article "Joining" / "Joiner," "Arizei-Go'im," and "the Simple of Ephraim," Relating to a *Camde* of Gentile "God-Fearers" at Qumran, 1991 in *DSSFC*, pp. 313-31 above.
 11. 4QpIs^c Frag. 23, ii.10-14.
 12. 4QpMic(4Q168)i.5-10.
 13. 4QpMic(4Q168)i.10.
 14. Cf. CDi.19-20 above.
 - 15(33).1QpHabvi.12-13 and note that the word for 'my Fortress' here ('Metzuri') is very likely what originally appeared in CDiv.12 ('metzudo'), i.e., a 'dale' for a 'resh' – virtually indistinguishable anyhow, where the Cairo Genizah transcription reads: 'each man standing upon his own net' but which, more than likely, originally echoed the phraseology here in Habakkuk 2:1, 'taking one's stand upon one's fortress,' but since the passage has not turned up so far among the extant Cave 4 fragments, it is impossible to say.
 16. Cf. 1QpHabv.8-9 with 1QpHabxi.5-15.
 17. Cf. 1QpHabvii.7-14 with CDiv.3-10.

18. See n. 15(33) above. on QpHabvi.12-13 and its possible relevance to CDiv.12 ('*metzudo*') being discussed here.
19. 1QpHabvii.4-5.
20. Cf. 1QpHabvii.12-13 with Matthew 5:16-18 and 24:34 and *pars*.
21. 1QpHabvii.7-8.
22. 1QpHabvii.10-12.
23. See n. 86 of Chapter 26 above and, for instance, CDxx.6-7, 1QpHabx.11, 1QSiv.9-10, v.14, etc. vs. 1QSi.5, i.19, iii.14, iv.3-4, iv.15-16, viii.18, ix.23, CDi.1-2, i.10, ii.1, ii.7-8, ii.14-15, iv.5-6, v.5, v.16, xiii.11, xx.3-6, 1QpHabx.12 and xii.8. *et al.* Where Paul is concerned, see Romans 12:7, 13:4, 15:8, 15:27, Galatians 2:17, 1 Corinthians 3:5, 16:15, 2 Corinthians 3:3-9, 4:1, 5:18, 6:3-4, 9:11-13, 11:15-23, all relating to '*diakonen*'/'*service*'/'*Servant*', the root of the '*Stephen*'/'*Deacon*' appointment episode in Acts 6:1-6:7. For '*works*', see the famous Romans 3:27, 4:2-6, 9:32 (usually associated with '*the Law*'), 13:3, 13:12, Galatians 2:16, 3:2-10, 5:19, 2 Corinthians 11:13, etc.
24. 1QpHabvii.14-16.
25. 1QpHabviii.1-3.
26. Cf. Vermes, *op. cit.*, p. 239, etc., but they miss the eschatological nature of what proceeds this in 1QpHabvii.1-12 in interpretation of Habakkuk 2:2-2:3 (including '*the Delay of the Parousia*') and of course the use of the key phrase '*House of Judgement*' in viii.2 which repeats in x.3 and which is defined in x.4 as '*the Judgement God will give in the midst of Many Peoples*' which, in turn, can be nothing other than what is generally called in contemporary parlance, '*the Last Judgement*'.
27. Cf. Vermes above, p. 241, where in 1QpHabx.3, he changes this phrase from '*House of Judgement*' here in viii.2 to '*Condemned House*', thus obscuring the relationship of the two, to say nothing of word translation consistency, and generally reducing the whole to incomprehensibility. He repeats this in *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (the publication of which, to some extent, he owes to our efforts in opening the previously unpublished materials to the Scholarly Community as a whole), Penguin, 1997, p. 514; yet so pervasive is the influence of his translations and so rarely do commentators actually go to the Hebrew of the texts themselves to check their translations, that it is picked up in almost all contemporary discussions of the matter as both reliable and normative. For a proper translation of both passages, see my *DSSF*, pp. 410-11.
28. 1QpHabxii.2-4 and note, as we have done earlier, that the allusion to these '*Evil Ones*'/'*Risha'im*' recapitulates the earlier one in 1QpHabv.5 to '*the Evil Ones of His own People who kept the Commandments only when convenient*' which makes it passingly clear that this ultimate allusion at the time of '*the Day of Judgement*' has to do, not only with '*idolators*' as in the Koran, but '*Backsliders among His own People*', something like ones finds in the Koran to concerning those designated there as '*Hypocrites*'/'*Munafiqun*'.
29. Cf. 1QpHabxii.14 with 1QpHabviii.2 and, among numerous examples in Paul, see Romans 5:9, 11:14, 1 Corinthians 9:22, 15:2, etc. One particularly impressive incidence of this language comes in Revelation 21:24, in describing '*the Holy Jerusalem coming down out of Heaven from God*' and actually speaking of the '*Ethne*' or '*Peoples*' who would be '*saved*' in terms of '*walking in its Light*'. One should note that the other kind of '*Salvation*' in Hebrew, '*le'hosh'a*' is to be found in passages like CDxx.20 (*Yeshac*) and xx.34 (*Yeshur ato* – '*They would see His Salvation because they took refuge in His Holy Name*', the last line of the Cairo *Genizah* version of the Damascus Document.
30. 1QSviii.2-10.
31. 1QpHabvii.14-15.
32. Cf. 1QpHabxi.14-15 above.
33. 1QpHabx.10-15. We already saw this '*filling*' in 1QpHabxi.14 above.
34. Cf. 4QPPs 37iv.11-12 (also see ii.4-5 and iii.3-5), CDiv.3-4, and 4QPMic(4Q168) i.10 above.
35. 4QPPs 37ii.4-5 and cf. iii.3-5 above.
36. See *DSSU*, pp. 241-55, 4Q416 and 418 (now called 4QInstruction^a) and, in particular, Fragment 9, Column i: '*The Salvation (Yesh'a) of His Works*' and Fragment 8: '*The Mystery of Existence*, from which I derived its name'.
37. 4Q416 and 418: *The Children of Salvation and the Mystery of Existence*, Fragment 9, Column i.8-12; cf. too the evocation of this '*amal*' (i.e., '*suffering works*' or '*travail*') in 4QInstruction^a (4Q416), Frag 2, i.5 and 4QInstruction^c (4Q417), Frag. 1, Col. i.10. Note, too, that in one of the more-recently published fragments 4QInstruction^d (4Q418), Fragment 81, Line 12; one even has the phraseology '*called by His Name*' as opposed to '*called by Name*' in the Damascus Document (CDii.11 and iv.4); but this has its well-known parallels in Acts 2:21, 3:16 ('*made strong in this Name*'), 4:7, 8:12, 9:21 ('*called by this Name*'), 15:17 ('*all the Gentiles upon whom My Name has been called*'), etc.
38. 1QSviii.3-4.
39. 1QpHabxi.15-xii.3.
40. 1QSviii.4-5.
41. 1QpHabx.11-12 above.
42. *Loc. cit.*
43. 1QpHabx.13.
44. 1QpHabx.9-10.
45. Cf. CDvii.15-16 playing off of Amos 5:26-27 and 9:11 and 4QFlor.10-13 playing off Samuel 7:12-14 and Amos 9:11 again. Such circularity should never be overlooked.
46. 1QpHabx.12-13, i.e., '*They would be brought to the same Judgements of Fire by which they insulted and vilified the Elect of God*'. What could be more vivid than this?
47. Cf. 4QPNahiii.9 (*ger-nilvim*) and iv.5 (*nilvu*) with CDiv.2-3 ('*the Nilvim*'), playing off the term '*Levites*' being expounded from

- Ezekiel 44:15, and attached to ‘the Priests’ identified there with ‘the Penitents of Israel who went out from the Land of Judah’ – a fundamental designation); and see nn. 10 above and 79 in Chapter 26 preceding it; and note the kind of definitions in Esther 9:27 and Isaiah 56:3-6 (in the context of the material about ‘singing out to the Well’) and my article “‘Joining’/‘Joiner,’” “‘Arizei-Go’im,” and “the Simple of Ephraim,” Relating to a Cadre of Gentile “God-Fearers” at Qumran, first delivered to the Society of Biblical Literature at the height of the controversy over the freeing of the Scrolls in 1991 and later collected in *DSSFC*, 1992, pp. 313-31.
48. 4QpNahIII.1-2, here identified with ‘the City of Ephraim’ (another circumlocution, which we have already seen parodied in other expositions as ‘*Amraphel*’); but which, with reference to the double references to ‘the Seekers after Smooth Things’ (‘*Halakot*’) in iv.5-8, can easily be seen to be ‘an Assembly’ or ‘Congregation’ of some kind, which most scholars identify (because of the play on ‘*Halachot*’/‘*Legal Traditions*’, i. e., ‘seeking *Legal Traditions*’) with the Pharisees.
 49. 4QpNahII.2-4. Note here how Demetrius, though a Seleucid, is considered to be a ‘*Grecian King*’ and see Josephus, *War* 1.92-99 and *Ant.* 13. 370-79.
 50. 4QpNahII.2-III.8, a terrifying indictment, which seems to know very well about the coming of the Romans and the endless piles of wounded and corpses and the way whole cities and families will perish ‘because of their guilty counsel.’ It is a terrible picture and a terrifying indictment as just stated.
 51. 1QpHabx.9-10
 52. 4QpNahII.1, literally referring to ‘*Apostles to the Gentiles*’ – here ‘*Go’im*.’
 53. 4QpNahIII.2-4. For the relationship to the indictment of ‘the Spouter of Lying’ – also based on an allusion to ‘*City of Blood*’ and who has in my view so many characteristics of ‘the Historical Paul’ – see 1QpHabx.9-16; for the relationship to the issue of ‘*Amraphel*’ in the Psalm 37 *Pesher* and Rabbinic Literature generally, see above pp. 366-9 and 415.
 54. 4QpNahIII.8-9.
 55. 4QpNahIII.2-4
 56. CDxx.19-20 and note there too how ‘*God will reveal Salvation (Yeshar) and Justification (Zedakah) to those fearing His Name*.’ One can now see there are many parallels in the new document, which we called ‘*The Children of Salvation and the Mystery of Existence*.’ See, in particular, 4QInstruction^a (4Q417), Fragment 2, Column 1.15-16 (‘a Book of Remembrance for those who keep His word,’ repeated twice), 4QInstruction^b (4Q418), Fragment 55, Line 11, etc.
 57. CDIII.8.
 58. Cf. Matthew 26:27-9 and *pars.* and note how this is directly followed in both Matthew and Luke with vow-like assertion that he ‘would drink no more of the fruit of the vine (like James) until that day when’ he ‘should drink it with you in the Kingdom’ or as Luke 22:30 puts it ‘so that you may eat and drink at my table in my Kingdom’ and see my articles: ‘Qumran’s “New Covenant in the Land of Damascus” and the New Testament’s “Cup of the New Covenant in (his) Blood,”’ in *The Journal of Higher Criticism*, Spring, 2003 (10/1), pp. 121-36 and ‘An Esoteric Relation between Qumran’s “New Covenant in the Land of Damascus” and the New Testament’s “Cup of the New Covenant in (his) Blood,”’ *Revue de Qumran*, March, 2004 (83/21/3), pp. 439-56.
 59. Cf. CDI.16, III.10, IV.6-10, VI.2, VIII.15-18, XX.8-9, and XX.30-32.
 60. Cf. CDIV.8-10 above, that ‘Covenant’ which is explained in terms of having ‘to do according to the precise letter of the Torah.’
 61. Cf. CDVI.2, CDIII.10, and IV.9 above.
 62. 1QpHabII.2-10.
 - 63(62). 1QpHabII.1-8 and cf. Paul in 2 Corinthians 3:2-6.
 64. See my conclusions in ‘Qumran’s “New Covenant in the Land of Damascus” and the New Testament’s “Cup of the New Covenant in (his) Blood,”’ in *The Journal of Higher Criticism*, Spring, 2003 (10/1), pp. 121-36 and ‘An Esoteric Relation between Qumran’s “New Covenant in the Land of Damascus” and the New Testament’s “Cup of the New Covenant in (his) Blood,”’ *Revue de Qumran*, March, 2004 (83/21/3), pp. 439-56 and my detailed discussion of the palaeography of the Damascus Document and other crucial documents at Qumran in *MZCQ*, pp. 28-31 and 78-91.
 65. See 1QpHabx.5-12 and cf. as well 1QpHabxII.1-10.
 66. 1QpHabx.9-12 and cf. James 2:20 on the parallel idea of its opponent, whom it calls ‘the Man of Emptiness.’
 67. 1QSVIII.1-10.
 68. Cf. CDI.3, I.17, II.5-11, III.8-9, V.16-21 (including the language of ‘works’), VIII.1-5/XIX.13-17, VIII.16-22/XIX.28-34, XX.15-16, and 25-26.
 69. See, for instance, 1QSII.26-III.1, III.25, V.5, VI.26, VII.17, VIII.7-10, IX.3-4, CDII.7-8, IV.21, X.6, 1QpHabv.1, 1QHIX.12, XII.7-8, etc.
 70. Cf. 4QpNahIII.9 and IV.5 above.
 71. 1QSVIII.6-9.
 72. See also the whole ethos in 1 Peter 2:5 (it too strongly replete with Qumran language usage and imagery), 2 Corinthians 5.1, Galatians 2.18, Colossians 2.7, and Hebrews 3.3-4, another telling passage, this time referring to ‘*Moses’ House*,’ as we have generally implied here in the Damascus Document (cf. ‘the House of the Torah’ in Column xx.10 and xx.13), but for Paul of course ‘the House built by God’ (‘the House’ he is ‘building’, to be sure) is superior.
 73. Cf. 1QHVII.7-10, preceded by references to both ‘*Belial*’ and ‘*swallowing*’ (VII.3-5 – based on the same root in Hebrew) and followed by those to ‘*Yeshar*’, ‘*Netzer*’, ‘the Sons of Piety’/‘*Hesed*’, and ‘*Faithfulness*’ (VII.19-21).
 74. Cf. 1QHVII.8-12 (including what can only

- be called a plethora of 'Lying', 'Tongue', and 'lips' imagery) with 1QHv.35-38 and vi.25-28 – passages themselves preceded in v.13-14 with allusion to 'saving the soul of the Meek One' and then 'curing the soul of the Meek' ('Ani); in v.19, 'the soul of the Poor One' (Ebion); and in v.23-24, allusions to 'all the Poor Ones of Piety' (Ebionei-Hesed – combining both 'Ebionite' and 'Hassidaean' imagery) and 'zeal'.
75. *Ibid.*, but in particular, 1QHvii.12 above.
76. 1QHviii.30-37, ending with another allusion to 'Homat-'Oz' – 'Wall of Strength' ('Oz-le-'Am' or 'Oblias')? Of course, this is the imagery of 'the Last Judgement.' Cf. Isaiah 24:19-20, Joel 2:10-11, 2 Peter 3:5-13, and Koran 70:8-10 (again on 'the Day of Judgement'), 78:17-20, 81:1-7 ('the Day of Decision' – the best expression of this imagery), 82:1-5, etc.
77. For allusions to this kind of usage in the Scrolls, see CDiii.19 ('holding fast to the House of Faith'), viii.13-14/xix.27 ('holding fast' or 'steadfast'), xx.18 ('strengthening'), xx.27 ('holding fast'), xx.33 ('their hearts will be strengthened'), 1QSiv.5, viii.7-7 ('a tested rampart, a precious cornerstone, the foundations of which will not shake or sway in their place,' and 1QHiii.35-36, vi.25-29, vii.7-10, ix.28, etc. above.
78. Cf. 1QpHabvi.16-vii.6.
79. Cf. 1QpHabx.11-12 above.
80. 'The Dajjal,' as a kind of 'Lying' eschatological figure who makes war both on 'the Christ' and/or 'the Mahdi,' depending on which tradition one is following. He is recognized in both *Sunni* and *Shi'a* Islam even though he is not mentioned in the Koran at all. Rather, he is to be found in some extremely-detailed *Hadith*.
- For Sunnism, see al-Buhari, *al-Sahih* 3.106, 4.55-4, 4.574, 9.453, Muslim, *al-Sahih* 1.296, 4.1224, 7.3197, 40.692-3, 40.7015, 40.7023, 40.7034 (identifying him with the '70,000 Jews of Isfahan' who marched on Jerusalem – probably reflecting the very real Jewish 'Messianic' revolts there of individuals like David Alroy, anticipating 'the Mourners for Zion Movement,' I have covered elsewhere, to say nothing of both *Karaim* and *Shi'ism* itself), 46.7028, 50.6979, and Abu Da'ud, *al-Sunan* 35.4230-2, 37.4281-2, 37.4283, 37.4292, 37.4306, 37.4311, 40.4738, etc.
- For 12-*Imam Shi'ism*, he is defeated at the end of time by the returning Twelfth, 'Hidden Imam,' *al-Mahdi*; while in Sunnism he appears to be defeated either by the Prophet himself or Jesus Christ! But all forms of Islam recognize him in their eschatology as a kind of 'Antichrist.' In fact, in most Islamic eschatology, 'the Dajjal' and 'Christ,' who also returns, are at war when ultimately 'the Mahdi' then also returns as well and either separate from or together with 'Christ' defeats 'the Dajjal.'
- In the Qumran Damascus Document, as well as in Hymns, 'the Liar' is also referred to as 'the Scoffer' or 'Ish ha-Lazon' ('who poured over Israel the waters of Lying'), which I interpret not simply as 'Scoffer,' but actually 'Joker' or 'Comedian' – 'Comedian' in the sense that his ideas are so ridiculous that they are not to be taken seriously; cf. CDi.14 and xx.34 (here 'the Men of Scoffing'). Also see 1QHii.31 (ii.14: 'the Scoffers of Error') and iv.9-10 for parallel materials on 'the Scoffers of Lying.'
81. 1QpHabx.12.
82. 1QpHabx.11-13 above.
83. Cf. CDvii.9 and xiii.24 among numerous other allusions to such 'Visitations.'
84. Cf. 1QpHabviii.8-ix.12.
85. 1QpHabvi.9-11. We have already discussed just this kind of violence displayed by Vespasian, Titus, and their troops around the Sea of Galilee – particularly Tarichaea; cf. *War* 2.573-641, 3. 445-532, and above, pp. 418-22 and 765-66.
86. 4QpNahiii.4-69 and cf. *War* 5.3-25 and 5.252-308 and variously. Note in 5.290 the 'Jewish prisoner, whom Titus had crucified before the wall, in the hope that the spectacle might lead the rest to surrender in dismay' – a possible model for the Gospel crucifixion of 'Jesus.' Note too how this is followed by the equally unsettling death of 'John' who seems to have been 'the brother' of a 'James' and both Leaders of the Idumeans. It is difficult to know what all this portends.
87. See 1QpHabv.5-6 above and cf. *Ant.* 20.100-103, but also see *War* 2.220-3; for his role as Governor of Egypt, see *War* 2.309; as Commander after Vespasian departed for Rome and along with Titus at crucial points in the siege of Jerusalem, *War* 4.616-18 and 6.237-43.
88. 1QpHabxii.10-14.
89. For some example of Muhammad's use of these terms or concepts in the Koran, see 2:8-20, 88-91, 96-98, 105-8, 135, 142; 3:94-5, 167; 4:48-52, 76, 88, 116-9, 132, 142; 5:60, 82; 6:138, 8:49, 9:1-36, 64-66, 113, etc. They are, indeed, widespread. Cf. 1QpHabv.5-6 above, 1QpHabxiii.3-4 below, and CDi.2-3, 16-17, ii.5-9, iii.10-12, v.11-17, viii.1-2/xix.13-14, viii.21-22/xix.34-5, xx.1-5, 8-17, 22-27, and 32-3.
90. 1QpHabxiii.1-4.

Chapter 28

1. See *The Holy Qur'an: Arabic Text with English Translation and Short Commentary*, Midrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad, Islam International Publications Ltd., 1994, nn. 995-99 on 7:66-85; but also see comments in all commentaries below on 11:61-66, 26:124-60, 41:13-18, 46:22-26, 51:41-45, 69:4-6, etc.
2. See *The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation, and Commentary* by A. Yusuf Ali, Beirut, 1968, p. 360.
3. See *The Holy Qur'an: Arabic Text with English Translation and Short Commentary* by Midrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad above, n. 998, p. 341 on 7:74.

Notes

4. See, for instance, *The Holy Qur-an*, IFTA, Medina and cf. *Surah* 46:21, n. 4798, p. 1551, *Surah* 77:11, n.5866, p. 1872, and *Surah* 4:150-60, n. 580, pp. 227-29 and those on 23:45-54, nn. 2909-10, pp. 883-84 in Yusuf Ali's *The Holy Qur-an* above.
5. See my article 'Who were the Koranic Prophets 'Ad, Thamud, Hud, and Salih?,' *Journal of Higher Criticism*, vol. xi/n. 2, 2005, pp. 96-107 (originally given to the American Academy of Religion, San Francisco, 1992 as 'Ad, Thamud, Hud, and Salih as Reflecting Edessene/Northern Syrian Conversion Stories about Thomas, Addai/Thaddaeus, Yehudah (Judas Thomas/Judas the Zealot/ Judas Barsabas), and James'; and A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur-an*, n. 1048, p. 362 on *Surah* 7:79 above.
6. See *JBj*, pp. 191-3 and 883-8 and Moses of Chorene 2.30-35, who calls her 'the first of Agbar's wives,' to whom (not insignificantly) he gave the town of Haran.
7. This comes through both Mandaeen ('the *Subba'* of the Marshes') emigration accounts and lists of 'Jewish heresies' such as in Eusebius and Epiphanius – e. g., 'the *Masbuthaeans*' in *E.I.* 4.22.5; in *Apost. Const.* 6.6 'the *Basmuthaeans*' an evident verbal reversal; and *Hanae.* 19.2.10, 20.3.2-4, 30.3.2, etc., 'the *Sampsaeans*,' another evident corruption but obviously part and parcel of 'the *Elchasaïtes*' who are in effect what Muslims are calling 'the *Subba'*' or 'Sabaeans'; and for Hippolytus, 'the *Sobiai*'; cf. the *Haran Gawaita* and pp. 90-92 and variously above.
8. See, for instance *Annals* 6.44 and 12.12, but also see Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.28; for Juvenal, for instance, *Satire* 1.33, Alexander or Demetrius, the Jewish 'Alabarch's of Alexandria are, rather, 'Arabarch's – thus.
9. Cf. pp. 75-86 above and Moses of Chorene, *History of Armenia* 2.26, who notes the kind of difficulty Westerners had pronouncing Semitic languages..
10. See *Annals* 12.12 above.
11. See *E.I.* 1.13.6, Moses of Chorene, *History of Armenia* 2.30-35, J. B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'*, pp. 62-82 above, and the Syriac *Doctrine of Addai* which, not surprisingly, has strong relations to the document known obviously as *The Acts of Thaddaeus*. In Syriac, 'Uchama' or 'Ukkama' means 'the Black.' There are many explanations for this name but the best, perhaps as we have been alluding to, is the way Acts parodies it in its episode relating to 'the Ethiopian Queen's eunuch.'
12. Also cf. Josephus' *Ant.* 1.220.
13. Cf. *Ant.* 20.38-45.
14. See *JBj*, p. 882 and 890, *Ant.* 20.25, but also see *Ant.* 1.90-95 which mentions the Third Century Armenian historian 'Berosus the Chaldaean' who calls the mountain, that of 'the *Cordyaean*,' i. e., 'the *Kurds*,' and Hippolytus 9.8 and 10:26; for Adiabene, see pp. 207-9, 372-79, 411-16, and variously above.
15. See Benjamin of Tudela, *Travels: Years* 1163-1165.
16. See, for instance, the Babylonian *Targum* on Jeremiah 51:27 and Ezekiel 27:23, *Gen R.* 37.1-4 (on the location of Adiabene and Corduene), *Yeb.* 16b on the legitimacy of converts from there (also echoed in the Jerusalem *Talmud* in a tradition ascribed to R. Nahman b. Jacob), *Kid.* 72a, j. *Meg.* i.71b, and *Yalqut* Daniel 1064. But also see *Wikipedia* article on 'Corduene' (i. e., 'Kurdistan, the linguistic equivalent to 'Adiabene,' and the sources cited there – in particular, J. Neusner 'The Jews in Pagan Armenia'; *JAOS*, 1964, p. 233) and *Ant.* 1.90-5 and 20.25 above.
17. See *Ko* 7:59-67, 9:70, 11:25-69, 14:9, 22:42, 26:106-159, 29:14-38, etc. above. These are all passages where Noah or 'the *Land of Noah*' are mentioned in the same breath as 'Ad, Thamud, Salih, and Hud.
18. For references such as this about 'minim,' see *Ber.* 9a, *San.* 37b-39b, j. *San.* 105b, *Hul.* 13a-b, *Tos. Hul.* 2.24, but, in particular, the 'Birkat ha-Minim' ('Cursing of Minim'), which includes 'Saddukim,' *Ber.* 28b-29a, *Shab.* 116a and *Tos. Shab.* 13.5; for 'Saddukim' also see *Ber.* 7a, 10a, 56b, 58a, *San.* 38b, 90b, 106a, *Git.* 45b, 57a, *Ket.* 112a, *Shab.* 14b, 88a, *A.Z.* 40b, *Ned.* 49b, *Suk.* 48b, *Hul.* 87a, *Yeb.* 63b, etc., and *Eccles. R.* 1.8.
19. *Hanae.* 19.2.10, 20.3.2-4, 30.3.2, and 53.1.1-2.2 (which identifies them as 'the *Elchasaïtes*' – an obvious equivalence).
20. See Benjamin of Tudela, *Travels: Years* 1163-1165 above.
21. See Muhammad ibn al-Nadim, *Kitab al-Fihrist* 9.1.
- 21a. 4QTesti.5-8.
22. 1QSix.11 – the allusion is to 'the Prophet and the Messiah of Aaron and Israel.'
23. See, for instance, Koran 2.82, 2.277, 3.114 (on a 'James'-like Community Muhammad both recognizes and is familiar with), 84.25, etc.
24. Cf. Koran 2.173, 5.3, 6.146, 16.115, etc.
- 26(25). The point was, as we have already explained elsewhere, that 'strangled things' was probably a way of rendering into Greek a rather technical Hebreo-Arabic usage like 'carrion,' particularly as it had something to do with carnivorous animals preying on more 'cud-chewing' ones usually via choking at the windpipe; cf. *Ps. Hom.* 7.3-4, 7.8, and 8.19 above which make it very clear we are talking about 'carrion' and even describe it.
26. See n. 11 above and J. B. Segal, *Edessa 'The Blessed City'*, pp. 62-82; and note, too, the Greek *Acts of Thaddaeus* and the Syriac *The Doctrine of Addai*.
27. Moses of Chorene 2.26-29 above.
28. Cf. Koran 9.70 and its reference to the 'disasters which came upon them,' 29.38, 41.15-19 ('loosening upon them a raging wind in Evil days'), 41.41-45, 54.18-21, and 59.4-7; also see 14.9, 22.40-42, 46.21, and 26.123-50.
29. Cf. the Syriac *Doctrine of Addai*.
30. This matter has been widely discussed, but perhaps the best-known book detailing these origins and, in effect, starting the whole series of subsequent investigations

- was Ian Wilson's *The Turin Shroud: The Burial Cloth of Jesus Christ?*, London, 1979.
31. See Gospel of Thomas 1.1.
 32. Cf. *The Acts of Thomas* 1.1, *The Doctrine of Addai, The Acts of Thaddaeus, The Teaching of the Apostles*, etc.
 33. Though Eusebius himself only calls Thomas, 'Thomas,' in *E.I.* 1.13.4, in the actual correspondence he includes, there the sentence reads 'Judas who was also called Thomas, sent to him Thaddaeus an Apostle, one of the Seventy,' (1.12.10) and here the confusion between 'Apostle' and 'Disciple' is manifest.

One should note that in the Syriac version of this in *The Teaching of the Apostles* above, the reading is 'Thomas, the Apostle, sent Judas, who is also called Thaddaeus, one of the Seventy, etc.,' and here the larger problem is also clarified. Both of these individuals are called 'Judas' and, in fact, the best ungarbled reading should probably read 'James sent Judas, his brother, etc., etc.' – the only one which makes any sense after one removes all the layers of disinformation or poorly-digested facts.
 34. Cf. *Apost. Const.* 8.25. A note identifies a variant manuscript as reading: 'Thaddaeus, also called Lebbaeus and who was surnamed Judas the Zealot, preached the Truth to the Edessenes and the People of Mesopotamia when Agbarus ruled over Edessa and was buried in Berytus of Phoenicia.' In Matthew 27:56 and Mark 15:40, this 'Mary' is seemingly called 'the mother of James and Joseph' or 'James the Less (sic), Joseph, and Salome'; but all is fairly definitively clarified in a Fragment X of Papias which states: 'Mary the wife of Cleophas or Alphaeus was the mother of James the Bishop and Apostle and of Simon and Thaddaeus, and of one Joseph' (thus – need I say more? Also see my *JBj*, Chapter 26: 'Judas Thomas and Theuda the Brother of the Just One', pp. 923-63).
 35. *E.I.* 2.23.7.
 36. Cf. n. 34 above and *E.I.* 1.12.1-4, which gives way to the 'Agbarus' story in 1.13; but also see Papias, Fragment X, who is totally confused about all these matters, falling on the horns of the dilemma (as it were) of how 'Mary the wife of Cleophas' could be the sister of her own sister 'Mary.'
 37. See 'Addai' in 1 Apoc. Jas. v.3: 35.15 and cf. 'Theuda the brother' or 'father of the Just One, since he was a relative of his' (sic) in 1 Apoc. Jas. v.4: 44:15-20
 38. Cf. Eusebius in *E.I.* 1.13.1-20 with *The Doctrine of Addai, Moses of Chorene, 2.32-3, The Acts of Thaddaeus, The Teaching of the Apostles*, etc.
 39. The Prophet 'Ad or 'Adi, obviously connected to 'Addai; 'Edessa,' and even 'Adiabene,' has always been represented in this region and the origins of this connection are clouded in obscurity. This is also true for the 'Yazidis,' themselves following in the same region their saintly progenitor, the Sufi 'Shaykh 'Adi.'
 40. *E.I.* 2.1.2-5 and cf. my discussion of the substitution in Acts of 'the election to replace Judas Iscariot' for this 'election' above, pp. 113-17, 163-69, and in *JBj*, pp. 166-209.
 41. Cf. 4QMMTIII.24-33 and see my discussion in *DSSU*, pp. 180-88 and above, pp. 553-3 and in *JBj*, pp. 900-902 and 949-59. Also see my 'A Response to Schiffman on MMT' in *The Qumran Chronicle*, 1990/91, 2/3, Cracow, pp.95-104. The point is that it is addressed to a 'King and His People' whom it wishes to compare or who wishes to compare himself to David. Since there was no King in Jerusalem at this time, we are in almost all likelihood speaking about a foreign convert who knows little about Judaism. Certainly no 'Herodian' would either require or wish such tuition, including Agrippa I. In fact, it is a 'letter to the Great King of the Peoples beyond the Euphrates' as I argue in 'MMT as a Jamesian Letter to the Great King of the Peoples or Izates,' *Journal of Higher Criticism*, Spring, 2005, 11/1, pp. 55-68, a paper I first gave at a National Session of the Society of Biblical Literature in 1991.
 42. Cf. CDVII.14-21 on 're-erecting the fallen Tent of David' and XVI.4-9 on 'taking upon oneself the Covenant' and Abraham's 'circumcising all the members of his household' in Genesis.
 43. Cf. Moses of Chorene 2.35, who specifically asserts this, but also see Josephus' note in *Ant.* 20.17-22 on Helen's husband, though going under the Persian title 'Bazeus' or 'Monobazus,' being as in the Biblical story of Abraham and Sarah her brother.
 44. Cf. *Ant.* 20.34-48 with *Gen. R.* 46.10. But also see *E.I.* 1.13.6-8 and *Acts* 9:12-7.
 45. See Josephus, *War* 4.567 concerning the palaces of 'a kinsman of King Izas of Adiabene' in Jerusalem, 5.147 where he seems to think Helen is 'the daughter of King Izas,' and J. B. Segal, *Edessa the Blessed City*, pp. 12 and 67-71 above.
 46. Note how in *Surahs* 7.65-72, 9.7, 14.9, 11.50-60, 22.42, 25.37-40, 26.123-40, etc., these 'warnings' and imprecations always follow the story of Noah and the flood. In fact, 11.52 actually alludes to rain-making as part of the Hud/'Ad tradition; the same for 25.40. See too the comments of A. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur-an*, Beirut, pp. 358-60 and 527-30. In n. 1040 on 7.65, he actually refers to this 'three year' period of drought and in 1546 on 11.52 he makes much of this drought and its end being in some way associated with Hud and 'Ad. One might wish to associated the 'three years' with James 5:17-18 and its 'efficacious prayer of the Righteous One' the actual allusion to Elijah and his paradigmatic 'three year'-plus bout of rain-cessation and rain-making in 1 Kings 17:1-18:46 already signaled earlier.
 47. Cf. how Noah is described as 'Just and Righteous in his generation' in 6:9 and how the whole episode of 'the Flood' is preceded by the allusion 'the Sons of God' having intercourse with 'the daughters of men' in 6:1-4, to say nothing of CDII.16-

- III.1's actual reference to 'fornication' in its paradigmatic retelling of this occurrence, and in the Koran cf. 7.80 11.45-49, 26,83, 27.53, etc., where both are mentioned in one way or another.
48. Cf. these kinds of allusions in Ko 11.61, 26.42, 46.21, etc.
49. See his note at the beginning of the *War* 1.4-6 that in the context of the death of Nero and the subsequent disorder, he felt it prudent to accurately inform 'those of our People beyond the Euphrates with the *Adiabeni*' (and here is the precise language of the Syriac tradition of 'the Letter to the Great King of the Peoples beyond the Euphrates' to say nothing of the specific allusion to 'those in *Adiabene*') 'concerning how the war began, the miseries it brought, and it what manner it ended.'
50. Cf. Hippolytus 9.21 with *War* 2.150 and *Ant.* 18.11-25. In the latter, he speaks of 'four philosophies,' seemingly evaluating them all equally on this basis, though in *War* 2.119 he rather seems to speak of one 'Jewish Philosophy' with 'three forms,' specifically calling the Movement founded by the 'sophist' Judas in the previous line (2.118), 'an heresios' or 'heresy,' i. e., 'sect.' it is in 2.150 that he speaks of 'the four grades' of Essenes, which mainly seem to break down according to descending order of 'Holiness' or 'purity.'
51. Hippolytus 9.22.
52. Hippolytus 9.23 and cf. this with *War* 2.160-1, both of which then seem to go on to talk of 'the Pharisees,' it not being completely clear just how these 'Pharisees' would differ from this last 'order' or 'grade' of so-called 'Essenes.'
53. Cf. Hippolytus 9.21 above.
54. This issue was particularly strong in the early days of Qumran research, I having particularly focused upon it in *MZCQ*, pp. 17-34, 55-59, and 66-78, but also see Cecil Roth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Historical Approach*, Oxford, 1959 and G. R. Driver, *The Hebrew Scrolls*, Oxford, 1959 and *The Judaean Scrolls*, Oxford, 1965 who being Oxford colleagues, worked together, and who, like myself, on p. 394 of the last-named work, stated that 'internal evidence afforded by a document must take precedence over external evidence.'
- But *par contra*, note F. M. Cross; severe criticism of both and others (in fact, anyone who stood in his way) in *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, New York, 1958, pp. 73-77 - a criticism which was followed up by his many colleagues: Milik, de Vaux, Strugnell, Tov, et. al. sweeping over all subsequent work and which, as it were, 'won the field,' still reigning supreme even today; but which was not really either subtle, succinct, or historically incisive enough to should have done so.
55. Cf. Hippolytus 9.21 with Matthew 17:24-27 (which contains the typical Paulism: 'but truly the Sons are free'; cf. I Corinthians 6:12, 9:18-19, 10:24-29, Galatians 2:4, 4:31, etc.) and *pars*. The point here is that the Gospel 'Jesus' is quite willing to pay the 'two-drachma' tax and recommend to others to do so as well, but he does not carry coinage on his own persons and seems unwilling to touch it either, rather recommending to Peter to fish up a fish with a 'stater' in its mouth. The knowledge of foreign coinage here is quite impressive, again adding to the impression of non-Palestinian authorship.
- The same for the famous issue of the 'tribute money' in Matthew 22:15-22 and *pars.*, ending up in the 'render unto Caesar and God what is God's' admonition and directed against tell-tale 'Pharisees' and 'hypocrites' again. He does not touch this or handle this either, but merely looks upon it.
56. The implied picture here of itinerant 'preachers,' 'messengers,' or 'disease-carriers,' as the case may be, is very much in keeping with that of 4QpNahIII.1, we have highlighted above, as well as Paul in Acts 16:20-21, 17:6-7 and 24:5 (pictured as another of these 'pests' or 'disease-carriers,' 'turning the world upside down' and 'stirring up trouble among the Jews around the world' - 'a ring-leader of the Nazarene Sect' - thus), reflected too in the letter of caution Claudius sent to the Jews of Alexandria, obviously around 50 CE, cautioning against the carriers of just such an 'infection,' conserved in H. Idris Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt*, London, 1934, pp. 25-28.
57. I have traced this development in all my previous work. Note how Josephus first introduces 'the Sicarii' around 55 CE in *War* 2. 254-57 and *Ant.* 20.186-204; but he doesn't actually start using the term 'Zealot' until even after that and the latter stages of the *War* after 68 CE (though he once does apply the terms 'zealous for the Law' to the revolutionaries in the Temple around the time of Herod's last illness just before his death in 4 BC (*War* 1.655), and this particularly in the context of individuals like 'Simeon the son of Gamaliel,' Josephus' friend 'Jesus ben Gamala,' and James murderer 'Ananus ben Ananus,' inciting the crowd against them as 'disease-carriers and infectors of their freedom' (note the ideological reversal here again) and 'Temple polluters' (*War* 4.158-62 - using the exact language of Paul in Galatians 4:17-18 of 'not being zealous of good works,' for Paul: 'in the right way,' but 'zealous in the pursuit of Evil,' for Paul: 'to exclude') and applying, after the vengeance they take for the death of James on these individuals already delineated above (*War* 4.302-10), to one particular group - that led by Eleazar ben Simon' holed up in the Temple only (*War* 5.3-528). But, as against this charge of 'polluting the Temple,' see the opposite one of 'polluting the Temple of God' levelled against 'the Wicked Priest' (Ananus ben Ananus?) in 1QpHabxii.8-9.
- 58(52). Hippolytus . 9.22 above.
- 58(49). See nn. 54 and 57 above and C. Roth,

- The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Historical Approach*, Oxford, 1959, G. R. Driver, *The Hebrew Scrolls*, Oxford, 1959 and *The Judaean Scrolls*, Oxford, 1965, and my *MZCQ*, pp. 17–34, 55–59, and 66–78, as well as F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, New York, 1958, pp. 73–77.
59. See, in particular, the actual use of this term in 1QSⁱⁱ.15 ('*zeal for His/ God's Ordinances*'), iv.4 ('*zeal for the Ordinances of Righteousness*'), and ix.23 ('*being like a man zealous for the Law*') and their opposite in iv.10 ('*the Way of Darkness of the Evil soul: 'zeal for lustfulness*'), iv.17–18 ('*zeal for division*'), x.19–20 ('*not zealous in a spirit of Evil*'), etc., but also see these aggressive attitudes surrounding these '*Last Days*,' '*the Torah of Moses*,' '*zeal against Backsliders and Traitors to the New Covenant*' in CDⁱ.17–ii.1, ii.5–8, ii.15–iii.12, iii.20, iv.4–7, v.12–16, v.21, vi.10–vii.9, vii.14–viii.10/xix.9–21, viii.14–21/xix.24–34, xx.6–13, xx.22–34, 1QpHabⁱⁱ.1–6, v.3–12, vii.2–14, viii.1–3, ix.4–8, x.3–5, xi.15, xii.10–xiii.4, etc.
60. See, for instance, Eusebius' version of these names and my comments in n. 53 of Chapter 8 above and in *JBj*, pp. 866–882; for '*Augurus*,' see *ANCL: Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae* 206 (and compare the spelling here with Dio Cassius 68:18–21). For '*Albanus*' and '*Albanus*' also see Tacitus 6.44 and 8.12, Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.28, and various Latin versions of some of the documents mentioned above and in the *ANCL Fragments*. In my view, this error was already occurring in Acts transference of '*Agbarus*' to the patently nonsense name of '*Agabus*.'
61. Editor note on variant mss. in *ANCL: Apost. Const.* 8.25 and above, nn. 5 and 24. One should compare this to another work attributed to Hippolytus in *ANCL's Appendix on Hippolytus: Hippolytus on the Twelve Apostles: 'Judas, also called Lebbaeus, preached to the people of Edessa and to all Mesopotamia and fell asleep at Berytus and was buried there'* and cf. too *Epist. Apost.* 12 and *JBj* above, pp. 807–16, 860–64, and 930–38.
62. See Josephus, *War* 7.253–444, particularly 7.410–19 and 437–44.
63. *Ibid.*, 7.437, 439, 444 and *Vita* 424 and his narrative about Jonathan of Cyrene who accused him of sending both weapons and money to support the Uprising there, but who, on Josephus' testimony that he was '*a Liar*,' was put to death by Vespasian.
64. *Ad. Haer.* 1.31.1
65. Cf. Gospel of Judas 45 with CD^{vii}.19–21, 1QM^{xi}.6–7, and 4Q^{Test}.9–10.
66. Cf. Galatians 2:3–4, 2:7–9, 2:12, 5:6–7. but most of all 5:12, where he makes a ribald joke about it, all the time using the language of both '*the Essenes*' and the Qumran sectaries about '*cutting off*' – for them, meaning to excommunicate, but for him a double entendre playing off their '*zealousness to exclude*' above (4:17).
67. Cf. Hippolytus 9.21 with *War* 2.152. Note the difference here. One has the '*Jamesian*' and Koranic refusal – and this on pain of death – '*to eat things sacrificed to idols*'; the other, merely the more general refusal '*to eat forbidden foods*.' Which is more precise or more accurate? The reader must judge.
68. Cf. Hippolytus 9.21 with *Ant.* 18.23 and *War* 2.118, both of which emphasize the refusal '*to call any man Lord*' – including the Roman Emperor. No wonder there was so much trouble.
69. One can see this by comparing *War* 2.151–153 with *Ant.* 18.23–24. For this, perhaps, Hippolytus' version is perhaps better – combining the two into '*Zealot*' or '*Sicarii Essenes*.'
70. *War* 4.310–25 above (Of course, who exactly these '*Idumaeans*' were, whom Josephus conveniently links with '*the Zealots*' in the execution of these bloody deeds, is a subject which begs explanation).
71. Cf. *War* 4.241–3, 352–58, etc. By this time, he seems to be including descriptions of this kind to please persons like Agrippa II, but then his own animus following the brutal dispatch of his friend Jesus ben Gamala we mentioned above was perhaps motivation enough.
72. For these kind of allusions to '*the First*' or '*the Forefathers*' or '*the Ancestors*' – usually associated with '*the Brii*' or '*the Covenant of the Forefathers*' – see CDⁱ.4, iii.10, iv.6–9, vi.2, viii.16–17 (a Qumran form of Pauline '*Grace*' as we have seen), xx.8–9, this actually contrasting '*the First*' with '*the Last*' as in the Gospels (Matthew 20:16 and *pars.*), but of course to opposite ideological effect, and xx.31 – in another document, also see 1QS^{ix}.10, but this framed rather in terms of '*the Ordinances of the First*.' This expression, of course, should be linked up with '*the Last Times*'/'*the Last Days*,' i. e., in the view of the sectarians, that time presently transpiring.
73. Hippolytus, 9.21.
74. *Ibid.* and cf. Peter in Acts 10:28, somewhat tendentiously speaking to those of the household of the '*God-fearing*' Centurion ('*well-spoken of by the whole of the Jewish People*' – *sic!*) Cornelius: '*You know it is now Lausful for a Jewish man to go with or come near one of another race*' and a similar notice in Josephus' description of '*the Essenes*' about '*being touched by an inferior member*' in *War* 2.151.
75. *War* 7.253–406.
76. Cf. n. 74 above and *War* 2.151.
77. In these episodes, of course, something miraculous is usually achieved; cf. Matthew 9:20–29 and 14:35–36 and *pars.* concerning '*touching the hem of his garment*' (echoing to some extent what Jerome in *Vir. ill.* 2 and *Commentary on Galatians* 1:19 tells us about James in the tradition he recounts that, so Holy was he that the People sought to touch the hem of James' garments as he walked by), 8:3–15, 14:36, 17:17, 20:34, etc. and *pars.*
78. Hippolytus 9.21.
79. Cf. Hippolytus 9.21 with *War* 2.151–153

Notes

- with *Ant.* 18.23–24.
80. Cf. *War* 2.151–153 and also note the extremely important early Leader of the Uprising, *John the Essene* – *War* 2.567 and 3.11–19, which ends with the picture of his death at Ashkelon. He is involved in this engagement with two companions with the curious names of ‘*Niger*’ and ‘*Silas the Babylonian*’ – names also familiar in early Christian history.
 81. *War* 2.152.
 82. Hippolytus 9.21 above.
 83. Cf. 4QMMTii.2–22 and 11QTXLVII.13–17 and see my Appendix on ‘*Ballaʾ/Belaʾ in the Temple Scroll*’ in *JJHP*, pp. 87–94. Also note the whole section on ‘*pollution of the Temple*’ in 4QMMTii.2–24 and 11QTXLV.7–LV.8 ending with the imprecation ‘*not to eat the blood, but pour it out on the ground*’ (thus!) and then leading into, significantly, ‘*Nazirite*’ oaths.
 84. CDiv.15–18 and v.6–8, but see our note above about Josephus in *War* 4.157–61 and 241–3 putting this charge both in the mouths of the son of Paul’s alleged teacher, ‘*Simeon ben Gamaliel*,’ ‘*Jesus ben Gamala*,’ and ‘*Ananus ben Ananus*’ attacking ‘*the Zealots*’ and Paul himself in 1 Corinthians 3:16–17 and 8:2–10:21, against ‘*those claiming to have Knowledge*’ and/or the Leadership of ‘*the Jerusalem Church*’; also see how Paul reflects this in 2 Corinthians 6:16–7:3, including the defective allusion to ‘*Beliaʾ*’ and Josephus himself in *War* 2.423.
 85. Cf. *War* 2.254–57, 425, and *Ant.* 20.186.
 86. Cf. *War* 2.409–16.
 87. *War* 2.259, 274, 407, etc. and cf. *Ant.* 18.10 on the effects of the beginning of the Movement led by ‘*Judas and Sadduk*’.
 88. See my comments on the ‘*Lex Cornelia de Sicarius et Veneficis*’ in *JBj*, pp. 183–84, 996, and 1005–6 and above, pp. 29–30, 169, 252–55, and 389–86 and in ‘*Sicarii Essenes, “Those of the Circumcision,” and Qumran*,’ *Journal of Higher Criticism* vol. 12, n. 1, Spring, 2001 and in *Revue de Qumran* 70, 2008, pp. 247–60; and cf. Origen in *Contra Celsus* 2.13 defining ‘*Sicarii*’ as those attempting to forcibly circumcise others, just this sort of behaviour described by Hippolytus’ ‘*Sicarii*’/‘*Zealot Essenes*’ in 9.22 above and Josephus in *War* 2.450–55 just after, for instance, the fall of the Citadel at the beginning of the Uprising and the punishment meted out to the Roman Commander Metilius there, who had surrendered (thanks to the intermediation of one ‘*Gurion son of Nicomedes*’ – thus – and ‘*Ananias son of Zadok*’ – an individual involved with the High Priest Ananus ben Ananus in undermining Josephus’ command in Galilee according to *Vita* 197–203 and variously) and Dio Cassius 68.3–4 on how this set of Roman legal tradition (ascribed to Publius Cornelius Scipio – therefore its appellation) came into effect in Nerva’s time, but gained particular force under Hadrian.
 89. 2.13 above.
 90. This is made clear in Jerome’s Letter 84 to Pammachius and Oceanus.
 91. *Ibid.*
 92. See nn. 54 and 57 above and Paul in Galatians 4:17–18, but also see his typical practice of reversal in 1 Corinthians 14:12, 2 Corinthians 7:11 and 9:2; Galatians 1:14, and Philippians 3:6.
 93. Cf. Dio Cassius 68.3–4 above.
 94. See the article in the Encyclopaedia Judaica ‘*Sicaricon*’ and note that Origen actually calls the person who forcibly circumcises either himself or others, a ‘*sicarion*’ – a displacement of only one letter, both in the Hebrew and, of course, the sobriquet ‘*Iscariot*’.
- For this matter of ‘*the Sicaricon*,’ imposed after Hadrian’s suppression of the Bar Kochba War and, most probably (if Dio Cassius’ note about Nerva is correct) after the First Jewish Uprising as well, and widely reported in the *Talmud*, a document gaining its formation in these times, which related in Palestine to the confiscation of ‘*Enemy Property*’ or, in fact, the property of those who had participated in some manner in the Uprising or given support to those who had – a typical practice in Roman occupation (not to mention those following); *Git.* 55b, *B. B.* 47b, etc. But why such a confiscation should have been called ‘*Sicaricon*’ both in Latin/Greek and in Hebrew surely relates to it having been imposed upon those participating in these Uprisings and, by extension, circumcision both of themselves and others.
95. *Ibid.*
 96. CDxvi.4–6 above.
 97. For this position, see CDvii.4–9 on Deuteronomy 9:7, repeated in xx.12 and 21–23.
 98. CDxvi.8–9.
 99. See nn. 68 and 79 above and cf. Hippolytus 9.21 with *War* 2.152–3 with *Ant.* 18.23–24.
 100. *Loc. cit.*
 101. For other usages of this term, see 1QSIII.23: ‘*His Mastemah*,’ 1QMxii.4 and possibly 11, 4Q390 (PsMoses’), Frag. 1, Line 11: ‘*Angels of Mastemoth*,’ 4QPsezek (385–9), Frags. 4–6, Col. 2, Line 13: ‘*Angels of Mastemoth*’ again, 4QBer(286–7), Frag. 3, Col. 2, Line 2 (here meaning something like ‘*Satanic*’), 4QBeat (525), Frag. 4, Col. 5, Line 4: ‘*Mastemah*,’ etc.
 102. CDxvi.4–6 above.
 103. Cf. *Ant.* 20 and *Gen. R.* 46.10, but on the conversion of Helen in general also see *A. Z.* 19b
 104. See 1QSIII.23 and cf. CDxvi.5.
 105. CDix.1.
 106. Cf. 4QMMTii.2–24 with *War* 2.409–16.
 107. 4QMMTii.8–9.
 108. See nn. 63 and 75 above and cf. *War War* 7.253–454, particularly 7.410–36.
 109. See *War* 437–54 and *Vita* 424 above and the Revolution led by Jonathan of Cyrene there, unrest which obviously continued beyond its suppression. See for instance, Dio Cassius 68.31–2 and 69.12–14, Sallust, *Histories* 2.40–42, Eusebius, *E. I.* 4.21–4, etc.

110. Matthew 6:44, 15:38, 16:9-10 and pars. above; also cf. John 6:10, and Acts 4:4. For 'the wilderness,' of course, one should also see CDiv.2-3 and vi.5 about 'the Penitents going out from the Land of Judah to dwell in the Land of Damascus,' 1QMt.2-3 about 'the Sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin – 'the Goliath of the Desert' and/or 'the Sons of Light' – will return from the Desert of the Peoples to camp in the Desert of Jerusalem,' and 1QSviii.13-14 and ix.19-20 about 'going out into the wilderness to prepare (John the Baptist-like – this is also the implication of 'the Penitents' in CD) the Way of the Lord.'
111. Cf. n. 109 above and *War* 7.437-54 and *Vita* 424.
112. For examples of this, see CDiii.1, , iii.6-7, iii.9 (one could even call this an historical sermon on 'abstention from blood,' 'Friendship to God,' 'cutting off,' and 'delivering up those who desert the Covenant of God'), and xx.25-26; but cf. also 1QSii.16, 1QHiv.26-27, etc.
113. Cf. CDiv.3, vi.8-9 ('the Nobles of the People' equivalent in this exegesis to 'Nilvini' in CDiv.3), CDx.2, xx.19-20, 1QPnAhiii.7-9 and iv.5, 4Q448 ('The Paean to King Jonathan')ii.7; and cf. Acts 9:31 on the multiplication of the Churches in Judea, Galilee, and Samaria (but also 2:43 on the 'fear' engendered by 'the descent of the Holy Spirit'), 10:2 and 10:35 designating (somewhat laughably) the 'God-Fearing' Roman Centurion 'Cornelius' of the 'Italica Regiment in Caesarea' (sic), and Paul in Acts 13:16, 13:36, and 16:38, Romans 3:18, 8:14-15 (talking about becoming 'Sons of God by adoption' but not through 'bondage' and 'fear' and echoing the 'slave woman' parody in Galatians 4), 11:20 (followed by several significant allusions to 'cutting off'), 13:7, 2 Corinthians 7:1 (the most perfect statement of the concept using of course the vocabulary of Qumran), Ephesians 5:21, etc.
114. We have discussed 'Iblis' above, but see Ko 2.34, 7.11 15.30-32, 17.61, 18.51, 20.116, 26.95, 38.75-76, etc.
115. Cf. Paul in 1 Corinthians 11:25 (of course, this is 'the Covenant of consuming blood' – the total opposite of at Qumran and in James directives to overseas Communities and, one might add, Islam) and 2 Corinthians 3:6 with Jeremiah 31:31-32, Ezekiel 11:20, 18:21, 36:27, etc.
116. Among such allusions in this speech, one might count 26:6: 'the promises made to the Fathers by God' (cf. CDviii.15 incorporating the same idea of 'Grace'), 26:16: 'stand up' (usage found throughout the Qumran corpus, as we have been showing), 24:18: 'turning from Darkness to Light' (again imagery so familiar at Qumran that it is hardly worth enumerating), 24:20: 'preaching first to those in Damascus' (cf. CDvii.18-19: 'the Star who came to Damascus') and then 'to all the Region of Judea' (cf. CDiv.3 and vi.5: 'the Land of Judah' above), and 'the Peoples' ('Amim' at Qumran, as we have been stressing throughout), 'turning to God, doing works worthy or Repentance' (here the Qumran language of 'doing' and 'works' and cf. CDi.8-10, not to mention the tell-tale language of 'Penitents' in CDiv.2, vi.5 – here 'the Diggers' – viii.16, and, most particularly at the end, in xx.17 where they are called 'the Penitents from Sin in Jacob'), etc.
117. Cf. n. 113 and variously above and, for example, in CDxx.19-20.
118. CDxx.21-34
119. Cf. 4QD266, Frag. 1, Line 1-Frag. 2, Line 6 (Plate 6 above) and 4QD268, Frag. 1, Lines 1-8 (Plate 74).
120. CDvi.17-19,
121. See *JBj*, pp. 353-64 and *E.I.* 2.23.7.
122. See n. 37 in Chapter 27 above. For 'called by Name' At Qumran, see the passage, oft-quoted above, in CDiv.2-4, but also CDii.11, 1QPviii.9 ('called by the Name of Truth'), and 4QInstruction^d (4Q418), Fragment 81, Line 12: ('called by His Name'); in Acts, see 2:21, 3:16 ('made strong in this Name'), 4:7, 8:12, 9:21 ('called by this Name'), and finally 15:17 ('all the Gentiles upon whom My Name has been called'), all cited above.
123. Cf. CDvii.13-14, vii.21-viii.3, xix13-14, and perhaps, most importantly, xx.27-34; but also see notices like 1QMt.6-7, etc. For 'seeking'; see *inter alia* the all-important CDi.10 ('seeking Him with a whole heart' above) and 'the Seeker of the Torah' in CDvii.7 and vii.8-9, not to mention 4QFlor.11 that parallels it.
124. Cf. Paul in Galatians 5:2-3: ('If you are circumcised, Christ will not profit you' – a true statement of his 'Christ' idea); but see 5:6: 'For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is worth anything, but rather Faith working with love' – always an attractive ideology, of course, but clearly missing the 'Jamesian' ideology of 'works'; i.e., 'Faith working with works'; and finally (following his ribald slur on circumcision in 5:12, we have already sufficiently covered above and using the 'cutting off' language: 'I even would that those who are confusing you would themselves cut off'), Galatians 6:12-15: 'As many desire to make a show in the flesh, these force you to be circumcised only so that they may not be persecuted for the cross of Christ (repeating and clarifying to some degree a similar odd accusation in 1 Corinthians 11:27 following upon his delineation of 'Communion with the body and blood of Christ')...they desire you to be circumcised so they might boast in your flesh' (thus).
Also see 1 Corinthians 7:19: 'Circumcision is nothing and not being circumcised is nothing, but keeping God's Commandments is everything' (here he does use the 'keeping,' but does he really mean 'the Commandments of God' or something more like Romans 13:1-2: 'Everyone must submit to the governing Authorities; there is no Authority but by the act of God?') and Romans 2:25-29 (very diffuse and somewhat dissembling). *Par contra*, see Romans 3:1: 'What profit circumcision?'; as in Galatians 6:15, and finally Romans 4:9-12,

- echoing 1 Corinthians 7:19 and Galatians 5:6 above and which can be considered his general conclusion: *'not in circumcision but in uncircumcision'*.
125. See n. 115 above and Jeremiah 31:31-34 and Ezekiel 11:19-20 and 36:26.
126. For some parallel usages here, see CDi.8-9 above: *'And they understood their Sinfulness and knew they were Sinners, etc., etc.'* and xx.17: *'But the Penitents from Sin in Jacob kept the Covenant of God'* (here the *'keeping'* language again).
127. For particularly important instances of this *'camp' / 'camps'* usage, see 4QMMTi.66-70: *'One is not to bring dogs into the Holy Camp because they may eat some of the bones in the Temple with the flesh still on them, because Jerusalem is the Holy Camp – the place that He chose from all the Tribes of Israel. Thus Jerusalem is the foremost of the camps of Israel.'* One should also have regard for 4QD266, Fragment 11 (as we have seen above, the last Column of the Damascus Document – Plate 54), Lines 17-19, CDvi.8-9, vii.6, x.23-xi.1, xii.22-3, xiii.4-7, 12-20, xx.26 (perhaps, most importantly), 1QMiii.4-5, 13, iv.9, vii.1-7, x.1, xv.2, xviii.4, etc. Also cf. above, pp. 416-28.
128. Cf. CDiv.11-12 with 1QpHabvi.12-13 and see the way these usages are compared in DSSFc, pp. 359 and 409.
129. See my Appendix on *'The Three Nets of Belial in the Damascus Document and Balla' / Bela' in the Temple Scroll'* in *JJHP* – in particular, pp. 88-93 explaining *'Balaam'* as *'Swallower of the People'* and *'Be'or'* as *'be'ir' / animal'* in *San.* 105a. Cf. too, above, pp. 412-4, 728-41, 757-69, and 833-9, *JBJ*, pp. 505-12, 637-8, and 706-13, and note the mix-ups in the Biblical genealogies where *'Bela'* is the name of the first Edomite King (Genesis 14:2-18, 36:31-3, and 1 Chronicles 1:43-44). In Genesis 46:21, Numbers 26:38, and 1 Chronicles 7-8, he is also the firstborn son of Benjamin, which sets up interesting resonances, as we have been pointing out, with Paul's claim to be *'of the Tribe of Benjamin'* and his possible *Herodian* origins.
- For Judges 19:20, *'the Sons of Belial'* are also Benjaminites, the inhabitants of Saul's Gibeah and their reprehensible sexual acts put them in particular ill-repute and make their name a byword for demonic characterization; cf. 2 Samuel 16:7, 20:1, and 2 Chronicles 13:7, where the usage is often applied to Benjaminites in close association with *'Saul'* who, moreover, oppose the Davidic King line. Likewise, in 1 Kings 21:13, two *'Sons of Belial'* are directly involved at the instigation of *'Jezebel'* (another name with interesting *'Bela'*-like overtones) in the stoning of Naboth for *'blasphemy'* and *'opposing the King'*.
- Finally, in these genealogies, *Bela's* father is *Be'or*, just as *Balaam's* is in the genealogies relating to him (cf. Numbers 22:5-24:15, 31:8, Deuteronomy 23:4,
- Joshuah 13:22, 24:9, etc. – a point also noted in the pregnant allusions in 2 Peter 2:15, which bring us full circle on all these *'Bela'*, *'Be'or'*, and *'Balaam'* interplays and allusions, tying up these relationships to both *'Benjaminites'* and *'Herodians'*, who were obviously exploiting these genealogical *'holes'*, weaknesses, and/or interplays to make a variety of Hebrew or Israelitic (if not *'Judaistic'*) claims for themselves.

Notes