

# STUDIES IN THE TEMPLE SCROLL

JACOB MILGROM

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY, CA 94720

## 1. *The Higher Status of the Levites*

Of the many innovations found in the recently published Temple Scroll,<sup>1</sup> the higher status accorded the Levites is one of the more startling, for it goes far beyond the status the Levites possessed at any time during their history and even beyond the idealistic demands of the Bible itself. The references to the Levites in the Temple Scroll are as follows:

(1) The central gate of the eastern sides of the middle and outer courts is named for the Levites (39:12; 40:14). The priests (and Moses) were encamped in this position in the wilderness camp (Num 3:38).

(2) Three sections of chambers are assigned to the three families that comprise the tribe of Levi (Kohath, Gershon, and Merari), the priests received two sections and the tribes one apiece (44). The location of the levitic chambers are in accord with the position of the levitic families in the wilderness camp (Num 3:23, 29, 35).

(3) It is the first of the tribes to have the privilege of offering sacrifices on the Wood Offering festival (23:9-24:11). Again, there is no biblical precedent: the tribe of Levi never appears in a ritual in consort with other tribes nor does it ever appear first in a tribal list.

(4) During the New Wine and New Oil festivals, one pair of the fourteen lambs and fourteen rams is given to the Levites, one for the priest and one for each tribe (21:[1]; 22:12). Since Levi is also one of the twelve tribes—Manasseh and Ephraim always being subsumed under Joseph in the scroll—it follows that Levi receives a double portion of the sacrifices. There is no biblical support for either the sacrifices or the Levites' share.<sup>2</sup>

(5) The word "Levites" is inserted into the citation for Deut 19:17 so that judges will be chosen from Levites as well as priests (61:8-9). There is

<sup>1</sup>Cited from the Hebrew *editio princeps*: *The Temple Scroll* (Hebrew), ed. Y. Yadin, 3 vols. plus supplement (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1977).

<sup>2</sup>It is not insignificant that according to Jubilees, whose doctrinal similarities to the teachings of Qumran are well-known, the patriarch Isaac blessed Levi with his right hand and Judah with his left (*Jub.* 31:13), thereby indicating that the chief blessing, perhaps even primogeniture, was imparted to Levi (cf. *T. Judah* 21:2; Gen 48:17-21). This would also explain why Levi followed by Judah are the first two tribes to offer sacrifices during the Wood Offering festival (no. 3, above) as well as why the Aaronic messiah precedes the Davidic messiah in Qumran protocol (e.g. 1QSa 2:11-12).

no variant reading in the versions that might posit another *Vorlage* for this addition. Possibly, the author of the scroll deduced from another deuteronomic verse dealing with the judiciary, Deut 17:9 (and reading *הכהנים והלויים*, "the priests or the Levites"; cf. Syr.; also 56:1), that the Levites must be included in the judiciary.

(6) There is equal representation for priests, Levites and Israelites in the king's cabinet whose decisions he is enjoined to obey (57:12-15). There is no biblical warrant.<sup>3</sup>

(7) The levitic perquisites are: the first tithe, the shoulder of the well-being offering, one hundredth of the spoil and hunt, one tenth of the wild honey, one fiftieth of the wild doves (60:6-9) and two pairs of the fourteen lambs and fourteen rams offered on the New Wine and New Oil festivals (see above). The first tithe and the share of the spoil is ordained by Scripture (Num 18:21-24; 31:30); the others are innovations. However, historical evidence certifies that the priests had preempted the levitic tithe at some point during the Second Temple period (*Yebam.* 86b; cf. *Jub.* 13:24-26) and there is no record that the law of the spoil was ever observed. Thus every item in the perquisites listed by the scroll for the Levites would have constituted an innovation for its day. The most radical innovation, however, is the assignment of the shoulder of the well-being offering to the Levites. Neither is the shoulder ever considered a sacred portion nor are the Levites ever awarded sacrificial flesh. The sect's ruling can be shown to be based on its interpretation of Deut 18:1-3.<sup>4</sup>

(8) Levites perform the sacrificial slaughter in the regular cult (22:4).<sup>5</sup> Here too the scroll polemicalizes against contemporary temple practice. Early in the Second Temple period, sacrificial slaughter at least, on occasion,<sup>6</sup> had been performed by the Levites (cf. Ezek 44:10-11; 2 Chr 30:17; 35:6, 10-11). However, toward the end of this period, at the time of the scroll, the slaughtering was performed by the priests. Though the later rabbinic rulings declare that slaughtering may be done by a non-priest (e.g., *m. Zebah* 3:1), in practice, only priests perform the slaughtering (cf. *m. Yoma* 2:3; *m. Mid.* 4:7;

<sup>3</sup>It may have been modeled on the Chronicler's conception of Jehoshaphat's central tribunal (2 Chr 19:5-11); cf. J. M. Baumgarten's study of 4Qp1s<sup>d</sup>, "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation and the Sanhedrin," *JBL* 95(1976) 59-78.

<sup>4</sup>Cf. J. Milgrom, "A Shoulder for the Levites," in *Temple Scroll*, 1, 131-36.

<sup>5</sup>For this reason I differ with Yadin who places the house of slaughter within the inner wall of the inner court (I, 159, fig. 5), an area out of bounds to the Levites! Moreover, the scroll itself stipulates that the "most sacred" area of the inner court encompasses the altar, the sanctuary, the laver, and the stoa (35:8-9); by inference the house of slaughter is excluded. Ezekiel solved this problem by prescribing that the sacrificial slaughter take place on tables set outside of or within the northern inner gate (Ezek 40:38-42), an arrangement by which the Levites were still excluded from the inner court. However, that the Temple Scroll still ordains that the Levites perform the sacrificial slaughter in the house of slaughter, presumably located inside the inner court (but outside the inner wall), constitutes a major concession.

<sup>6</sup>Cf. J. Liver, *Chapters in the History of the Priests and Levites* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1968), 22-23 (Heb.).

b. *Ketub.* 106a)<sup>7</sup> Thus the scroll's assignment of the sacrificial slaughter to the Levites constitutes an innovation.

(9) Most significant of all: *Levites are assigned priestly functions.* Since the sect had the Levites pronounce the curses during the annual initiation rites for new members (IQS 2:5)—a function derived from Deut 27:14—it also may have deduced for the Levites the equal right to pronounce the blessing (IQS 1:18–20, despite IQS 6:5; IQSa 2:19–20). Moreover, it would have had a specific biblical verse to support this claim: “At that time, the Lord set apart the tribe of Levi . . . to bless in His name” (Deut 10:8, cf. 18:5 LXX, Sam). The designation of “the tribe of Levi” can only mean that all Levites have the inalienable right to offer the blessing.<sup>8</sup> True, as non-priests, Levites are forbidden at pain of death to gain access to the altar (34:4–9)<sup>9</sup> but presumably they might pronounce the blessing elsewhere in the sacred precincts.<sup>10</sup> The scroll also assigns Levites the duty לשרת which, however, in this case can only mean “assist” (cf. 60:14; Num 18:2).<sup>11</sup>

Thus the Levites have been elevated to a status which further separates them from the laity by being assigned new perquisites from sacrifices and offerings and totally new judicial and cultic duties, including at least one heretofore held exclusively by the priests.

The quantity and thrust of these innovative rules are not the product of abstract speculation but are a polemic whose historical background can readily be discerned. It is a protest against the Wicked Priest (Jonathan Maccabeus?) who usurped the high priesthood and displaced the true Zadokite line.<sup>12</sup> At some point, the priests had usurped the levitic title and the levitic role as sacrificial slaughterers; the scroll demands their restoration to the Levites. The scroll also insists that the foreleg portion assigned to the priests from the sacrifices does not include the shoulder (20:14–16; 21:02–05;

<sup>7</sup>Cf. S. Safrai, *Pilgrimage at the Time of the Second Temple* (Tel Aviv: Am Hasefer, 1965) 235–36 (Heb.); idem, “The Temple and the Divine Service,” *The Herodian Period* (World History of the Jewish People; New Brunswick: Rutgers University, 1975) 7: 291–94.

<sup>8</sup>Strikingly, the Chronicler omits the words “and to bless in His name” from his quotation of Deut 10:8 (1 Chr 15:2), an indication that in the Chronicler’s time, the priests continued to fulfill the exclusive function of offering the blessing (cf. 1 Chr 23:13).

<sup>9</sup>Cf. J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology* (Berkeley: University of California, 1970) 5–37.

<sup>10</sup>Even the rabbis distinguish between the priestly blessing and the other rites performed by the priests by allowing blemished priests to offer the blessing (*t. Sota* 7:8) even though they must ascend the porch of the temple, an area otherwise forbidden to them (*m. Kelim* 1:9). Also, the priestly blessing, in contradistinction to other rites, could be offered in the city of Jerusalem outside the temple (*m. Sota* 7:6).

<sup>11</sup>However, the possibility must be entertained that לשרת means “to officiate,” i.e., that the Levites had the right, at least theoretically, to officiate in the altar. The scriptural basis for sharing this ultimate priestly prerogative with the Levites would, then, have been: “The priests and (with Vg. Syr.) the Levites and the sons of Zadok . . . they shall offer to me suet and blood” (Ezek 44:15; cf. CD 3:21–4:2).

<sup>12</sup>G. Vermes, “The Dead Sea Scrolls,” *IDBSup* 213; J. A. Goldstein, *1 Maccabees* (AB 41; Garden City: Doubleday, 1976) 66.

22:8-11; 60:6-7); had it been usurped by the priests? Thus the scroll gives new grounds for investigating the tensions and struggles among priestly families and between priests and Levites at the end of the Second Temple period.

## II. *The Shoulder for the Levites and the ראשית*

Yadin differs with me on my interpretation of the levitic prebend of the shoulder from the well-being offering in three minor points:

(1) Whereas I contend<sup>13</sup> that the author of the scroll derived the need to provide the Levites sacrificial flesh from Deut 18:1 . . . כל שבט לוי . . . shall live only off . . . the Lord's fire offerings,"<sup>14</sup> Yadin proposes an alternate source: the term מנה, "portion." Though in the Pentateuch it refers solely to the priestly prebends of the thigh and chest of the well-being offering (Exod 29:26; Lev 7:33; 8:29),<sup>15</sup> in the postexilic literature it exhibits a wider range (2 Chr 31:4-6; cf. Neh 12:44; 13:10). Hence, when the scroll refers to the shoulder as a מנה of the Levites (21:02-05; 22:8-11), it has this late biblical usage in mind (1. 122).

(2) I have contended that the entire foreleg was viewed as a sacred portion for the diety in the ancient Near East, but the scroll ordains that the זרוע assigned to the priest (Deut 18:3) does not include the uppermost part of the foreleg, the shoulder, which is reserved for the Levites.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, Yadin argues (1. 123-24) that the author of the scroll could not assign the Levites a portion not specified in the Torah. He therefore required of the priests to give a part of their prebend, the shoulder or the upper part of the animal's foreleg, to the Levites. Hence, this priestly portion is called הרארוע עד עצם השכם "the foreleg until the shoulder bone" (20:16), implying that the entire foreleg is called the זרוע. Abetting this interpretation is the designation of the Levites' portion as מן הרארוע "the shoulder which remains from the foreleg" (21:04).

(3) Since the time Yadin graciously showed me the four citations dealing with the shoulder (20:14-16; 21:02-05; 22:8-11; 60:6-7), he has restored in one text the word ולראשית (22:9) which he interprets to mean that the foreleg, cheek and stomach assigned to the priests (Deut 18:3) and the shoulder to the Levites only stem from the ראשית, "the first fruits" well-being offering, i.e., only from the well-being offering sacrificed on the First Fruits festivals but not from any other well-being offering (1.121). The term ראשית is to be associated with the first fruits in Num 18:12-13 and it is included in the same context of the shoulder both in the Bible (Deut 18:4) and the Mishnah (*Hil.* 11:1; *Nid.* 6:7).

<sup>13</sup>J. Milgrom, "A Shoulder for the Levites."

<sup>14</sup>I cite the usual translation for ראשית, however, see the *NEB*, following J. Hoffjizer, "Das sogenannte Feueropfer," *Festschr* 16 (1967) 114-34; G. R. Driver, "Ugaritic and Hebrew Words," *Ugaritica* 6 (1969) 181-84.

<sup>15</sup>לשוק ולחזה (1. 122) should be corrected to ראשית ולחזה.

<sup>16</sup>Cf. Milgrom, "A Shoulder for the Levites."

I shall reply to his points seriatim:

(1) The term מנה in the Bible, even in the later books, never refers to sacrificial flesh. In 2 Chr 31:4-6 the levitic מנה is clearly the מעשר הכהן, "the tithe from everything."<sup>17</sup> In Nehemiah, the "Torah's portions" (12:44) for the Levites can only refer to the "tithes" (ibid.) since the same pericope speaks of the Levites "sanctifying (from their portions) for the Aaronides" (12:47) which can only refer to the tithe the Levites are required to set aside for the priests from their own tithes (Num 18:25-32).<sup>18</sup> The remaining mention of the levitic מנה, Neh 13:10, clearly refers back to v 5 and forward to v 12, both of which specify the portion assigned to the Levites as their tithes. Thus the term מנה in reference to the Levites is limited solely to tithes; it never refers to any sacrificial flesh, much less to the foreleg of the well-being offering.

(2) From the start it was obvious to me that the language השכם הנשאר הישכם (21:04) would favor the interpretation that the shoulder is part of the זרוע. I chose however, to render the preposition מן "apart from, without," even though this meaning is infrequent (e.g., Isa 22:3; Jer 48:45; Job 21:9), for more compelling reasons. The Bible explicitly assigns the זרוע to the priests (Deut 18:3). I submit that it would be inconceivable for the author of the scroll, a literalist in the interpretation of Scripture, to dare reduce the divinely ordained priestly revenue in order to benefit the Levites. His only recourse would have been to define the זרוע as extending as far as the shoulder, thereby freeing the shoulder for the Levites. Furthermore, he also had to contend with the other portions assigned to the priests in the same verse, the cheeks and the stomach (Deut 18:3). By all counts, these portions are menial, if not miserable. How then could the entire foreleg, including the shoulder--one of the richest meats of the animal--be assigned to the priests? Thus in keeping with the modesty of the cheeks and stomach, the author reduced the size of the זרוע to encompass only a small portion of the animal's flesh.<sup>19</sup>

(3) The attempt to apply the term ראשית to the well-being offerings of the First Fruits festivals is singularly unsuccessful. The term ראשית in Num 18:12 refers both to the first and best of the wheat, grapes and olives which have been processed into grain, must and oil.<sup>20</sup> The first fruits of Deut 18:4 is a discrete gift and has no connection with the foreleg mentioned in the previous verse. As for the rabbinic citations, the first shearing of the sheep is mentioned together with the gift of the foreleg for the reason peculiar only to the early rabbis who hold that both gifts do not stem from sacrifices but from profanely slaughtered animals. Finally, and most important of all, the phrase

<sup>17</sup>This key phrase is missing in Yadin's text.

<sup>18</sup>On the significance of the presence of the root קדש in Num 18:25-32 and its absence everywhere else in connection with the Levites in the priestly writings, see J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology*, 29 n. 103; idem, *Cult and Conscience* (Leiden: Brill, 1976) 57.

<sup>19</sup>In truth, the plain meaning of זרוע would seem to be the part of the leg below the knee, i.e., the shank, in accordance with the view of R. Judah (*m. Hul.* 10:4).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. provisionally, J. Milgrom, "First Fruits, OI" *IDB Sup.*, 336-37.

מאת זבחתי הובח (60:7) lays to rest any doubt that the shoulder for the Levites is taken from *every* well-being offering. The passage in which this phrase is found deals with a summary of the priestly and levitic prebends and no qualification whatsoever is placed on the source of the shoulder for the Levites. *מאת זבחתי הובח* is an idiom clearly borrowed from Deut 18:3 משפט זבחתי הובח. The almost verbatim repetition of this clause in 1 Sam 2:13 is further corroboration that the reference is to all sacrifices brought to the sanctuary whose flesh is eaten by the offerer. This can be nothing else but the offering of well-being in all its forms.

### III. *The Purpose of the פרוך of the Inner Court*

ועשיתם מקום למערב התיבה פרוך עמודים עמודים לחטאת ולאיש מוכבדים זה מזה חטאת הבהנים ולשעירים וחטאת העם ולאשמותמה ולוא יהיו מערבים כונו אלה באלה כי מוכבדים יהיו מקדשותה זה מזה למען לא ישנו הבהנים ככול חטאת העם וכבוד אלו אשמות לשאת חטא אשמה

You shall fashion a place west of the sanctuary and of equal length, a colonnaded stoa for (animals reserved for) purgation and reparation offerings so that the purgation offerings of the priests, the he-goats, the purgation offerings of the people and their reparation offerings will be kept apart from each other and one kind will not mix with the other. Indeed, their locations shall be separate from each other in order that the priests shall not err with any of the purgation offerings of the people or with any of these reparation offerings for which they will bear grievous sin (35:10-15).

Among the unusual installations prescribed by the Temple Scroll for the inner court of the temple compound is the פרוך or stoa, the colonnaded structure to the west of the sanctuary, whose purpose, as expressed in the above citation, is to keep apart the purgation offerings of the priests and the he-goats from the purgation offerings of the people and their reparation offerings. The four enumerated sacrifices need be clarified.

(1) *Purgation offerings of the priests.* These must refer to the purgation offerings brought on behalf of the priests. Their cause may be the inadvertent wrong of the individual priest, requiring a female of the flock or a bird (Lev 4:27-35; 5:1-13)<sup>21</sup> or the inadvertent wrongdoing of the high priest, requiring a bull (Lev 4:3-12) or the ritual for a specific occasion such as the purgation bull sacrificed on behalf of the priests at the annual priestly consecration (Lev 8:14-17; cf. 11Q Temple 15:18-16:03) and the purgation calf offered on behalf of the priests at the initiation of the tabernacle cult (Lev 9:8-11). Some of these sacrifices are burned outside the camp (cf. Lev 4:12; 8:17; 9:11)—though normally they would constitute a priestly perquisite (Lev 6:19, 22; cf. 10:18)—either because it is improper for the priests to benefit from sacrifices brought for their own wrongdoing<sup>22</sup> or because the blood of the purgation animal is used to purge the sanctuary (Lev 6:23; 10:18).

<sup>21</sup>The absence of the priest (but not the high priest) from the list of individuals who bring the purgation offering (Lev 4:1-5:13) can only mean that the priest is subject to the same procedures as the Israelite.

<sup>22</sup>It is nowhere explicit but can be inferred from Lev 6:16; 9:11, etc.

(2) *He-goats*. These clearly refer to the purgation offerings required in the fixed cult of the calendar year for the inauguration of the public cult, new moons and festivals (Lev 9:3; Num 28:15, 22, 30; 29:4, 11, 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 34, 38; cf. 11Q Temple 14:18; 17:13-15; 18:4-6; 25:5-6, etc.). They can also include the purgation offering of the *שׂים*, the tribal chieftain (Lev 4:22-26)<sup>23</sup> and of the individual (according to Num 15:24-26). The he-goats are eaten by the priests since they are brought on behalf of the Israelites (Lev 10:16-18; *Ant.* 3:249; cf. *m. Men.* 11:7; *Men.* 100a).

(3) *Purgation offerings of the people*. These refer to the purgation offerings of the individual Israelite brought for inadvertent wrongdoing (Lev 4:27-35; 5:1-13) or for severe ritual impurity (birth, Lev 12:6-8; leprosy, Lev 14:10, 19, 30; gonorrhoea, Lev 15:14-15, 29-30, etc.). These animals are either females of the flock or birds and are eaten by the priests (Lev 6:19-22). If provision also has to be made for the inadvertent wrongdoing of the entire community, then a bull is set aside which is burned outside the camp (Lev 4:13-21).

(4) *Their reparation offerings*. The *זבח* is an individual sacrifice brought for inadvertent sacrilege committed either against the Lord's sancta or His name.<sup>24</sup> The sacrificial animal is always a ram or a male lamb and is eaten by the priests (Lev 7:6).

Now it is possible to understand how the priests could make a mistake with purgation offerings. Both they and the people would use the same animals, females of the flock, birds, or bulls, for their personal offerings. Moreover, as noted, the he-goat could be offered either for the community in the regular cult or brought by the chieftain and individual for their individual inadvertence, thereby providing another opportunity for sacrificing the wrong animal. The consequences of admixture would be severe. A sacrifice offered for the wrong party would automatically be invalidated (cf. *m. Zebah.* 1:1-3). Furthermore, defilement might occur because it would be offered improperly, for it would be possible for a purgation offering to be eaten by the priest when it should have been incinerated and vice-versa.

The author of the scroll would have been quite aware of the dire consequences of such an error, since such a notorious case is cited in the Torah: Aaron and his remaining sons burn the people's purgation offering instead of eating it, bringing down upon them the wrath of Moses (Lev 10:16-20).<sup>25</sup> Moreover, according to the Temple Scroll, the priests are admonished in an explicit statement in the Torah not to allow the admixture of purgation animals. Indeed, the final statement in the above-cited passage (35:13-15) can

<sup>23</sup>The continued existence of the office of chieftain is presumed by the Scroll (cf. 21:5, 42:14; 57:12). The fact that the term *וְלִשְׁמֵרִים* does not modify priests or people as in the case of the purgation offering (*חַטָּאת הַעֵם חַטָּאת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ*) would also indicate the likelihood that it covers more than one category.

<sup>24</sup>All the reparation offerings are discussed in my *Cult and Conscience*.

<sup>25</sup>Cf. J. Milgrom, "Two Kinds of *hattat*," *JT* 26 (1976) 333-37.

only be understood as the scroll's exegesis of Lev 22:15–16. The two passages follow side by side:

Lev 22:15–16  
ולא יחללו את קדשי בני  
ישראל . . . והשיאו אותם עין  
אשמה באוכלם את קדשיהם

11Q Temple 35:13–15  
קטן הוא ישגו הכהנים בכזב  
חטאת העם וכזב אלו אשמות  
לשאת חטא אשמה

Elsewhere I have demonstrated that this biblical text should be rendered: "They (the priests) shall not permit the sacred donations of the Israelites . . . to become profane by causing them (the Israelites) to incur the penalty of reparation when they (the Israelites) eat their (own) sacred donations."<sup>26</sup> However, the author of the scroll understood this passage differently. He took the participle as a reflexive, referring back to the priests. Indeed, this is precisely how many of the versions understood it (e.g., "so shall they bring upon themselves the iniquity of trespass," LXX;<sup>27</sup> similarly the targums: Onkelos, Pseudo-Jonathan and Neofiti). It is also found in early rabbinic exegesis: ". . . this is one of the three occurrences of את which R. Ishmael interpreted. By the same token ושיאו אותם עין אשמה (Lev 22:16). Others do not bring it (the punishment) on them; rather, they bring it on themselves" (*Sifre Naso* 32).

In keeping with the interpretation of את as a reflexive, the author of the scroll would have rendered the Leviticus passage as follows: "The priests shall not desecrate the sancta of the Israelites . . . by bringing on themselves a grievous sin when they (the priests) eat their (own) sancta." As indicated, the priests may not eat any of the expiatory sacrifices which they bring on their own behalf. The only way in which such an error could happen would be through the intermingling of the purgation offerings of the priests and people and where the priest mistakenly eats of a priest's animal, thinking that it belongs to the people. Thus Lev 22:15–16 warns, according to its interpretation by the Temple Scroll, that Aaron's mistake can happen any time unless steps are taken to keep apart the purgation offerings of the priests and the people.<sup>28</sup>

According to Yadin's rendering, the scroll also prescribes that the reparation offerings of the people be segregated from the priests' purgation animals. However, there is no point in such a ruling. Even if these animals intermingled, there is no chance of error since the reparation animals can only be rams or male lambs from which the purgation offerings may never be taken (cf. *m. Zebah*, 8:2). For the solution to this problem, I propose a different rendering. The antecedent of ולאשימותם "their reparation offerings" (35:12) is not just the people but also the priests. Thus the reparation animals of the priests and people need be segregated from each other. Indeed, this inter-

<sup>26</sup>Cl. J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, 63–64.

<sup>27</sup>καὶ ἐπαύσαντο ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ἀνομιάν πλημμελείας.

<sup>28</sup>Is the change from אשמה עין אשמה to אשמה חטא for the purpose of alluding to the previously mentioned חטא חטא and אשמה?



pretation would correspond to the stated program of the stoa להטאת ולאשם i.e., for the separation of the purgation *and* the reparation animals. It would also correspond with the end of the passage בכול חטאת העם ובכול אלו אשמות which I would render "with every purgation offering of the people and with all these reparation offerings," thus framing the entire passage in an inclusion.

#### IV. *The Consecration of the Priests*

Yadin's interpretation of the rite for the consecration of the priests in the Temple Scroll (1. 76-77 on 15:3-17:5) may be in need of small refinements.

(1) Yadin points to the innovation of the scroll in prescribing that the offerers of the sacrificial ram, i.e., the priestly consecrands, execute the תנופה, the "elevation rite" (15:11),<sup>29</sup> whereas in the biblical text, this rite is performed by the officiant, Moses (Exod 29:24; Lev 8:27). First let it be noted that, on this point, the scroll is truly an exception. In all attested cases of the תנופה, the officiating priest performs the rite.<sup>30</sup> True, the objects undergoing תנופה must be brought by the offerers and, in some cases, the text insists that the priest perform the rite while the objects are still in their hands (e.g., the priestly consecration, Exod 29:24-25; Lev 8:27-28; the Nazirite who has completed his term, Num 6:19-20). However, even in these cases, the priest places his hands under those of the offerer and initiates the elevation. Ostensibly, the breast of the well-being offering is elevated by the offerer himself without the assistance of the priest. However, in the text dealing with this ritual, ידיו את החזה להניף אתו תנופה לפני ה' "His own hands shall present . . . the breast to be elevated as an elevation offering before the Lord" (Lev 7:30), the verb must be rendered as a passive (*pace* Yadin). And the early rabbis and the later Karaites were certainly correct in assuming that in this case too the priest placed his hands under those of the offerer and thereafter executed the elevation (*Sifra Zav parasha* 11:3; *Sefer Hamivhar*, ad. loc.). Thus the scroll's demand that the offerers—who in this case are priests—perform the elevation by themselves is truly an exception to the rule. How can it be accounted for?

I would suggest that the key to the solution is found in the fact (noted by Yadin) that in the consecration of the high priest the latter begins to officiate as soon as he is consecrated by the blood of the consecration ram (16:6, 14-18). Now it should be observed that the scroll's account of the priestly consecration is severely truncated, and deliberately so. The scroll says nothing about the purgation bull(s) (cf. Exod 29:10-14; Lev 8:14-17), the whole offering ram (cf. Exod 29:16-18; Lev 8:18-21) and—what is its most striking omission—the blood ceremonial: the daubing of the blood of the consecration ram upon the extremities of the priests and sprinkling the altar blood upon

<sup>29</sup>Cl. J. Milgrom, "The Alleged Wave-offering in Israel and in the Ancient Near East," *HJ* 22 (1972) 33-38.

<sup>30</sup>Cl. J. Milgrom, "The *tenupha*," *Zer Ugevanot: Zalman Shazar Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem: Kiryat Sefer, 1973) 41-45 (Heb.); idem, "Wave Offering," *DBSup*, 944-46.

them and their clothing (cf. Exod 29:19-21; Lev 8:22-24).<sup>31</sup> The scroll only deals with the following section, the sacrifice of the consecration ram (cf. Exod 29:22-25; Lev 8:25-28). The reason for these wholesale omissions is not too difficult to discover.

The author of the scroll wrote down only the parts of the consecration ceremonial which were at variance with the accepted interpretation of the ritual in his own time. In other words, his text is a polemic. This is strikingly evident in the description of the consecration of the high priest, which prescribes the sacrifice of a second purgation bull, a matter that is not explicit in the biblical text.<sup>32</sup> The fact that the priests themselves conduct the elevation rite alone, then, is what constitutes the innovation in their ritual. What basis did the author of the scroll find for it in Scripture?

As noted, the high priest takes over the officiating from the elders of the priests as soon as he is consecrated by the blood of the consecration ram, though in the middle of the ritual. By the same token it can be assumed that the priestly consecrands officiate as priests as soon as they are consecrated by the sacrificial blood. Since the biblical text ordains that the blood ceremonial take place before the elevation rite (cf. Exod 29:20-21; 23-24; Lev 8:24, 27) then the priests execute the elevation rite not just as offerers but also as officiants, in agreement with all the other cases of תנופה which show that the rite is performed by the officiating priest.

It must therefore be presumed that, in disagreement with his contemporaries, the author of the scroll read the biblical prescription for the elevation ritual as follows: ושמח (ויתן את) הכל על כפי אהרן ועל כפי בניו והנפת אתם תנופה לפני ה' "And you shall place (and he placed) all these on the palms of Aaron and on the palms of his sons and designated them (he designated them) as an elevation offering" (Exod 29:24; Lev 8:27). And he would have had irrefutable biblical support for his rendering. In the induction service for the Levites, Moses again is the subject of והנפת אתם תנופה (Num 8:13, 15) even though, in actuality, it is Aaron who performs the ritual (Num 8:11, 21). Moses, then, merely serves to order the elevation of the Levites. For the author of the Temple Scroll a similar procedure is invoked for the consecration of the priests: Moses ordered the elevation rite, but it is the priests themselves who execute the ritual.

(2) If the reconstruction כול ימיו היה כול ימיו [קדוש י]היה כול ימיו "all he be all his days" (16:4) is correct, then it implies that the prohibitions of Lev 21:10-15 are in force for the entire lifetime of the high priest and not just the seven days of his consecration. This is also the plain meaning of the biblical text: the high priest may not leave the sacred precincts to attend the burial rites even of his parents.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup>In Leviticus, the sprinkling of the blood on the priests and their clothing takes place after the elevation rite (Lev 8:30). Clearly, the author of the scroll followed the Exodus procedure.

<sup>32</sup>Cf. Yadin's discussion, I, 16-77.

<sup>33</sup>Pace M. Haran, "Milli'im," *Encyclopaedia Biblica* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1962) 1040 (Heb.).

The prohibition for a high priest even to view a corpse is not unique to Israel. It is attested ubiquitously in antiquity. The alarm is sounded when Dumuzi returns from the land of the dead: "O temple of Ur! Lock your house, city lock your house! You *entu*-priestess must not go out of her house . . ."<sup>34</sup> The dead must be kept away from the city and temple, but the chief priestess<sup>35</sup> may not even expose herself to the open air of the street. The vulnerability of the most sacred realm reaches down to the end of pagan times: the Roman high priest sins as did his ancient Babylonian counterpart if he but glances at a corpse.<sup>36</sup> In pagan Syria of the common era, a priest who looks at a corpse is unclean for the day and is banned from the temple until the following day and must purify himself in the interim.<sup>37</sup> This view is also attested in rabbinic teaching. *M. Sanh.* 2:1 merits quotation in full: "If any of his (the high priest's) near of kin die, he may not follow after the bier, but he may go forth with the bearers as far as the city gate, if *he and they come not within sight of one another*. So R. Meir [italics mine]. But R. Judah says: He may not go forth from the temple, for it is written, 'neither shall he go out of the sanctuary (Lev 21:12).'" Rabbi Meir and Rabbi Judah do not differ at all. As the Roman and Babylonian parallels teach us, R. Meir is citing the correct reason for the biblical prohibition.

Thus the Temple Scroll was only observing an ancient and universal obsession to prevent the high priest from being contaminated by a corpse — even on sight.

(3) The prescription to burn the purification offering מוקדם לחטאות [פר אורתו] שמה ישר [in the place set aside for purification offerings; there they shall burn it]" (16:12) is by its redundancy clearly intended as a polemic. The polemic is not difficult to determine. According to the biblical text, the purification offering was burned outside the camp at the שפך הדשן "ash heap" (Lev 4:12), clearly the place where the ashes from the altar were deposited. In other words, the ashes of the purification offering were to be mixed with the ashes of the other altar sacrifices (cf. Rashi ad. loc.). This is also the view of the Tannaim who call this place בית הדשן (*m. Zebah.* 12:5) or בית הדשן הגדול "the great ash heap" (*t. Yoma* 3:17).<sup>38</sup> However, the

<sup>34</sup>Translation of Th. Jacobsen, "Toward the Image of Tammuz," *HR* 1 (1961) 208.

<sup>35</sup>Cf. J. Renger, "Untersuchungen zum Priestertum in der altbabylonischen Zeit," *ZA* 24 (1967) 134-44.

<sup>36</sup>In Greece, see Th. Wachter, "Reinheitsvorschriften im griechischen Kult," *Religionsgeschichte Versuche und Vorarbeiten* 9 (1910) 57. For Rome, see Servius ad Aeneid, 6:176, quoted in S. Lieberman, "Some Aspects of After Life in Early Rabbinic Literature," *Harvard Jewish Studies Jubilee Volume* (Jerusalem: American Academy for Jewish Research, 1965) 519 n. 39. According to Liv., v, 52:13, the Flamen Dialis was not allowed to spend a single night outside Rome. So Israel's high priest, according to Maimonides' *Code: The Book of Temple Service*, "Vessels of the Sanctuary," 5:7 (Yale Judaica Series, New Haven: Yale University, 1957) 60, was never allowed to lodge outside the temple. Cf. also S. Lieberman, *Hellenism in Jewish Palestine* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1950) 165 n. 12.

<sup>37</sup>Lucian, *De Syria Dea* 2:682.

<sup>38</sup>Cf. S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Ki-fshuta* IV (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1962) 247 (Hebrew).

opposing viewpoint is also registered in rabbinic sources that the ashes of the purgation offering were to be kept apart (*Zebah*. 104b).<sup>39</sup> Thus the controversy among the rabbinic sages clearly had ancient precedents, as now proven by the Temple Scroll. Indeed, the controversy may reach back to the days of the Bible and beyond it, since it can be shown that the ashes of the purgation offering had to be isolated because they were believed to possess residual power which, in the pagan world, was held to be black magic but which, in the Bible—eviscerated of demonic content—was held to be ritually defiling.<sup>40</sup>

## V. *First Day Ablutions and the Purification Scheme of the Temple Scroll*

### A. *Nocturnal Emission*

ואיש כי יהיה לו מקרה לילה לא יבוא אל כול המקדש עד אשר יישלש ימים וכבס בגדיו ורחץ כיום הראשון וכיום השלישי וכבס בגדיו ורחץ ובאה השמש אחר יבוא אל המקדש ולא יבואו בנדה מפאתמה אל מקדשי וסמאו

If a m[an] has a nocturnal emission he shall not enter into the entire sacred area until he completes three days. He shall launder his clothes and bathe on the first day. On the third day he shall launder his clothes and bathe and after sunset he may enter the temple. They shall not enter my temple to pollute it with their impure flow (45:7-10).

### B. *Sexual Intercourse*

ואיש כי ישכב עם אשתו שכבת זרע לא יבוא אל כול עיר המקדש אשר אשכין שמי בה שלוש ימים

If a man has sexual intercourse with his wife he shall not enter the entire temple-city, on which I shall cause my name to dwell, for three days (45:11-12; cf. CD 12:1-2).

### C. *Corpse-contamination*

והאדם כול אשר היה בבית וכול אשר בא אל הבית ירחץ במים וכבס בגדיו כיום הראשון

As for persons; whoever was in the house and whoever enters the house shall bathe in water and launder his clothes on the first day (49:16-17).

### D. *Corpse-contamination*

ואשה כי תהיה מלאה וימות ילדה במעיה . . . ואם לתוך הבית יבוא עמה יסמא שכעת ימים וכבס בגדיו ורחץ ב[מ]ים הראשון

If a woman is pregnant and her child dies in her womb . . . whoever enters the house with her shall be impure for seven days. He shall launder his clothes and bathe on the first day (50:10-14).

### E. *Corpse-contamination*

ואחר העלותם מעל החללים לבוא המחנה . . . וכבוקר יכבסו בגדיהם ורחצו מדם פגרי האשמה

After they have withdrawn from the slain towards the encampment . . . In the morning they shall launder their garments, wash themselves of the blood of the guilty cadavers (1QM 14:2-3).

<sup>39</sup>Accepted by Maimonides as the law, cf. *Code, The Book of Temple Service*, "Sacrificial Procedure," 7:3-4.

<sup>40</sup>Cf. J. Milgrom, "Two Kinds of *ḥatṭā't*," *VT* 26 (1976) 333-37.

F. *The Temple-city*

ושיתנה שלושה מקומות למרחק העיר מובדלים זה מזה אשר יהיו כאים המצורעים והזכים והאנשים אשר יתהו להטה מקרה

You shall set up three quarters east of the city at a distance from each other to receive lepers, gonorrheics, and men who have a seminal emission (46:16-18).

G. *Other Cities*

ובכור עיר ועיר תעשו מקומות למנוגעים בצרעת ובנגע ובנתק אשר לוא יכואו לערובתם ושפאים וגם זכרים ונשים בהיותם בנדת סמאתם ובקדחתם אשר לוא יטמאו בתוכם בנדת סמאתם

In every city you shall set up quarters for those afflicted with skin eruptions and scabs so that they shall not enter your cities and pollute them. The same (should be done) for gonorrheics and women in their menstrual impurity and in their parturition that they not pollute their surroundings with their impure flow (48:14-17).

The distinction between the ritual status of the temple-city and other cities is fundamental to the understanding of the purification system of the Temple Scroll. The most glaring distinction, one that ostensibly differs with Scripture, is that the temple-city requires a three day purification rite for those who incur nocturnal emissions (מקרה לילה) and have sexual intercourse (שכבת זרע) (quotes A, B), whereas, according to the Torah, their impurity lasts only one day (Lev 15:16-18). However, as Yadin has correctly noted (I, 223), the three day purification imposed for the temple-city is modelled after the Sinaitic encampment where Israelites are commanded to undergo a three day purification consisting of ablutions, laundering, and sexual abstinence (Exod 19:10-15). Thus, not only the mountain but also the camp, situated in its proximity, is endowed with a sacred status. Once the tabernacle is built it virtually becomes a portable Sinai, endowing the wilderness camp with Sinaitic sanctity (e.g., "Remove from the camp the leper, gonorrhoeic, and the corpse-contaminated . . . so that they do not defile the camp of those in whose midst I dwell," Num 5:2-3). It is therefore only logical that in the land the city that houses the temple will be endowed with an equal degree of holiness and will require the same ritual purification.

The above cited passages from the Temple Scroll, however, reveal another aberration from the Torah that is not as easily resolved. Specifically, why does nocturnal emission in the temple-city require two ablutions, on the first and third day (A), and why does corpse-contamination (טומאת מת) in any other city require ablutions on the first day (A, C, D, E)?

The answer I would like to suggest is that each ablution serves a specific function: to remove a layer (or degree) of impurity. This, I submit, is the key to the ablution regimen in the Priestly Code of the Torah, a subject which, however, requires monographic treatment. Let it suffice for this paper to apply the hypothesis to the Temple Scroll.

Since the temple-city is holy it cannot tolerate impurity even of the slightest degree and all its residents who incur impurity of any kind are banished to special installations built for them east of the city (1<sup>2</sup>). However, one ablution is not enough. It would suffice to reestablish non-sacred contacts with persons and objects (i.e., in the

ordinary city), but to be admitted to the higher level of holiness of the temple-city an extra ablution is required.

The fact that the Temple Scroll increases the severity of the Torah's purificatory procedure regarding nocturnal emissions from one to three days is matched by its procedure for the purification of the leper. According to the Torah, the healed leper submits to ablutions (and other rituals) on the first and seventh day. After the first day he is permitted to enter the camp/city but not his home (Lev 14:8). However, the Scroll mandates that the leper spend all seven days of his purification outside the temple-city: וְכֹל צָרוּעַ וּמְנוּגַע לֹא יָבוֹאוּ לָהּ וְכֹל צָרוּעַ וּמְנוּגַע לֹא יָבוֹאוּ לָהּ וְכֹל צָרוּעַ וּמְנוּגַע לֹא יָבוֹאוּ לָהּ . . . "All afflicted with leprosy shall not enter it (i.e. the temple-city) until they are purified. And when he is pure he shall sacrifice . . ." (45:17-18)<sup>41</sup> Thus, whereas the scroll presumably will follow the Torah in allowing the healed leper to enter the camp/city after the first day ablutions, it does not permit him to enter the temple-city until the second set of ablutions on the seventh day. Since the scroll also requires two ablutions for someone incurring a nocturnal emission to enter the temple-city, it follows that two ablutions are a minimal requirement for admission into the temple-city.

For the sectaries of Qumran, the war camp also bears the same holy status as the temple-city. Its holiness can be deduced from the War Scroll which speaks of "holy angels" in the midst of the camp (1QM 7:5-6, modelled on Deut 23:15) and which prohibits those possessing physical defects from entering the camp (ibid., 4-5) just as the Temple Scroll prohibits the same persons from entering the temple-city (45:12-14).<sup>42</sup> It is no less significant that the Qumran sectaries enjoin the same prohibition as an entrance requirement into the assembly of the sect in the messianic age (IQSa 2:4-11). The purification ceremony for soldiers returning from battle is also prescribed in the War Scroll (1QM 14:2-3) but, unfortunately, it is only partially preserved. Ablutions are required for the first day (E) and it must be assumed, with Yadin, that the sect also followed the Torah's injunction that the soldiers remain outside the camp for seven days until their purification is complete (Num 31:24).<sup>43</sup> Again, this latter requirement would have given the author of the Temple Scroll an adequate reason for imposing it upon the analogue of the war camp, the temple-city.

When we turn to the ordinary city, we note that the ablutions function in the same way but because the city enjoys a different status – profane (77)

<sup>41</sup>The phrase וְכֹל צָרוּעַ וּמְנוּגַע לֹא יָבוֹאוּ לָהּ is previously used for the gonorrhoeic and corpse-contaminated (45:15-17) where it can only mean "until they are purified," i.e., they complete their purifications, *pace* Yadin (on 45:18).

<sup>42</sup>Yadin is surely right (I, 224-25) in considering the blind person (45:12) a catch-all for other physically impaired persons.

<sup>43</sup>With Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness* (London: Oxford University, 1962) 226.

rather than holy (קדוש) – the consequences are different. First, two facts need be established: (1) nocturnal emission and corpse-contamination are missing from the list of those impurity bearers who are expelled from the city (G),<sup>44</sup> and (2) those incurring nocturnal emission or corpse-contamination wash on the first day, as specified in the Torah (Lev 15:16–17) and in the Temple Scroll (C, D). These two facts are related and lead to but one conclusion: the purpose of the first day ablution is to allow the impurity bearer to remain in the city. The implications of this conclusion need be elaborated. The absence of the corpse-contaminated from the list of those quarantined or expelled (G) corresponds with the historical reality at the end of the Second Commonwealth. We know from Josephus (*Ant.* 3:261) and the Mishnah (*Nid.* 7:4) that those incurring severe impurity were quarantined or banished from the city.<sup>45</sup> They are the leper, the gonorrhoeic, and the parturient. Josephus claims that the corpse-contaminated required isolation (*ibid.*, 262) but, as we have seen, it is not required by the Temple Scroll. How could the sectaries of Qumran have envisaged the corpse-contaminated to have free mobility within the city during the seven days of his impurity? The Temple Scroll has an answer: ablutions on the first day. These ablutions defuse the impurity of its contagious power and allow its bearers to remain in the city.

That the corpse-contaminated had to be expelled from the temple-city is clear from the prescription of Num 5:2–3; but what might have been the scriptural basis that would have permitted the author of the Temple Scroll to grant the corpse-contaminated to remain in other cities, even with an initial ablution? I suggest that it was his reading of the purification procedure of the corpse-contaminated in Num 19:14–22, a reading that, in fact, corresponds to the *pshat*, its plain meaning. He would have been quick to notice the absence of the phrase *וְאַחֵר יָבֵא אֶל הַמַּחֲנֶה* “and then he may return to the camp,” a phrase found in other cases where purification expressly takes place outside the camp (Num 19:7; 31:24; cf. Lev 14:8; 16:26, 28). He would also have noticed that the waters of lustration, containing the ashes of the red cow deposited outside the camp (Num 19:9), are brought to the impurity bearer (*ibid.*, 17–18a), implying that the latter remains where he is – inside. Finally, he would have found support from the scriptural statement that failure to be aspersed with these waters “defiles the Lord’s sanctuary/tabernacle” (*ibid.*, 13, 20), a consequence that can be effected only if he remains in the camp but not if he is outside.<sup>46</sup> Investigation according

<sup>44</sup>They are, however, expelled from the temple-city. True, the corpse-contaminated is missing from the list of those for whom installations are built outside the temple-city (F), but he was most likely mentioned in the continuation of the list on top of column 47 which, unfortunately, is missing.

<sup>45</sup>For other citations of the isolation of impurity bearers in early rabbinic times, see the excellent essay of G. Allon, *Studies in the History of Israel I* (Tel Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 1957) 169–73 (Hebrew).

<sup>46</sup>Cf. J. Milgrom, “Israel’s Sanctuary: The Priestly ‘Picture of Dorian Gray,’” *RB* 84 (1977) 390–99.

to the canons of biblical criticism might lead to the conclusion that Num 5 calling for expulsion and Num 19 implying that none is required stem from different periods, Num 5 being the older tradition of the wilderness camp and Num 19 reflecting the later, urban setting of Canaan. The scroll would strikingly reach a similar conclusion but from different premises: the law of Num 5 deals with the wilderness camp and its tabernacle whereas the law of Num 19 projects "the law for all time" (Num 19:21), i.e., Israel and its cities.<sup>47</sup> Thus, the corpse-contaminated bathes immediately in order to remove his impurity contagion precisely as those who have had a nocturnal emission or sexual intercourse (Lev 15:16-18) but whereas the latter's impurity lasts only until the evening, the former's persists for seven days requiring a second ablu-tion on the seventh day as well as aspersions with the lustral waters on the third and seventh day (Num 19:19).<sup>48</sup>

The text dealing with the bearers of severe impurity in cities other than the temple-city (G) warrants an additional deduction: the leper is a discrete case, separated from the gonorrhoeic, menstruant, and parturient. The wording of the text makes the distinction explicit: lepers are isolated that "they shall not enter their cities" whereas other impurity bearers "shall not contaminate in their midst." The implication is clear: lepers are banished and the others are quarantined. The latter corresponds, as noted, with conditions which prevailed at the end of Second Temple times as recorded by the Mishnah and Josephus (above). The isolation of impurity bearers, especially of women with flux, is a prevalent custom in other cultures, e.g., special huts are set aside for menstruants, parturients, and gonorrhoeics among the Samaritans and the Falashas,<sup>49</sup> pre-Islamic Arabs<sup>50</sup> and, to select randomly from remote but ancient peoples, the Nuer of Africa<sup>51</sup> and the Hindu of India.<sup>52</sup> The significance of these similar but independently derived taboos requires investigation along anthropological and comparative religious lines.

Thus, the purification system of the Temple Scroll begins to emerge. In the temple-city all impurities cause their bearers to be banished, requiring a minimum of two ablutions for passage through the two stages of impurity (טָמֵא לְטָמֵא) to profaneness (טָמֵא) to holiness (טָהוֹר). In other cities only lepers are

<sup>47</sup>The troublesome motive clause mentioning the tabernacle/sanctuary (Num 19:13, 20) was no less troublesome to the rabbis who, however, explain these verses as referring to the case when the corpse-contaminated would actually enter the tabernacle/sanctuary. Thus, the impurity could occur anywhere. Possibly, the sectaries of Qumran followed a similar exegesis.

<sup>48</sup>The Temple Scroll requires ablutions and laundering on the third as well as the seventh day (49:18, 50:14) probably on the basis of Num 19:19.

<sup>49</sup>G. Alon, *Studies*, 172 n. 100.

<sup>50</sup>W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3rd ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1927) 448.

<sup>51</sup>E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *Kinship and Marriage among the Nuer* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951) 125; J. W. Burton, "Some Nuer Notions of Purity and Danger," *Anthropos* 69 (1974) 517-36.

<sup>52</sup>G. F. Ferris-Luzzi, "Women's Pollution Periods in Tamilnad (India)," *Anthropos* 69 (1974) 113-61.



expelled and gonorrhoeics, parturient, and menstruants are quarantined but the corpse-contaminated can remain within his community provided he submits to ablutions on the first day of his week-long purification.

Here is a postscript on an ancillary problem. Ostensibly, there is a difference between those incurring the impurity of nocturnal emission and sexual intercourse (A, B). The former is proscribed from entering "the entire temple" (כול המקדש) and the latter from "the entire temple-city" (כול עיר המקדש). This difference in wording would imply that nocturnal emission bears a lesser degree of impurity than sexual intercourse. If so, it would run counter to the Torah which considers them impurities of the same degree, i.e., one day impurity requiring ablutions and laundering (Lev 15:16-18). Yadin toys with the idea of a scribal error – the omission of עיר, "city," from the case of nocturnal emission— but rejects it, correctly I believe, because the sequence speaks of the prohibition to enter "the temple" and "my temple" (1. 222). His solution is that the scroll indeed posits a difference: the first day ablution qualifies one who has a nocturnal emission to enter the temple-city but not the temple (ibid., 222-23). That the impurity bearer is enjoined from "the entire temple" means, according to Yadin, that though he is admitted to the temple-city itself he must beware of entering the outermost limits of the temple complex, i.e., between the outer wall and the moat (חיר) which surrounds the entire complex.

If Yadin's solution is accepted, it would jibe very well with our proposed purification system: the first ablution to enter the city and the second to the temple. However, certain problems are left unanswered and new ones are raised: (1) what is the basis for distinguishing between the temple and the temple-city, a distinction which is lacking with any other impurity; (2) what is the basis for the implied gradation in holiness at the outer limits of the temple compound – i.e., within and beyond its outer wall; and (3) if the first day ablution qualifies the one with a nocturnal emission to enter the temple-city, why dispatch him to an outer installation where he will not spend even a single night? As with other cities let the impurity bearer bathe immediately and be permitted to remain.

An alternate solution suggests itself on the basis of the location of the impurity: nocturnal emission takes place inside the temple-city and sexual intercourse, outside. The absence of any installation for those having sexual intercourse points to this distinction. Indeed, as Yadin has correctly concluded, the absence of any installation for impure women indicates that women were prohibited from residing in the temple-city (1. 224). Since the writer of the scroll, for stylistic reasons, wished to use the same verb אָבַח, "enter," he therefore had no choice but to distinguish the two cases from their point of origin: the one who has a nocturnal emission in the city may not enter the temple and the one who has sexual intercourse outside the city may not enter the city. The writer may have added "the entire temple" to the former case by which he means the entire sacred area, a designation which includes the temple-city, implying that the impurity bearer must leave the city. That the

word מקדש can refer to the entire city of Jerusalem as well as the temple is amply attested in tannaitic literature.<sup>53</sup>

#### VI. *Some Brief Notes on the Temple Scroll*

References are to the volume and page of the Hebrew *editio princeps*.

(1) 1. 85. The method used by the Temple Scroll to count the 50 days between the first-fruit festivals may throw light on the vexed problem of the Jubilee year. According to Lev 25:10 the Jubilee year also reoccurs in cycles of 50. However, since the Sabbatical year is in force at the same time (vv 1-7, the same pericope), the land ostensibly will have to lie fallow for two consecutive years, the 49th and the 50th. For an agricultural economy, this would be disastrous and it has led scholars to maintain, among other reasons, that the Jubilee never left the realms of utopia.<sup>54</sup> However, as is well known, the Book of Jubilees predicates the Jubilee cycle as 49 and not 50 years. Since the Dead Sea sectaries adopted Jubilees' solar calendar in its entirety,<sup>55</sup> they would have maintained a Jubilee cycle of 49 years. How then can this be reconciled with the fiftieth-year provision of Lev 25:10? The fifty-day intervals between the first-fruit festivals posited by the Temple Scroll points the way. The date of the festival served both as the last day of the previous cycle and the first day of the new cycle. For example, the Festival of the New Wheat (Shabuot) was the 50th day, starting the count with the New Barley (Omer) Festival, and at the same time the first day for the counting until the New Wine Festival, leaving an interval of 49 days between the festivals. By the same procedure, one can assume that the Jubilee year was both the last year, the fiftieth, of the previous cycle and the first year of the new cycle (implied also by 1 QS 10:8).<sup>56</sup> In this manner, the 49th year, a sabbatical year, will coincide with the Jubilee and the land need not be left fallow for more than a single year.

(2) 1. 89. I would suggest the restoration of ארזים (ארזים) or ארזים עשר (29:1-2 and 22:2-3 (cf. 20:14-15; 22:4)). These two passages would then refer to the 14 rams and 14 lambs of the offering of well-being, שלמים, eaten by the priests, Levites and Israelites in the outer court at the climax of the New

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the references cited by H. Albeck in his note on *m. Ros. Haš. 4:1, Seder Moed*, 489; cf. T. Kahane, "Towards Understanding the Beraïta of the Laws Pertaining to Jerusalem," *Beth Mikra* 65 (1976) 184-85 (Hebrew). On the biblical use of מקדש as "sacred area," cf. J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology*, 23-24 n. 78.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. R. de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961) 175-77.

<sup>55</sup> A. Jaubert, "Le calendrier des Jubilés et de la secte de Qumran," *ET* 3 (1953) 250-64; idem, *La date de la Cène* (Paris: Gabalda, 1957) 1-75; S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judean Desert," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 4 (1958) 162-99.

<sup>56</sup> This view was maintained by R. Judah in opposition to his colleagues (*b. Ned. 61a* and parallels). This system of counting consecutive pentacontads explains the calendar of the Book of Jubilees, the Nestorian calendar and other ancient systems. Cf. H. and J. Lewy, "The Week and the Oldest West Asiatic Calendar," *HUCA* 17 (1942) 100-103; J. Morgenstern, "The Calendar of the Book of Jubilees," *ET* 5 (1955) 46-51; J. van Goudoever, *Fêtes et calendriers bibliques* (Leiden: Brill, 1967) 33 et passim; J. M. Baumgarten, "4QHatakah<sup>5</sup>, the Law of Hadash, and the Pentacontad Calendar," *JJS* 27 (1976) 42-44.

Wine and New Oil Festivals (21:06-3; 22:11-13). The reference to these sacrifices in 21:06-3 (cf. also 20:15) would therefore not constitute "additional" well-being offerings.

(3) 1. 92: on 22:11-13. Levi is clearly one of the 12 tribes, shown by having its name attached to one of the 12 tribal gates of the middle and outer courts and by its participation, the first of the tribes, in the Wood Offering Festival. On the New Wine and New Oil Festivals 14 rams and 14 lambs are sacrificed as well-being offerings, one pair each for the priests and levites and the remaining 12 pairs for the 12 tribes. Since Levi is also one of the 12 tribes, this would mean that the Levites receive a double portion. If so, it would be consistent with the lofty status bestowed upon the Levites elsewhere in the Temple Scroll (cf. no. 25 below).<sup>27</sup>

(4) 1. 94. *Pace* S. Lieberman, the second tithe cannot be regarded as "שלמים" of rejoicing." They are eaten only on pilgrimage festivals, but the second tithe may be eaten on every festival and on Sabbaths as well (43:2-3).

(5) 1. 126. Yadin suggests that the scroll's designation of the first tithe as holy קדושה "which were sanctified to me at first" (60:6-7) is based on "וּכְלֵ מַעֲשֵׂר הָאָרֶץ . . . לַיהוָה קָדֹשׁ לַיהוָה" "All tithes from the land . . . are the Lord's; they are holy to the Lord" (Lev 27:30). The Karaites also interpret Lev 27:30 as referring to the levitic tithe and that the verse supplements the main text of the levitic tithe, Num 18:21-24, teaching that the tithe is redeemable (*Sefer Hamivhar*, ad. loc.).

On the other hand, the author of the Temple Scroll could just as well have derived the sanctity of the first tithe from Deuteronomy, the book which provides the basis for most of the laws in the Temple Scroll. The tithe of the third and the sixth year is called "holy" by the book of Deuteronomy (Deut 26:13) and Israel is commanded to bring out "כָּל מַעֲשֵׂר תְבוּאֹתֶיךָ" "all the tithe of your yield" (Deut 14:28; 26:12). It is thus possible that the term כָּל "all" might have been interpreted as referring to all the tithes of those years, i.e., the levitic (first) tithe. Indeed, this is precisely how the Karaites understood it (*Sefer Hamivhar*, ad. loc.).

In any case, neither the first nor the second tithe would ever become the perquisite of the priests. Yet another text of the scroll explicitly states that the priests are assigned tables in the inner court for the purpose of eating the sacred portions which include "וּלְמַעֲשֵׂרֹת" "and for the tithes" (37:10). Moreover, the plural implies that the priests are entitled to more than one tithe! The problem can be resolved by recalling that two tithes are indeed ordained for the priests: the tithe of animals (Lev 27:32) and the tithe of the levitic tithe (Num 18:25-32). The animal tithe is not explicitly mentioned in the available text of the Temple Scroll, but it should be expected not only because of the historic reference to it in the Bible (2 Chr 31:6) but it also forms a distinct priestly perquisite in the book of Jubilees (Jub. 32:15), whose affinity to the teaching of Qumran, especially the Temple Scroll, is amply at-

<sup>27</sup>See section I above.

tested. Indeed, in a summary enumeration of all the priestly perquisites at the end of the scroll, we read *להתחמה* [ ] *ובול* (60:2-3); the restoration *מעשר*, I submit, is uncontested.

(6) 1. 147 (1). It seems to me that Ezekiel's temple blueprint called for the sanctuary as well as the altar to be located within the inner court, but the difference between the two temples is in another matter. The altar is the geometric center in Ezekiel's plan, but for the Temple Scroll it is the (porch of?) the sanctuary.

(7) 1. 186. The source for the two sacrificial altars, I submit, is not 1 Kgs 8:64, which only speaks of the sanctification of an area of the inner court for the exceptional needs of the dedication service, but rather 2 Kgs 16:14-15, which explicitly states that in the reign of Ahaz two sacrificial altars came into use. The fact that in this latter verse the older altar is twice referred to as the bronze altar implies that the new, Damascene altar was probably made of stone – an exact correspondence with the two altars of the Temple Scroll.

Additional proof is furnished by Ezek 9:2, "And they (the six executioners) went in and stood beyond the bronze altar." Since the executioners entered by the north gate, the bronze altar near which they took their stand also must be in the north. If so, this position accords precisely with Ahaz's bronze altar, which was placed "on the north side of his (i.e., the new) altar" (2 Kgs 16:14).

(8) 1. 222, 256. The distinction between *כול המקדש* "the entire temple" and *כול עיר המקדש* "the entire temple-city" bears on the scroll's purification scheme and has been discussed in part V, above.

(9) 1. 226. That the gonorrhoeic must launder and bathe in fresh water on the seventh day of his purification need not be deduced analogously from the purification procedure for sexual intercourse (Lev 15:15) or for the corpse contaminated (Num 19:19) but is an explicit stipulation of the text itself: "he shall count seven days for his purification, wash his clothes and bathe his body in fresh water" (Lev 15:13).

(10) 1. 248. Lev 17:15-16 does not prohibit the eating of carcasses, but the neglect to purify oneself afterwards. The omission of the clause "give it (the carcass) to the *gēr* in your community to eat" (Deut 14:21) is probably due to the change in the status of the *gēr* by the time of the Qumran sectaries; he was no longer the biblical resident alien but the convert to Judaism.<sup>58</sup>

(11) 1. 263. The prohibition of self-mutilation is enjoined upon priest and Israelite alike by the Priestly Code of the Torah (Lev 19:28; 21:5) and is, hence, not the innovation of the Temple Scroll.

(12) 1. 276. The mathematics for the division of the spoil are in need of correction. According to Num 31:27-54, the soldiers receive:

<sup>58</sup> F. M. Baumgarten, "The Exclusion of 'Netinim' and Proselytes in 4QFlorilegium," *RQ* 8 (1972) 87 n. 1.

$$\frac{\Lambda}{2} = \frac{1}{500} \left(\frac{\Lambda}{2}\right) = \frac{499}{1000} \Lambda$$

and the home front receives:

$$\frac{\Lambda}{2} = \frac{1}{50} \left(\frac{\Lambda}{2}\right) = \frac{490}{1000} \Lambda .$$

The difference between their shares is:

$$\frac{499}{1000} \Lambda - \frac{490}{1000} \Lambda = \frac{9}{1000} \Lambda .$$

This last figure is significant. It means that for every 1000 persons or animals taken captive the soldiers receive nine more than those at home. Despite this paltry difference, the Temple Scroll ordains, on the basis of the parity demanded by King David's law (1 Sam 30:24-25), that the spoil be reapportioned so that the shares are exactly equal.

(13) 1. 277. David's Law for the division of the spoil is echoed in an interesting way in the midrash: "and so it was from that day and above that he made a statute" (1 Sam 30:25). R. Judah said 'It is not written, '[from that day] onward,' but '[from that day] and above': from whom did he learn? From his ancestor Abraham who said, 'Save only that which the young men have eaten . . . [also] let Aner, Eshcol, and Mamre take their portion' (Gen 14:24)" (*Gen. Rab.* 43:24). Thus Rabbi Judah held that David's Law was not his innovation but was an ancient tradition stemming back to Abraham and, presumably, is as eternally valid as a Mosaic law. His position would accord completely with the view taken by the Temple Scroll.

(14) 1. 291. It would seem to me that "and if there are two" (CD 9:20) refers to the witnesses, not the deeds. Otherwise, what does *דבר אחד* in the following phrase mean?

(15) 2. 52. "in a place set apart for purgation offerings" (16:12). A polemic is implied here, dealt with in part III above.

(16) 2. 81. "at the first thir[d] of the day" (25:8). If the first quarter of the day falls at 9:00 A.M. (cf. 20:06), the first third cannot go beyond 10:00 A.M. and fall at noon.

(17) 2. 105. The reason that improperly dressed priests are to be put to death is not Num 18:3, despite the similarity between its wording *ולא ימתו* and the wording of the scroll *ולא ימתו* (35:7), since Scripture calls for death by God (*מות*, *qal*) whereas the scroll mandates death by man (*מות*, *hiphil*).<sup>59</sup> Rather, the improperly dressed priest falls into the category of the *זר* "stranger" and is subject to the law *הזר הקרוב ימתו* "the encroaching stranger shall be put to death" (cf. Num 18:7).<sup>60</sup>

(18) 2. 111-113. *זבחי שלמי בני ישראל* "the well-being offerings of the Israelites" (37:5) may not be eaten by Israelites in the inner court to which they

<sup>59</sup> Cf. the comments on number 26 below and J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology*, 5-8.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *Studies in Levitical Terminology*, 16-37.

have no access. Rather, this phrase refers to the priestly portions of the well-being offering, i.e., the breast and the right thigh (Lev 7:29-34) and the cheeks, stomach and a portion of the foreleg, according to the Temple Scroll (cf. 20:14-16; 21:02-05; 22:8-11). The section 37:11-14 warns the priests, who alone may cook their priestly portions in the inner court (37:14), not to mix their well-being offerings with those of the Israelites which are eaten only in the outer court (cf. 21:06-3). Thus in this regard there is no difference in principle between the Temple Scroll and Ezekiel: both proscribe the Israelites from entering the inner court and prescribe that they eat their well-being offerings in the outer court (cf. Ezek 46:19-24).

(19) 2. 137. The lepers are prohibited from entering the temple-city until they are purified (45:18). This qualification refers to the end of their seven-day purification and not to the end of their illness.<sup>61</sup>

(20) 2. 143-44. The use of the verb זבח for both profane and sacred slaughter (47:7, 11-12, 16; cf. 52:5, 6, 13), as in the book of Deuteronomy (e.g., Deut 12:21; 17:1), lends support to the theory that the slaughtering technique developed in the temple was also prescribed for profane slaughter.<sup>62</sup>

(21) 2. 160. The scroll's inclusion of the skin and nails of dead animals among the causes for contamination may be based on its interpretation that נבלה "carcass" (Lev 11:25; cf. vv 28, 40) encompasses not just the meat but all parts of the animal. Abetting this interpretation is the language of 51:4 וכולל ופטרן המיטא מעצמותמה ומנבלתמה עור ופטרן וצפרן "whoever carries of its bones or of its carcass, skin or flesh or a nail" (51:4), i.e., the skin and nails just as the flesh are part of the carcass.

(22) 2. 164. The השהט of Lev 22:28 is changed to חזכה (52:6) so that the profane and sacred slaughter will be subject to the same procedure (cf. on Number 20 above).

(23) 2. 177. The wording of Deut 17:12 והאיש אשר יעשה בודח לבלתי שמע "should a man act presumptuously and disregard" is transposed to read והאיש אשר לא ישמע ויעש בודח "should a man disregard and act presumptuously" (56:8-9) possibly in order to emphasize that capital punishment may not be imposed without prior warning,<sup>63</sup> a view which concurs with that of the rabbis (cf. *t. Sanh.* 11:1-5).

(24) 2. 180. I presume that ופקדו (57:3) was based on צבאות "army commanders shall be appointed over the troops" (Deut 20:9). Deuteronomy predicates a civilian militia whose ranks and officers are only called up in time of emergency.<sup>64</sup> However, this procedure would not do for the Hasmonean kings, who kept a standing army and even mercenaries.

<sup>61</sup>See part V above.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. number 22 below and J. Milgrom, "Profane Slaughter and a Formulaic Key to Deuteronomy's Sources," *HUCA* 47 (1976) 1-17.

<sup>63</sup>An observation I owe to my son, Eitan Chaim Milgrom.

<sup>64</sup>Cf. J. Milgrom, "The Ideological Importance of the Office of Judge in Deuteronomy," in *J. Nechajmann Festschrift* (forthcoming).

The scribe therefore erased the *waw* to allow the king, at the time of his coronation, to appoint his military officers. For this reason, I would suggest that the verb indicating the census for the military draft should also be restored in the singular [ונשא] (57:1) so that the entire action will be performed by the king.

(25) 2. 192. The Levites as well as the priests are entitled *בשמך בשמי ולשרת ולברך* “to serve and bless My name” (60:11), probably on the basis of the verse, “the Lord set apart the tribe of Levi . . . to stand in attendance upon the Lord and to bless his name until this day” (Deut 10:8; cf. 18:5 LXX, Sam), a priestly function (cf. Num 6:22–27)! Furthermore, if the verb *שרת* means “serve” (e.g., Exod 28:35) and not “assist” (e.g., Num 18:2), then the Levites are even given the right to officiate on the altar.<sup>65</sup> This accords with other new privileges and perquisites for the Levites in the Temple Scroll.

(26) 2. 195. *ומת הנביא ההוא* “that prophet shall die” (Deut 18:20) is changed to *והומת הנביא ההוא* “that prophet shall be slain” (61:2). A similar change is made from *ומתו* “shall die” (Deut 22:22) to *וימיתו* “shall be slain” (66:2) and from *ומת* “shall die” (Deut 22:35) to *והומת* “shall be slain” (66:5) and the reverse change from *והומת* “shall be slain” (Deut 21:22) to *וימתו* “that he may die” (66:11). These changes show that the Temple Scroll distinguishes very carefully between the *qal* and *hiphil* of *מות*, the former implying death by God and the latter death by man, a distinction consistently found in the priestly texts but ignored in Deuteronomy.<sup>66</sup>

(27) 2. 195. The word *הוא* from Deut 18:22 is mistakenly omitted in the text at 61:4. It is clearly present in the plates.

(28) 2. 199. Why is *אשר לא יעבד בו ולא יזרע* (Deut 21:4) transposed to read *אשר הוא יזרע והוא יעבד* “which is not sown or tilled” (63:2)? Possibly, because the author of the scroll assumes that sowing or planting precedes tilling (cf. Deut 28:39).

(29) 2. 200. Handlaying with one hand (e.g., Lev 4:29) and two hands (e.g., Lev 24:14) must be distinguished from each other.<sup>67</sup> A better analogy to the handlaying ceremony on the broken-necked heifer would be the same ceremony performed on the scapegoat (Lev 16:21).

<sup>65</sup>Cf. section I above.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>Cf. J. Milgrom, “Sacrifices and Offerings,” *HBSup*, 765; R. Péter, “L'imposition des mains dans l'Ancien Testament,” *ET* 21 (1971) 48–55.

# THE INTERCHANGE OF L, N, AND R IN BIBLICAL HEBREW

ALOYSIUS FITZGERALD, FSC

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA, WASHINGTON, DC 20064

THE interchange of *l*, *n*, and *r* in the same word as represented in different Semitic languages (e.g., Heb. *ḥāsil* = grasshopper = Ug. *ḥsn*) and within the same language (e.g., Akk. *lamṣatu* = fly = *namṣatu*) has been often observed.<sup>1</sup> The latter situation is much more characteristic of some languages (Aram., Akk., Arab.) than others. On a limited scale it occurs in OT Hebrew and the instances are recorded in the dictionaries: e.g., *laylā* and *lūn*; *liškā* and *niškā*; *Nēbūkadre<sup>3</sup>ṣṣar* and *Nēbūkadne<sup>3</sup>ṣṣar*; *mazzālōt* and *mazzārōt*.

Examples of this type are ignored here. The concern is rather with instances of abnormal forms of roots showing a similar interchange of consonants in poetic texts which manage at times to be suggested and suggested again as a solution for a crux; and then are forgotten or ignored.

The examples for the most part are not new, but they have apparently never been examined before as a collection. This would seem to be the reason why such a solution to a problem in a particular case is so readily set aside. Collecting the instances has the advantage of putting the examples side by side where a probable argument in one instance helps strengthen the argumentation in all the others. Furthermore, this review will make clear that what the poet is doing is using a dialectal form that fits better the sound-patterning of his line. The fact that in each case the appearance of the abnormal form can be simply explained by the recognition of the intent of the poet, is another argument for the legitimacy of the forms and the interpretations they will be given.

Isa 13:22 will serve as the first example since it is an instance of such a shift that has found more general acceptance:

w'nh 'yym b'lnwtyw  
w'nym bhykly 'ng  
Desert beasts will howl/dwell in his towers,  
jackals in the delightful palaces.

<sup>1</sup>Cf., e.g., C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen I* (Berlin: Reuther and Reichard, 1908) §84.



## FURTHER STUDIES IN THE TEMPLE SCROLL

By JACOB MILGROM, University of California, Berkeley

THE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS are the results of a second reading of the Temple Scroll during the summer of 1979.<sup>1</sup> The numerals cited at the beginning of each item refer to the volume and page of the *editio princeps*.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) II, 2 לוא תקח ממנו [לוא]  
do not take from it (2:9)

The expression is based on Josh. 7:11 לקחו מן החרם rather than on Deut. 7:25b ולקחת לך. By using the preposition מן the Scroll leaves no doubt that the reference is to *hērem*.

- (2) II, 5 לוא ימש מן המקדש  
it may not be moved from the sacred area (3:11)

With Yadin, I agree that the bread of presence is implied. But the prohibition is that it must not be removed from המקדש, which cannot denote the table, השלחן. Hence the reference may be to the old bread of the previous week, and המקדש would imply that the priests must eat it "in the sacred precinct" (Lev. 24:19). True, מקדש in the Scroll usually denotes the entire Temple complex (e.g. 43:12, 46:9-10, 47:18), but it can also indicate the inner court (e.g. 47:12, 52:15), where the priests eat their sacred food (37:10-14). On no account does המקדש refer to the Temple building itself.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the results of the first reading see J. Milgrom, "Studies in the Temple Scroll", *JBL*, 97 (1978), 501-23. Two of its typographical errors should be corrected: p. 526, line 26, "designated", read "designate"; p. 518, line 3 from bottom, "29:1-2", read "20:1-2".

<sup>2</sup> *The Temple Scroll* (Hebrew), ed. Y. Yadin, Jerusalem, 1977, 3 vols. plus supplement.

<sup>3</sup> J. Milgrom, *Studies in Levitical Terminology* (Berkeley, California, 1970), pp. 23-24, n. 78.

- (3) II, 24 ע ל מזבח הקטורת  
on the altar of incense (8:11)

The reference here is to the frankincense accompanying the bread of presence, which according to the Scroll should be burnt on the inner incense altar and not on the outer, sacrificial altar, as maintained by the Rabbis (Tos. Men. 11:13 [Zuck. 530]). Yadin conjectures that the Scroll based its ruling on the term לבונה זכה, "pure frankincense", found only in connection with incense (Exod. 30:34) and the bread of presence (Lev. 24:7), and he is correct. Superior incense is of the same degree of holiness as other superior ingredients employed in the Sanctuary, such as שמן זך, "clear oil", used exclusively in the menorah (Exod. 27:20; Lev. 24:2) over against the ordinary oil used in the meal offering on the outer altar (e.g., Lev. 2:1); זהב טהור, "pure gold", used on the inner sancta, i.e., the ark, *kappōret*, table, menorah (Exod. 37:2,6,11,17, etc.) and on the high priest's vestments, i.e., the breastplate chains, the bells of the robe, and *šîš* (Exod. 39:15,25,30), in contrast to the ordinary gold used on the Tabernacle's planks and pillars.<sup>4</sup>

- (4) II, 27 מזה  
on this side (9:4)

This new reading<sup>5</sup> requires a different reconstruction. I would suggest שלושה קני המגורה מזה ושלושה קני המגורה מזה, in conformance with Biblical usage, e.g., the cherubim, כרוב אחד מקצה מזה וכרוב אחד מקצה מזה (Exod. 25:19; 37:8) and the Tabernacle sides, על צד המשכן מזה ומזה (Exod. 26:13). Its use is amply attested in Rabbinic Hebrew, e.g., Mid. 3:1,7; Ohol. 1:8.

<sup>4</sup> M. Haran, "The Priestly Image of the Tabernacle", *HUCA*, 36 (1965), 205, n. 30.

<sup>5</sup> E. Qimron, "On the Text of the Temple Scroll", (Hebrew), *Leshonenu*, 42 (1978), 137.

- (5) II, 32 לזכרון  
as a memorial (10:5)

This new reading<sup>6</sup> provides the only word in its line, and with עמוד (10:4) the only words in the immediate context. Yet the content can be surmised. The preceding column (8) gives a description of the menorah, and the following columns (11-12) speak of the construction and use of the sacrificial altar. It thus stands to reason that col. 10 (and perhaps the missing top of col. 11) completes the description of the Temple furnishings. Col. 10 has preserved the terms for pillars, gate, and the various colored wools, and thus corresponds to the pillars and curtains, both of which conclude the description of the Tabernacle (Exod. 26:36-37) and precede the description of the sacrificial altar (Exod. 27:1-8). But what is לזכרון doing here? It does not occur in the Tabernacle accounts or in the description of Solomon's Temple.

The answer, I submit, is to be found in the use of לזכרון in the next dealing with the census: ולקחת את כסף הכפרים מאת בני ישראל ונתת אתו על עבודת אהל מועד והיה לבני ישראל לזכרון לפני ה' לכפר על נפשתיכם, "You shall take the ransom<sup>7</sup> silver from the Israelites and assign it the construction<sup>8</sup> of the Tent of Meeting; it shall serve the Israelites as a reminder before the Lord, as ransom for your lives" (Exod. 30:16). Thus לזכרון is connected with the Tabernacle by means of the silver half-shekels collected during the census and used in the construction of the Sanctuary. What precisely was done with this silver is described later: "The silver of those of the community who were recorded . . . was for casting the sockets of the Sanctuary and the sockets for the veil . . .

<sup>6</sup> E. Qimron, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

<sup>7</sup> *Kippēr* frequently denotes "ransom"; cf. J. Milgrom, *Levitical Terminology*, pp. 28-31.

<sup>8</sup> *'abōdāh* in the Priestly texts means "work" in general and "Tabernacle construction" in particular, cf. Milgrom; *Levitical Terminology*, pp. 60-82.

hooks for the pillars, overlay for their tops, and bands around them" (Exod. 38:25-38). Specifically, the silver was used to fashion the sockets of the interior pillars and the decorations (hooks, overlay, bands) for the exterior pillars (cf. Exod. 26:32, 36:38, and 27:17, 38:19). The principle behind this distribution of the silver is clear. The inner sockets, not visible from outside of the Tent, were of silver and their decorations of gold (Exod. 26:32); the outer visible sockets were of bronze and their decorations of silver (Exod. 27:17). That this distinction is consistently followed is shown by pillars at the entrance to the Tent, whose sockets are visible but whose decorations are not; accordingly, the sockets are of bronze but the decorations are of gold (Exod. 26:37).<sup>9</sup>

The Scroll also calls for pillars (עמודים, lines 4, 11), gates (שער, lines 8, 9), and over(lays) (ראשי, line 12; cf. Exod. 32:38) in its Temple. In the Jerusalem Temple the gates to the inner court and Temple building boasted of magnificent curtains (Josephus, *Wars*, 5:212; Sheq. 8:5; B. Yoma 54a) which had to be supported by pillars. Furthermore, the Scroll ascribes pillars to other installations in the inner court: the House of the Winding Staircase (30:9) and the *parwār*<sup>10</sup> (35:10). Since the former was made of gold, we can assume, on the analogy of the Tabernacle, that its sockets were of silver. The *parwār* pillars, also invisible to the laity, would have had silver sockets. The pillars of the Slaughter House (34:2,3,15), however, being accessible to the Levites and possibly to the laity,<sup>11</sup> would have had bronze sockets and silver decorations (cf. Exod. 27:17).

Fortunately, the Scroll tells us how the silver is to be assembled. Again, the Tabernacle serves as the model. The half-shekel is to be the contribution by every male upon reaching the age of twenty (4Q 159:6-7).<sup>11a</sup> The wording is

<sup>9</sup> Though Haran's analysis of P's system of graded holiness is complete in every other respect, he does not identify this distinction.

<sup>10</sup> Milgrom, "Temple Scroll", pp. 506-09.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 502, n. 5.

<sup>11a</sup> Cf. J. Liver, "The Half-Shekel Offering in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature", *HTR* 56 (1963), 190-198.

striking: **מחצית השקל ליכרון**, "half shekel as a memorial" (39:9). The census passage (Exod. 30:12-16) is thus reinterpreted to denote a one-time tax to the Temple, a clear polemic with Rabbinic Judaism which required an annual tax (ber. R.H. 7a). It is therefore just as likely that, in keeping with the census passage, the Scroll requires also that the silver be employed for the continuous ornamentation and repair (Rabbinic *bedek habbayit*) of the Temple pillars.

(6) II, 48 **למלא על נפשותמה**  
to ordain for their lives (15:14)

This expression is a conflation of **למלא יד** (Exod. 29:35) and **לכפר על נפש** (e.g., Lev. 17:11). Both terms occur in the priestly consecration (Exod. 29:33b; cf. Lev. 8:33b-34). The point of the conflation—a new coinage of the Scroll—is to show that the consecration ram and basket of breads fulfill both an expiatory and consecratory function.

(7) II, 49-50 **וסמכו זקני הכהננים את ידהמה על ראשו ואחריהמה**  
**הכוחן הגדול וכול הכהננים**  
and the elders of the priests shall lay their  
hands on its head and after them the high  
priest and all the priests (15:18-16:01)

Why do the priestly elders also perform the hand-laying ceremonial? That the priestly consecrands perform it is understandable, since the purgation bull is their sacrifice. Similarly in the Biblical consecration service it is the consecrands, Aaron and his sons, who perform the hand-laying (Exod. 29:10; Lev. 8:14). But why do the already consecrated priestly elders join in this ceremonial?

The answer is that this purgation bull performs a different function. For the elders merely begin the hand-laying ceremonial; they are followed by the high priest, and if the reconstruction is correct, the entire priestly corps. Thus the purgation bull is intended not only for the consecrands but also for all the priests, as is shown by the preceding sentence

ויקרב פר [אחד ע]ל כול העם] ואחד על הכהנים ויקרב את אשר  
 לכוהנים בריאשונה, "a bull for all the people and one for  
 the priests were offered, that for the priests being offered  
 first" (15:16-18). Hence, just as all the people are expiated  
 by a purgation bull, so, we must assume, all the priests are  
 expiated by their purgation bull. Now, however, a new  
 question must be faced: just as the people's elders perform  
 the hand-laying on their behalf (Lev. 4:15), should not the  
 priestly elders act on behalf of the rest of the priests? The  
 answer is that the two groups of elders are not alike in their  
 powers. The people's elders are indeed empowered to repre-  
 sent the people, but the priestly elders hold only temporary  
 powers; indeed, no sooner do the priestly elders consecrate  
 the high priest with the blood of the consecration ram, then  
 the high priest immediately begins to officiate on behalf of  
 his fellow priests and the people.<sup>12</sup>

(8) II, 52 ושרפו כולו שמה

and all of it shall be burnt there (16:13)

The plural verb shows that the burning of the purgation  
 bull is not done by the high priest. Is it then done by the  
 elders of the priests? Probably not. Rather, the model is  
 Lev. 16:27-28 והשרף אתם ... ושרפו באש, where the plural  
 must be rendered as a passive, '(the bull) ... shall be con-  
 sumed by fire'. Hence the burning is performed by an un-  
 named third party.

9) II, 58 לחם חטים שתיים [עשרה חלות שני] עשרונים

wheat bread, 12 loaves, two tenths (18:14-15)

This restoration seems both ingenious and logical. Since  
 the twelve tribes are charged with the responsibility of bring-  
 ing the new wine and new oil for their respective festivals,  
 they should also be expected to bring the bread loaves, one  
 per tribe, for the New Wheat Festival. However, doubt lin-  
 gers for the following reason:

<sup>12</sup> Milgrom, "Temple Scroll", pp. 509-10.

The new wine and new oil brought by the tribes ( $1/3$  hin and  $1/2$  hin, respectively) are sacrificial accompaniments to the twelve whole-offering rams (19:16),<sup>13</sup> as shown by the absence of the term **ונסכמה** in the phrase **אילים ומנחתמה** (20:01). The missing wine libation is alluded to by the expression **על הנסך הזה** (20:02), "in addition to this libation", which can only refer to the wine contributed by the tribes. Thus the new wine must be the libation accompaniment to the twelve rams. Similarly, the new oil is also a sacrificial accompaniment, probably of the **סֹרֶה** (22:02), because the next line contains the words **בשמן הזה מחצית ההין**, 'with this oil,  $1/2$  hin' (22:03), the precise amount required for a herd animal (Num. 15:9). Any doubts about the new oil being sacrificed on the altar are dispelled by the later description of this festival as **יום הקרב שמן חדש על המזבח** "the day of offering new oil upon the altar" (43:9-10). The Biblical basis for offering the new crop on the altar is clear. Since the *minḥah* for the First Barley requires  $2/10$  (Lev. 23:13),  $1/10$  more than necessary (Num. 15:4-5), the additional tenth must have comprised the *ōmer*-sheaf offered by the Sanctuary (cf. Men. 10:4). Thus, since the new barley was used in composing the sacrificial accompaniment, so were the new wine and oil similarly employed.

In contrast, the twelve rams of the New Wheat Festival are accompanied by **מנחתמה ונסכמה** (19:4), which implies that the sacrificial accompaniment was not brought by the tribes. Clinching the argument is the fact that the loaves by their nature were ineligible for sacrifice, since they were leavened (Lev. 23:17; cf. 2:11).

It is not even certain that the twelve loaves were brought by the tribes, since this assumption rests on a restoration **והביאומה ראשי המטות**, "the heads of the tribes shall bring them" (18:16). If they did bring the loaves, it would have

<sup>13</sup> There is no notice of the 12 whole-offering rams in the New Oil Festival, but we can assume that they were mentioned in one of the lacunae.

constituted a major innovation, since the Bible expressly requires two loaves (Lev. 23:17). The innovation would have had to be explained at least by additional wording such as שנים עשרה חלות [מכל מטות ישראל חלה אחת על המטה] שני ... עשרונים סולת, "twelve loaves from all the tribes of Israel, one loaf per tribe, two tenths semolina" (cf. 19:14-15 on the new wine).

A preferable restoration for 18:15 would be either חלות [שני] תאפינה, "two wheat breads [baked into loaves, two] tenths..." or [חמץ תאפינה שני] "two wheat breads [baked with leaven, two] tenths...". Either restoration would correspond to the syntax and vocabulary of the Biblical precedent לחם תנופה שנים שני עשרים סלת תהיינה חמץ תאפינה (Lev. 23:17). Each would have the additional virtue of including the word תאפינה from the Leviticus source, which is indispensable for knowing how the flour is converted into bread.

(10) II, 64 [וכו]ל מנחה [א]שר קרב עליה לבונה או חרבה  
every meal offering, whether it is sacrificed with  
frankincense or is dry (20:10)

Yadin, basing himself on the Biblical text וכל מנחה בלולה (Lev. 7:10), suggests that the Scroll changed the formula in order to include the dry but spiced *minhāh* (apparently taking או as equivalent to ו) among the priestly perquisites. However, this type of *minhāh* is expressly awarded to the priest (Lev. 6:8) and would not require special mention by the Scroll. Rather, the expression must mean: every *minhāh* which has frankincense (either dry or oily) or which is dry (even without frankincense). The latter would refer to the meal offering of the suspected adulteress (Num. 5:15) and the purgation offering of the indigent (Lev. 5:11), neither of which contain oil or frankincense.<sup>14</sup> Thus the

<sup>14</sup> It could not refer to the two Pentecostal loaves which also contained no oil or frankincense, but being leavened, could not be burned on the altar (Lev. 23:17).



Scroll's wording actually embraces every sacrificial *minhāh* except the accompaniment to the sacrificial animal, which contains no frankincense (Num. 15:4-10) and which is not eaten by the priests but is wholly burned on the altar (Lev. 14:20, cf. Men. 6:2). All other *minhāh* offerings brought by Israelites<sup>15</sup> do indeed become the perquisites of the priests (they are enumerated in Men. 5:3). Thus the wording in the Temple Scroll is concise and precise, a credit to its author.

(11) II, 69 וישמחו... ושמחו  
shall rejoice... shall rejoice (21:8-9)

As shown in no. 9, above, the new wine is used first in the sacrifice before the people may drink of it (20:01-02; 21:3-10; the same rule obtains for the new oil, 21:15-16; 22:14-15). A fitting analogy is Jub. 7:1-6. Noah first offers a wine libation on the altar hearth, and only then is he permitted to drink of it. Jubilees also supports the Scroll's view that the wine is poured on the altar fire (34:13-14), in opposition to the Rabbinic view (B. Suk. 48b-49b; cf. Yadin's discussion, I, 118-19). Finally this Jubilees passage ends on a note of happiness, בשמחה... וישמח (Jub. 7:6), as does the Scroll, ושמחו... וישמחו (21:8-9; cf. 22:16).

(12) II, 72 ... אחר יוציאום אל בני ישראל ונתנו בני ישראל לכוהנים  
afterwards they shall take them out to the  
Israelites, and the Israelites shall give to the  
priests (22:11-13)

The redundancy of בני ישראל is meant to emphasize that the well-being offerings are the property of the Israelites. The law of this sacrifice is that its meat belongs to its offerers except for the prescribed priestly (and in the Scroll, Levitic) perquisites. The Torah itself makes this point emphatic when

<sup>15</sup> The meal offering brought by the priest is also burned on the altar (Lev. 6:12-16), although it contains oil and frankincense (cf. Men. 5:3), but this case is not considered by the Scroll.

it speaks of the well-being offering as זבחי שלמים (Lev. 2:32, 34) and especially as קדשי בני ישראל (Lev. 22:2,5,16), in contrast to the other sacrifices which are called קדשי ה' (e.g., Lev. 5:15).<sup>16</sup> Thus, since the meat belongs to the Israelites, it is they alone who determine who may eat it.

(13) II, 73 ואכלום ביום הזה בחצר החיצונה לפני ה'  
and they shall eat them on this day in the outer  
court before the Lord (22:13-14)

The subject of the verb embraces priests and Levites as well as Israelites. On the New Oil Festival (and on the New Wine Festival, 21:06-6) all of Israel, including women and children, may partake of the well-being lambs and rams in the outer court. Though ordinarily priests eat their perquisites from the well-being offering in the inner court (37:10-14), on these festival days they join the common feast in the outer court. This they may do because well-being offerings can be eaten anywhere in a state of purity (Lev. 7:19), and its priestly prebends may be shared with the priestly family (Lev. 10:14). There is, however, one distinction between these well-being offerings and all others: they are eaten ביום הזה, "on this day", and thus resemble the תודה, the thank-offering, which must also be eaten on the day it is sacrificed (Lev. 7:15). Thus the Scroll disagrees with the Rabbis who ordained that these festival offerings could be eaten anywhere in Jerusalem and over a two-day period (Zeb. 5:7).

(14) II, 73 כי ביום הזה יכפרו על [כול] יצהר הארץ לפני ה' פעם אחת  
בשנה וישמחו  
for on this day they will ransom (sacrificially)  
the entire oil crop of the land before the Lord  
once yearly and rejoice (22:15-16)  
כי [ביום] הזה יכפרו על התירוש וישמחו בני ישראל לפני ה'  
for on this day they will ransom (sacrificially) the

<sup>16</sup> J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience* (Leiden, 1976), p. 66.

wine crop and the Israelites will rejoice before the Lord (21:7-9)

כי ביום הזה יכפר עליכם ... לטהר אתכם ... אחת בשנה ... לפני ה' תטהרו

for on this day purgation will be performed on your behalf ... to purify you ... once Yearly ... you will be purified before the Lord (Lev. 16:30,34)

The comparison with the passage from Leviticus indicates the close association of the verb *kipper* with the verb *tiher*, i.e., the first fruits, as it were, "purify"<sup>17</sup> the rest of the crop. There is, however, an important difference to be reckoned with. Here the means of purification is the same as the object of it. Whereas the purgation animal purifies the Sanctuary on behalf of the people, the first fruits release the rest of the crop for profane use.<sup>18</sup> This usage of *kipper*, to my knowledge, is not attested in the Bible. Its equivalent would be the non-priestly term *hillel*, "desanctify" (e.g., Deut. 20:6), and it must be accounted as an innovation by the Scroll. Perhaps, inasmuch as the effect of offering the first fruits is to release the rest of the fruits, the rendering "ransom" is best, a meaning attested for *kipper* (e.g., Num. 8:19)<sup>19</sup> but in quite different contexts.

(15) II, 75 [העצים עולה ליהוה] of wood, as a whole offering to the Lord (23:3)

This restoration depends on the fragment Rockefeller 42.178 (pl. 38:1\*) [העצים עולה ל] implying, according to Yadin, that on the Wood Festival the wood was brought as an *עולה*, a whole offering, i.e., it was actually sacrificed on the altar. He bases this interpretation (I, 100) on another

<sup>17</sup> J. Milgrom, "Sin-Offering or Purification-Offering", *VT*, 21 (1971), 149-56.

<sup>18</sup> J. Milgrom, "First Fruits, OT", *IDBS*, (1976), 336-37.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. n. 7, above.

כי ביום  
בשנה  
cially)  
Lord

כי [ביום]  
illy) the

fragment, Rockefeller 43.666 (pl. 40:1\*) יקריבו את העצים, resulting in the rendering, "they will sacrifice the wood as a whole offering to the Lord".

However, an alternate solution is possible: יקריבו can mean not "to sacrifice" but, as attested frequently, "to contribute" (e.g., Num. 7:3,10), and the noun קרבן can mean "contribution, gift" (e.g., Num. 7:13, 31:50).<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, the hapax legomenon קרבן העצים (Neh. 10:35) surely refers to periodic contributions of wood and not to their sacrifice. Accordingly, Rockefeller 42.178 can also be restored as follows: 'יקריבו במועד קרבן העצים עולה ליה', so that "wood" is part of the festival name and the whole offering refers to the שער, פר, איל, כבש, animals which are mentioned in the following lines (4,6). Thus the translation would be, "on the Wood Offering Festival they shall sacrifice as a whole offering to the Lord . . .".

(16) II, 75	שער עזים שנים	עזים שנים ל
	two he-goats (23:4)	two goats to (Rock. 42. 178

Yadin (I, 102-03) postulates that two he-goats were brought by each tribe during the six day Wood Festival as purgation offerings, one to atone for the priests and the other for the tribe. He cites for comparison the two purgation bulls for the priests and people during the Priestly Consecration, and the two rams, likewise for the priests and the people, on the Day of Atonement.

First, the analogies are questionable. The rams prescribed for the Day of Atonement are whole offerings and not purgation offerings, and the requirement of two purgation bulls for the Priestly Consecration (a unique feature of the Scroll) makes sense on its own terms: before the priests atone for the people they must atone for themselves (just as they do on the Day of Atonement, Lev. 16:11-19).

<sup>20</sup> J. C. Greenfield, *RB*, 80 (1973), 51.

Other objections can be mustered. Yadin is certainly correct in suggesting that the Wood Festival offerings were modelled on the sacrificial order for the dedication of the altar. But if so, only one he-goat per tribe was prescribed (Num. 7:16,22,28,34, etc.)!

Moreover, why would each tribe have to bring an additional he-goat? It certainly had to provide its own atonement, but why would each tribe have to atone for the priests? Indeed, the line *ושחטו לפניו את שעיר העזים לראשונה* "first the he-goat shall be slaughtered before him" (23:11) implies that there is only one he-goat in the sacrificial order!

The solution suggests itself after one perceives the structure of the entire text of the Wood Festival. It divides itself into two logical and necessary parts 23:2-10, the prescriptive administrative order, in which the whole offering is mentioned first (cf. Num. chaps. 7, 28-29) and the point is stressed that the whole offering of Levi will precede that of Judah (lines 9-10); and 23:11 ff., the descriptive procedural order, stressing that the purgation offering is sacrificed first (line 11). Without predicating this division, the text would ostensibly prescribe the sacrifice of the whole offering ahead of the purgation offering, a procedure which would be contrary to the proper sacrificial order of the Torah,<sup>21</sup> which the Scroll zealously upholds.<sup>22</sup> Thus the requirement of two he-goats (23:4) falls into the prescriptive administrative order, and therein lies the solution:

In the prescriptive order, it is emphasized that Judah's whole offering follows directly upon Levi's whole offering (lines 9-10). Thus it must be assumed that in the preceding lines, which unfortunately are too fragmentary for plausible restoration, there must have been a listing of the whole offerings for both these tribes, e.g., *כבשים, אילים שנים, פרים שנים*. In other words, the listing of the sacrificial animals

<sup>21</sup> J. Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, nn. 251, 252, 295.

<sup>22</sup> As recognized by Yadin, I, 116-19.

was not according to the tribe but according to the day. Thus the two he-goats were not for each single tribe but for the two tribes which were sacrificing them on the same day. In fact, the letter ל in Rock. 42.178 leads me to believe that the text may have read [שעיר עזים שנים ליום], "two he-goats each day", for which there is ample attestation (e.g., Exod. 29:38; Num. 28:3;<sup>23</sup> cf. Exod. 29:36; Num. 28:24; Jer. 37:21; Ezek. 43:25, 45:23). Thus in consonance with all other known he-goat offerings, here too only one is required for the purgation offering.

(17) II, 76 והקריב... יקטיר  
shall offer... shall sacrifice (23:9,10)

These verbs describing the sacrifice of the whole offering precede the description of the purgation offering (23:11 ff.). As explained in no. 16, above, this ostensible discrepancy in the rule that the purgation offering must precede all other offerings in the sacrificial series is resolved when one realizes that the first half of the column, down to line 10, gives the prescriptive administrative order in which the whole offering is always listed first, whereas lines 11 ff. give the descriptive procedural order in which, indeed, the purgation offering is sacrificed first (23:11-17), followed by the whole offering (24:1-25:01).

The Day of Atonement ritual according to the Scroll also follows this structure. First the prescriptive order והקרבתמה... פר אחד איל (25:12-13) in which the whole offering is cited first. It should be noted that this prescriptive order uses the verb הקריב, the same as in the Wood Festival offerings, above. However, no sooner does the Scroll shift to the descriptive order than the purgation offerings are described first (26:1-27:2), and only then do we read אחר... יעשה את הפר ואת האיל ואת (27:3), where the technical verb for performing the entire sacrificial ritual, עשה, is used.

<sup>23</sup> Restored by Yadin in 13:11 (II, 40).

- (18) II, 77 **יותרת הכבד עם הכליות**  
 the caudate lobe in addition to the kidneys  
 (23:15)

Yadin suggests that **עם הכליות** is a scribal error for **עם הכבד**. However, this would imply that the liver is burned on the altar with its appendage (the caudate lobe). But this is not the case. Rather **עם הכליות** is equivalent to **על הכליות** "in addition to the kidneys" (Lev. 3:15).

- (19) II, 71 **עולה היא**  
 it should be wholly burned (22:04)

This expression is found in the same context as **כפֹּר בו על** (02) and **בשמן הזה מחצית ההין** (03), which can only refer to the function and sacrificial accompaniment of a purgation offering bull. Thus **עולה היא** cannot be rendered "it is a whole offering". Yadin plausibly suggests that it refers only to the burning of the suet of the purgation bull and its accompanying meal offering and wine libation, and hence should be rendered "it should be wholly burned". He can find firm support for his suggestion in the fact that the same expression **עולה היא** occurs in 16:10, in a passage which expressly states that the suet of the purgation bull and the accompanying meal offering and wine libation are burned on the altar. Corroboration can also be sought in 15:12, where the suet and right thigh of the consecration ram together with the accompanying bread offering are called **עולה** because they too are burned on the altar.

But the question remains: how could the term **עולה** be applied to a purgation offering? First, it must be noted that there is a Biblical precedent; **בבאים מהשבי בני הגולה הקריבו** **עלות** ... **צפירי חטאת** ... **הכל עלה לה** "those who returned from captivity, the exiles, offered whole offerings . . . he-goats for purgation offerings . . . all as a whole offering to the Lord" (Ezra 8:35). This verse is clear in its inclusion of the purgation offering among the sacrifices that were com-

pletely burned on the altar. Thus the Bible itself speaks of a purgation offering as an עולה.

The answer, I submit, lies in the distinction between two kinds of purgation offerings, the ordinary one whose blood is daubed on the altar horns and whose meat is eaten by the priests (Lev. 6:22), and the rarer one whose blood is aspersed inside the Sanctuary and whose meat may not be eaten and is burned outside.<sup>24</sup> The purgation offerings in Ezra 8:35 are of the latter category: their suet is burnt on the altar and their meat outside.<sup>25</sup> The complete incineration of the purgation offering makes it, so to speak, "a whole offering to the Lord".

In any event, this Biblical precedent provided the Scroll with ample ground for designating the parts of any sacrifice that were burned on the altar by the term עולה.

(20) The aforesaid passage (22:04) serves to indicate that there are still many unanswered questions concerning the sacrificial order on the first-fruit festivals. Two of the main ones are:

1. Why is a purgation bull prescribed for the New Oil Festival and not for the others? The argument that the texts are incomplete will not hold for the New Wine Festival where the sacrificial order is restorable.

2. The well-being offering of 14 rams and 14 lambs is prescribed for the New Wine and New Oil<sup>26</sup> Festivals (20:1-21:3; 22:2-14). Why is it missing in the sacrificial requirements for the New Barley and New Wheat Festivals? True, the texts of the latter are fragmentary, but the lacunae occur at the beginning of the accounts and not at the end, where the well-being offering would have appeared. One may argue that the New Barley and New Wheat Festivals are Biblical and their sacrifices are fixed, but this argument did not stop the author

<sup>24</sup> J. Milgrom, "Two Kinds of *hattā't*", *VT*, 26 (1976), 333-37

<sup>25</sup> In agreement with Sifra, *Hobah*, 3:5.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Milgrom, "Temple Scroll", pp. 518-19, for the restoration



of the Scroll from prescribing an additional whole offering of 12 rams for all the festivals, including the New Wheat (19:3, restored). Besides, what was the Biblical basis for prescribing these 12 whole offering rams as well as the well-being offering of 14 rams and 14 lambs?

*(to be continued)*

לביתו,<sup>2</sup> ושמתתי מאד בדבר הזה ואל תמנע ממני מעבדך והודיעני מעמדך הטוב ומה למדת עד היום הזה (וכמה) [ובמה] עסקת ואם יש דעתך לבוא עצלינו (!! ) כי יש כאן אנשים חכמים ונבונים אצל משפט הקיסר, ירום הודו<sup>3</sup> יודעים לשונינו אך לא ראיתי אותם עדיין. ואין להאריך רק חיים ושלוה לך יאריך כך הפך משרתך ליווא מלמד.

<sup>1</sup> "Hans", the German nickname for Johannes.

<sup>2</sup> I was unable to ascertain where this was.

<sup>3</sup> Above, pp. 79 f. Note the pertinent comment of S. Münster in his *Grammatica Chaldaica* (Basel, 1527), p. 203: "Id autem didici ex literis, quas doctus quidam Judeus Vuormaciensis ad me Heydelbergae agentem scripsit". See also Perles, *op. cit.*, pp. 32 f.

No. 5

(f. 206 v)

Ep[is]t[ol]a isaac hebrei ad m[a]g[ist]r[u]m  
Caspere[m] am[m]a[n]

שלומים רבים להאדון והקצין אשר רוח אלקי' עליו מלא על כל גדותיו בתורת הישראלי והאדומי הנה האדו' האלוף אודיע לכבודך שהוגד לי השפל איך כבודך חפץ לקנות ספר הנק' ערך והוא ביאור על לשונות חמורות שבגמ' ובשאר ספרים לכן אם כבודך רוצה לקנותו הודיעני על יד הר' ברוך פרענק ואני רוצה להביא לכבודך למעלה תוך שמונה ימים. ובכן יתרום כסאך למעלה כה מעתיר יומם ולילה משרתך איזוק כהן מנצבורג: ליד ראש כומריא בלאניגן.

## FURTHER STUDIES IN THE TEMPLE SCROLL

By JACOB MILGROM, University of California, Berkeley

(continued)

(21) II, 78 וארביה (24:8)

Yadin accepts my emendation **וארביה**, the metathesis attributable to scribal error. It should be added that this term is attested in Mishnaic Hebrew and in a similar context: **אברי חטאת שנתערבו באברי עולה**, "sections of the purification offering that became mingled with sections of the whole offering" (Zeb. 8:4). With this emendation the entire passage now makes sense: **... וככה יעשו לפר ופר ולאיל ואיל ... ולכבש וכבש וארביה לבד יהיו**, "so shall they do to each bull, ram, and lamb: its sections shall remain apart" (24:7-8), i.e., the animal sections on the altar shall be kept apart from each other, just as the Scroll explicitly prescribes in 34:12 **פר ופר ונתחיו אצלו**, "each bull, its sections alongside it".<sup>28</sup>

(22) II, 84 ישרופו אצל פרו

shall be burnt next to his bull (26:9)

The context refers to the burning of the flesh of the bull and he-goat purification offerings on the Day of Atonement. What need is there to specify that they are to be burned together? The ashes of the purification offerings were kept apart from the ashes of the other sacrifices—**במקום מובדל** [פּוֹר אוֹתוֹ], "in a place set apart for purification offerings, there it shall be burned" (16:12)—because of the ancient tradition that ritual purgatives retained their magical powers.<sup>29</sup> The Biblical basis for the Scroll's prescrip-

<sup>27</sup> The reading as corrected by E. Qimron, "New Readings in the Temple Scroll", *IEJ*, 28 (1978), 165.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Yadin's discussion, I, 118.

<sup>29</sup> J. Milgrom, "Temple Scroll", pp. 511-12.

tion is not clear. Perhaps כאשר שרף את הפר הראשון (Lev. 4:21) was understood as if כאשר = באשר, i.e., the second purgation bull should be burned wherever the first one was burnt.

(23) II, 96,98 [כול בית המסכה הזאת צפו זהב קירותיו ושעריו וגג מבית ומ]בחוץ ועמודו ומעלותיו  
plate this entire House of the Winding Staircase with gold, its walls, gates, roof—inside and outside—its pillar and stairs (31:8-9)

Why is the House of the Winding Staircase plated with gold? It is because of the rule "Whatever contacts them becomes sacred" (Exod. 30:9) which includes the Tent of Meeting in "them" (v. 20). Thus the sanctity of the Scroll's Temple communicates itself to any attachment, such as the House of the Winding Staircase, which is connected to the Temple by an elevated viaduct (30:6-7).<sup>30</sup> As gold was used to plate the interior of Solomon's Temple (1 Kings 6:20) and to fashion its vessels (2 Chr. 4:19), so was gold prescribed for the Scroll's Temple (4:14) and vessels (3:8,9,12).

Gold was used also in the House of the Laver—מצופות (שם) עליהמה את בגדיהמה (32:10-11), i.e., to plate the cubicles in which the priestly garments were stored. These garments are holy (Exod. 29:21; Lev. 8:30) and the Scroll adopts the teaching of Ezekiel (42:14, 44:19) that their holiness is contagious to whatever or whomever they contact (33:7). Thus their receptacles in the House of the Laver must also be lined with gold.

Finally, gold was also used in the gates of all three courts of the Temple (36:11; 39:3; 41:16-17). Here the principle followed is that of the Tabernacle construction: the entrances are holier than the surrounding enclosure. Thus the Veil covering the adytum contains more wool and less linen

<sup>30</sup> Yadin, I, 164, correctly associates the term *hēkāl* with the entire building.

than the inner curtains (Exod. 26:1,31); the entrance screen of the Tent made of embroidered wool and linen is more important than the Tent's outer curtains made of goats' hair and ram and dolphin skins (Exod. 26:7,14,36); and the entrance screen of the Tabernacle enclosure is identical in composition to the entrance screen of the Tent, in contrast to the inferior linen curtains of the enclosure (Exod. 27:9, 16).<sup>31</sup> In this respect it should be noted that the gold of the inner gates (36:11) is of a higher quality (טוב, based on 2 Chr. 3:5-8) than the gold (טהור) of the outer gates (41:16-17),<sup>32</sup> again corresponding to the material gradations of the Tabernacle entrances.

- (24) II, 98 אשםם לכפר על העם  
their reparation offering to expiate for the people (32:6)

The new reading<sup>33</sup> suggests the possibility that the reference is to the אשם, the reparation offering. If so, this would be the only instance in the Scroll where it is explicitly assigned an expiatory role (cf. Lev. 5:16, 18, 26; 7:7).

- (25) II, 112 מקומות עשויים לכוהנים לזבח(חיהמה ולבכורים ולמעשרות  
ולזבחי שלמיהמה אשר יהיו זובחים  
places made for the priests, (the prebends from) their well-being offerings, first fruits, tithes, and the well-being offerings they (themselves) sacrifice (37:10-11)

This passage refers to the places in the inner court where the priests can eat their sacred food. A number of questions spring to mind: (1). Why the double mention of זבח? (2). Why are some of the priestly prebends missing: the first-born

<sup>31</sup> Haran, "Priestly Image", pp. 202-06.

<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately the adjective describing the type of gold used in the middle gates (39:3) is missing.

<sup>33</sup> Qimron, p. 143.

animals, the chest, right thigh, foreleg, cheek, and stomach<sup>34</sup>—all explicitly assigned to the priests by the Scroll (e.g., 20:15-16, 60:2)? (3). Why must they be eaten in the inner court when the Torah allows priestly prebends from the *זבח* to be eaten anywhere in a state of purity (Lev. 7:19, 10:14), and even Ezekiel specifies that the prebends from the most sacred offerings, the *אשם*, *חטאת*, and *מנחה*, may not leave the inner court, and thereby implies that the *זבח* is excluded from this prohibition (Ezek. 46:20)?

The first two questions are answered by the generalization that seems to operate in the enumeration: *זבחים* stand for the priestly prebends from the well-being offerings whose meat belongs entirely to them, i.e., the first-born (cf. Lev. 27:21; Num. 18:17-18) and the offerings they themselves offer.<sup>35</sup>

As for the third question, I would suggest that the Scroll does permit the priests, if they so wish, to remove their sacred food from the inner court. Indeed, they are commanded to eat their prescribed well-being offerings of the New Wine and New Oil Festival in the outer court (22:13-14; cf. no. 13, above). Here, however, the Scroll presumes that the priests are serving in their course and are forbidden to leave the inner court while wearing their priestly garments (33:7; cf. Ezek. 42:14, 44:19). For such circumstances installations are provided for the priests in the inner court: stoves, tables, and chairs (37:8), so that they can eat while performing their duties.

<sup>34</sup> The animal tithe, also a priestly prebend, is probably subsumed under the term *ולמעשרות*; cf. Milgrom, "Temple Scroll", pp. 519-20.

<sup>35</sup> I have changed my mind concerning the meaning of *זבחי שלמי* (37:5) which I felt referred to the priestly prebends from the well-being offerings ("Temple Scroll", pp. 521-22.). Now it is clear that this term refers to the offerer's sacrifices whose suet and blood are offered on the altar in the inner court by the priests and whose meat is eaten by the offerer in the outer court. Support for this interpretation is indicated by the following word *ולכנהנים* . . . which implies that the previous words did not refer to the priestly prebends.

- (26) II, 115 ]שמה יהיו אוכלים [ העוף ולתורים ולבני היונה]  
there they will eat [ ] of the bird, turtle doves,  
and pigeons (38:10)

This new reading of 38:10<sup>36</sup> does not leave room for the insertion of **את תבואות**,<sup>37</sup> “the yields”, from Rock. 43.366, line 6. Besides it would make no sense. Can then the latter, especially its first column (pl. 38:5\*), be the text of col. 38?

- (27) II, 129 וכול אשר נותר ממועדיהמה יקדש באש ישרף לוא יאכל  
עוד כי קדש  
all (the sacred food) that remains from your  
festivals retains its holiness. It shall be des-  
troyed by fire; it shall not be eaten—it is holy  
(43:10-13)

Yadin suggests that the consecration ram and bread (Exod. 29:24) provide the precedent for declaring that the tithe also must be destroyed by fire if it is not eaten in its prescribed time. A more likely Biblical warrant, I submit, is the well-being offering, which according to the Scroll is eaten by the people in the outer court under the same conditions of purity concerning which the Torah states: **והנותר** **עד יום השלישי באש ישרף . . . ואכליו . . . את קדש ה' חלל** “what is left by the third day must be consumed in fire . . . and he who eats of it . . . has profaned what is sacred to the Lord” (Lev. 19:6,8).

- (28) II, 129 ולוא יאכלו ממנו בימי המעשה לאונמה  
they shall not eat of it during their distressful  
working days (43:15-16)

The word **אונמה** would seem to derive from **און**, “evil, misfortune”, attested frequently in Scripture; even the form **אונם** is found (e.g., Ps. 94:23). Another possibility is that

<sup>36</sup> Qimron, p. 144.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

אֵן is frequently coupled with עֵמֶל (e.g., Num. 23:21; Ps. 90:10; Job 5:6-7), which can mean "labor" (e.g., Deut. 26:7; Eccl. 2:24, 8:18), and it was this association that the author of the Scroll had in mind when he coupled אֵן with יְמֵי הַמַּעֲשֶׂה "work days".

However, it is more likely that the Scroll chose אֵן because of its resemblance to אָנִי, "mourning, sorrow", which is the very term used by Scripture in the same context of the tithe: לֹא אֲכַלְתִּי בְאֵנִי מִמֶּנּוּ (Deut. 26:14), which the LXX renders ἐν ὀδύρῃ, "in my distress".<sup>38</sup> So is it understood also by the Karaites: the author of the *Sēfer ham-Mibhār* explains this word as אָם הֵייתִי עֵלֹב וְעֵצֹב, "(I did not eat of it) when I was dejected and sad", to which his commentator *Ṭirat Kesef* adds "the worrier is in perpetual mourning".

Thus the Scroll concludes from this Deuteronomic verse that one must not eat the tithe not only in mourning but also during any distressful period. Therefore, since the only times certain of being free from distress are Sabbaths and festivals, only then may the tithe be eaten (43:2-4).

Herein lies a clear polemic with Rabbinic teaching. The Rabbis actually limit the prohibition of eating the tithe to the initial mourning period, either the first day following death or the time between death and burial (Pes. 8:8; Zeb. 99b-100b). The Scroll extends the prohibition beyond the entire mourning period to include every profane, i.e., working, day.

(29) I, 198 (on 40:13-41:11)

The diagram of the location of the tribes in the wilderness camp is in need of correction. The leading tribe of each *degel* should occupy the middle position, since other two tribes in the *degel* are חֹזְבִים עֲלָיו, "camping next to it". Thus Judah, Reuben, Ephraim, and Dan should be placed at the middle gates. The Scroll, however, conceives of a different arrangement, the basis for which I cannot fathom.

<sup>38</sup> Only once does it translate אָבֵל (Esth. 9:2).



(30) II, 134 (I, 209-211)

זה [ב]א וזה יוצא ליום השמיני ומטהרים את הנשכות  
 וזאת אחרי זזאת [ל]עת תצא הריאשונה ולא תהיה  
 תערובת

this one (course) enters and that one  
 leaves on the eighth day. The chambers  
 shall be cleansed one by one when the  
 first one (course) leaves, so that there  
 shall be no mingling (45:5-7)

The chambers in the outer court have to be cleansed. They are occupied by the people throughout the year who leave behind all sorts of impurity and *piggûl* of their sacrifices. The old priestly course would have become contaminated, and hence must be kept apart from the new uncontaminated course.

But who does the cleansing? If the new course, it too would become contaminated. This point helps illuminate a Biblical crux "They were unable to celebrate it (the *pesah*) at the proper time, since the priests had not purified themselves in sufficient number" (2 Chr. 30:3). The reason is now clear: the purification of the Temple undertaken by the priests lasted from the first to the sixteenth of Nisan (2 Chr. 29:16-17); the date for the *pesah* (the close of the fourteenth of Nisan) intervened, and many of the priests were still involved in the cleansing and were therefore impure.

Even so, the question cannot be resolved. Perhaps the old course is responsible for the cleansing—this would be the simpler solution. If it is the new course, then, like its counterpart who had purified the Temple in Hezekiah's time, its priests would have to purify themselves before they could enter upon their duties.

(31) II, 139 ועשיתה חיל סביב למקדש ... אשר יבדיל בין מקדש  
 הקודש לעיר

you shall make a moat around the Temple . . .  
that will separate the most sacred area from  
the city (46:9-10)

The term **מקדש הקודש** (borrowed from Lev. 16:33) was chosen because of Ezekiel's definition of the Temple precinct's boundaries: **זאת תורת הבית על ראש ההר כל גבלו סביב**, "such are the instructions for the Temple on top of the mountain: the entire area shall be most sacred" (Ezek. 43:12). Thus Ezekiel designates the Temple precincts as **קדש קדשים**, "most sacred", a status which the Scroll also accepts by its use of the synonymous term **מקדש הקודש** (though in Leviticus it refers to the adytum). This designation is significant for the system of holiness gradations adopted by the Scroll: the distinction between the Temple and the Temple-city is that between the most sacred and sacred. There is practically no difference between them in regard to impurity prohibitions: both Temple and Temple-city are off limits to the impure. But there is a world of difference in regard to the positive qualifications for entering either sphere: all who are pure may enter the Temple-city, but not necessarily the Temple.

(32) II, 140-141 (on 46:13-16)

One of the startling teachings of the Scroll is that human excrement is defiling. What is its Biblical warrant? It is to be found, I submit, in the following passage (key words are italicized): "Eat it as barley cake; you shall bake it on *human excrement* before their eyes. So, said the Lord, shall the people of Israel *eat their bread, unclean*, among the nations to which I will banish them. Then I said, Ah, Lord God, my person was never *defiled*, nor have I eaten anything that died of itself or was torn by beasts from my youth until now, nor has foul flesh entered my mouth. He answered me, See, I allow you *cow's dung instead of human excrement*; prepare your bread on that" (Ezek. 4:12-15).

Thus Ezekiel unambiguously declares that human excrement does defile. The implications for the Essenes and for the Qumran sectaries are clear: (1). There can be no lavatories in the Temple-city (46:13-16; cf. Josephus, *Wars*, 2:147-49). (2). Urination, by implication, does not defile, a deduction that can also be drawn from "there shall be an area for you outside the camp . . . you shall cover up your excrement" (Deut. 23:13-14); otherwise, how could the Essenes of Jerusalem, forbidden to use their lavatories on the Sabbath, have managed? 3. The Qumran sectaries probably bathed after defecation (so did the Essenes, Josephus, *Wars*, 2:147-49). See Yadin's excellent discussion, I, 228-35.

(33) II, 140 **לצפון המערב לעיר בתים**

to the northwest of the city, houses (46:14)

Why was the northwest designated as the site for the lavatories, particularly since the prevailing winds are westerlies, and hence even tanneries were forbidden west of the city (BB. 2:9)?

Josephus informs us that the Essenes chose to build their lavatories in "desolate places" (*Wars*, 2:147-49). East of the city was, according to the Scroll, reserved for impurity bearers (46:16-18). The south and west were probably disqualified because they were separated from the city by deep ravines. At the end of the second Temple period the major population expansion was in the north. Thus, by elimination, only the northwest fulfilled the two desiderata of being desolate and of easy access.

But what of the wind problem? It is the reason for the Scroll's requirement to build **בתים**, "houses" (and the likelihood of Yadin's identification of  $\beta\eta\theta\sigma\acute{\omega}$  with **בית צואה**, "the [Essene] excrement houses"). Even though the lavatories were at least 3,000 cubits from the city and hence out of sight, they had to be enclosed, so that their odor would not be wafted back into the city.

- (34) II, 144  
 cf. I, 240    ולוא יגאלו את מקדשי בעורות זבחי פגוליהמה אשר יזבחו  
 בתוך ארצמה . . . ולוא תטמאו את מקדשי ועירי בעורות  
 פגוליהמה  
 they shall not defile my Temple with the  
 skins of their putrid (unsacrificed) ani-  
 mals which they slaughter in the land . . .  
 you shall not pollute my Temple and city  
 with the skins of your putrid animals (47:  
 13-18).

The Scroll's emphatic prohibition against bringing skins of unsacrificed animals into Jerusalem is not just a theoretical product of its hermeneutics. It corresponds to the historically verifiable status of Jerusalem at the end of the third century. A proclamation of Antiochus III actually confirms this special sanctity of Jerusalem (Josephus, *Antiquities*, 12:146). Yadin graciously acknowledges my reference to this proclamation (although in fact it only prohibits the entry of skins of impure animals, whereas the Scroll excludes also the skins of pure but unsacrificed animals), but he does not go far enough, I believe, in drawing its full implications. The fact is that this prohibition is unattested in Rabbinic literature. That the Scroll knows it and makes it a cardinal rule for a purified Jerusalem points to the possibility that the sect may be pre-Maccabean in origin. In any case, it underscores the real reason for the bitterness that the Qumran sectaries felt toward the Temple establishment. Jerusalem *did* have more stringent rules of purity, which moreover were confirmed by the Syrian monarch, but which were not restored by the Maccabean ruler-priests. Thus from the point of view of Qumran, Jerusalem had been defiled by its own leaders.

- (35) II, 153    וכול אשר בא אל הבית ירחץ וכבס בגדיו ביום הראשון  
 וביום השלישי יזו עליהמה מי גדה וירחצו וכבסו סלמותמה

ואת הכלים אשר בבית וביום השביעי יזו שנית וירחצו  
ויכבסו בגדיהמה וכליהמה

and everyone who enters the house will bathe and launder his clothes on the first day. On the third day lustral waters will be aspersed on them, and they will bathe and launder their clothes together with the vessels in the house. On the seventh day they will be aspersed for a second time, and they will bathe and launder their clothes and vessels (49:17-19)

The text would seem to imply that only persons are aspersed with the lustral waters on the third and seventh days, whereas clothes and the vessels in the house are only washed. If so, it would be in direct contradiction to "aspersion (the lustral waters) on the tent and on all the vessels and people who were there" (Num. 19:18; cf. 31:32). In fact, the Karaites actually distinguish between the purification of persons and that of objects, deducing from this verse that objects "are purified with one aspersion" (*Keter Tōrāh*), i.e., they need not undergo two aspersions as do persons.

However, before we draw the unlikely conclusion that the Scroll defies a commandment of the Torah which clearly requires the aspersion of corpse-contaminated objects, we had better inspect another provision of the Scroll. Anyone who enters the house of a woman pregnant with a dead fetus must undergo aspersions, bathing, and laundering on the third and seventh days, to which the Scroll adds וכול הכלים ובגדים ועורות וכול מעשה עזים כמשפט התורה הוואת תעשו להמה, "and all the vessels, clothes, skins, and everything made of goats' hair shall undergo the procedure of this instruction" (50:16-17). Thus objects are subjected to the same purification process as persons.

(36) II, 165 כשנה (52:9)

Read בשנה, as MT (Deut. 15:20), since the ב and כ are at

times indistinguishable (compare the ב of the next word במקום in pl. 67).

(37) II, 166 חבחו (52:20)

The subject of this verb is not the priests, for the Scroll is in agreement with MT in that the slaughter of sacrificial animals may be performed by a layman. If the Levites perform the sacrificial slaughter in the regular cult (22:4), it may well be that the laity were permitted to perform the slaughter of their own private offerings.<sup>39</sup>

(38) II, 174 כאשר דברתי לאבותיכה  
as I promised your fathers (55:12)

This quotation from Deut. 13:18 involves a change from MT which reads כאשר נשבע לאבותיך, "as I swore to your fathers". However, there is no change in meaning, since in Deuteronomy the clauses are synonymous, for כאשר דבר does not mean "as He spoke/commanded" but "as He promised", and God's promise is equivalent to His oath (compare Deut. 12:20 with 19:8, and Deut. 26:19 with 28:12).<sup>40</sup>

(39) II, 179 ביום אשר ימליכו אותו  
as soon as he is crowned (57:2)

It is hard to believe that the king would order a national military census on his coronation day. But ביום does not always mean "on the day". Frequently it should be rendered "thereafter" or "when" (e.g., Num. 3:1, 7:1, 10, 84 [cf. 88]).

(40) II, 181-82 (on 57:15-19)

The question is: if no woman may live in the Temple-

<sup>39</sup> Cf. above, n. 11.

<sup>40</sup> For other examples, cf. J. Milgrom, "Profane Slaughter and a Formulaic Key to the Composition of Deuteronomy", *HUCA*, 47 (1976), 1-17.

City, how can the king have a queen? Only one answer is possible: the royal precincts were outside of the city of Jerusalem.

The Scroll would have taken its cue from Ezekiel, who in his futuristic vision separates the domain of the *nāsī'*, i.e., the king, from those of the Temple and the city (Ezek. 45:1-8, 48:20-21). In view of this Biblical prescription, the Qumran sectaries were probably horrified to see that the Hasmoneans had built their palace on the eastern slope of the western hill overlooking the Temple mount (Josephus, *Wars*, 2:344; *Antiquities*, 20:190). It was within the upper city and subject to the holiness rules of the Scroll, thereby providing another reason for declaring Jerusalem polluted. Ironically, the later Herodian palace might have met the Scroll's standards, since it was built at the city's edge and separated from it by its own wall (Josephus, *Wars*, 5:177).

The same question applies to the priests: were they of necessity celibate? The answer becomes clear when we realize that the Temple priesthood was divided into courses, each course serving no more than two weeks per year.<sup>41</sup> Thus it was possible for the priests to reside with their families outside the Temple-City, since they were faced with the Scroll's rigid rules of holiness only when their course performed its semi-annual week-long duties in the Temple. During that short time they would probably reside in the Temple and, as observed (no. 13, above), take their sacred meals in the inner court, completely segregated from the worshipers.

(41) II, 187    והיו אויביהמה שוממים במה והמה בארצות אויביהמה  
מתאנהים ומועיקים  
their enemies will be astounded at them, while  
they, in their enemies' lands, will groan and  
cry out (59:5-6)

<sup>41</sup> S. Talmon, "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judean Desert", *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 4 (1958), 186-87.

Instead of rendering "their enemies will bring destruction upon them", it would be best to take **שוממים** in the attested sense of "astounded, appalled", i.e., while your enemies ensconced in your cities will express astonishment at their condition, you, in their lands, will give voice to your suffering.

(42) II, 188 **עד יאשמו כול אשמה**  
until they are thoroughly punished (59:5)

This clause expresses the climax of Israel's suffering in exile before they repent and are restored. As Yadin has noted, the clause is modelled on Hos. 5:15 **עד אשר יאשמו**, which, as recognized by Ibn Ezra, is capable of two renderings: "until they acknowledge their guilt" (Targum and Rashi) or "until they are punished" (LXX). Both interpretations are possible.<sup>42</sup> But since the notion of repentance implied in the first rendering is expressed in the following clause **אחר ישובו אלי**, "then they will turn to Me", the second rendering seems preferable.

(43) **בכורותיהמה<sup>43</sup> הזכרים**  
their male first-born (60:2)

The first-born are thus listed among the priestly perquisites. However, the Scroll has already cited Deut. 15:19-23, which assigns the first-born to the owner, to be sacrificed and eaten at the Temple (52:7-12). Did the Qumran sectaries side with the Rabbis in that the first-born, despite Deuteronomy, belong to the priests (cf. Sifre Num. 118), or did they oppose this Rabbinic teaching, as they often did, and side with Deuteronomy (which is used by the Scroll as the basis of its law) in that the first-born belong to their owners? There is no attempt at harmonization in the Scroll. Perhaps it felt no conflict to begin with. Here it unequivocally item-

<sup>42</sup> Milgrom, *Cult and Conscience*, pp. 3-12.

<sup>43</sup> The reading according to Qimron, p. 145.



izes the first-born among the priestly perquisites, and this probably indicates its decision. As for its citation of Deut. 15:18-23, it may have rendered תאכלנו (Deut. 15:20) not as "you (the layman) shall eat it" but "you (who are eligible, i.e., the priest) shall eat it" (cf. Ibn Ezra and *Sēfer ham-Mibḥar* on Deut. 15:20).

- (44) II, 191 ומכס תרומתמה... אשר יצודו וכול אשר יחרימו ומכס השלל והכו  
and a levy from their donations... of their hunt, and whatever they ban, and a levy from the spoil and loot (60:4-5)

As noted by Yadin (I, 128), the insertion of the ban between the hunt and spoil levies is confusing. Yet it bears a logic of its own. Spoil and ban (*hērem*) are frequently coupled. Before a difficult battle, the spoil is foregone by the warriors and is dedicated in its entirety to God (e.g., Jericho, Josh. 6:17-19; Arad, Num. 21:3; the Canaanites, Deut. 20:16-17.<sup>44</sup> Hence וכול means not everything, i.e., every banned object (the meaning it usually has, cf. Lev. 27:28; Num. 18:14; Ezek. 44:29), but only all of the banned object. Thus while the priests' levy amounts only to 0.1% (58:13), they receive 100% of every ban.

- (45) II, 192 ככול אחיו הלויים ישרת העומדים שמה לפני  
as all his fellow Levites, he shall assist those in attendance there before Me (60:14)

Deut. 18:7 states: ושרת בשם ה' אלהיו ככל אחיו הלויים העומדים שם לפני ה', "he may serve in the name of the Lord his God like all his fellow Levites who are there in attendance before the Lord". But what does "serve" mean? Does it connote that the Levites may officiate? The ambiguity is clarified by the Scroll's rewriting of this verse. Now the

<sup>44</sup> Milgrom, "Profane Slaughter", pp. 6-9.

object of "serve" is העומדים "those in attendance". The שרת can only mean "assist" and not "officiate". Though the Scroll has greatly enhanced the powers of the Levites even to the extent of their assuming the priestly function of blessing the people,<sup>45</sup> they in no way usurp the priestly role of officiating at the altar.<sup>46</sup>

(46) II, 201 ולוא תגע לכה בטהרה עד שבע שנים וזבה שלמים לוא תואכל עד יעבורו שבע שנים  
 she shall not touch your pure food for seven years, and she may not eat of the well-being offering until seven (full) years have elapsed (63:14-15)

Yadin is surely correct in thinking that this addition to Deut. 20:13 indicates that the seven years during which the captive woman may not eat of the well-being offering imply a longer period than the seven years during which she may not handle her husband's pure food. Yadin feels that an additional seven years is meant (I, 281), i.e., she must abstain from sacrificial food for 14 years. I submit another solution, one that is consistent with the priestly system of purities: she may not eat pure food until the seventh year and sacrificial food until the eighth year. This would correspond to the 7/8 day purification scheme for severe impurities. For example, the leper and the gonorrhoeic become pure after they bathe during the seventh day of their purification (Lev. 14:9, 15:13) and are presumably able to enjoy free contact with all pure persons and food, but not until the eighth day, after they have brought their prescribed sacrifices (Lev. 14:10, 15:14), are they allowed to handle sancta, for until then they are subject to the prohibition "she shall not touch any sacred object nor enter the Sanctuary" (Lev. 12:4). Thus purification is achieved not at the

<sup>45</sup> Milgrom, "Temple Scroll", p. 503.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., n. 11 should now be crossed off.

end of the seventh or eighth day, but *during* these days, once the requisite ceremonies are carried out.

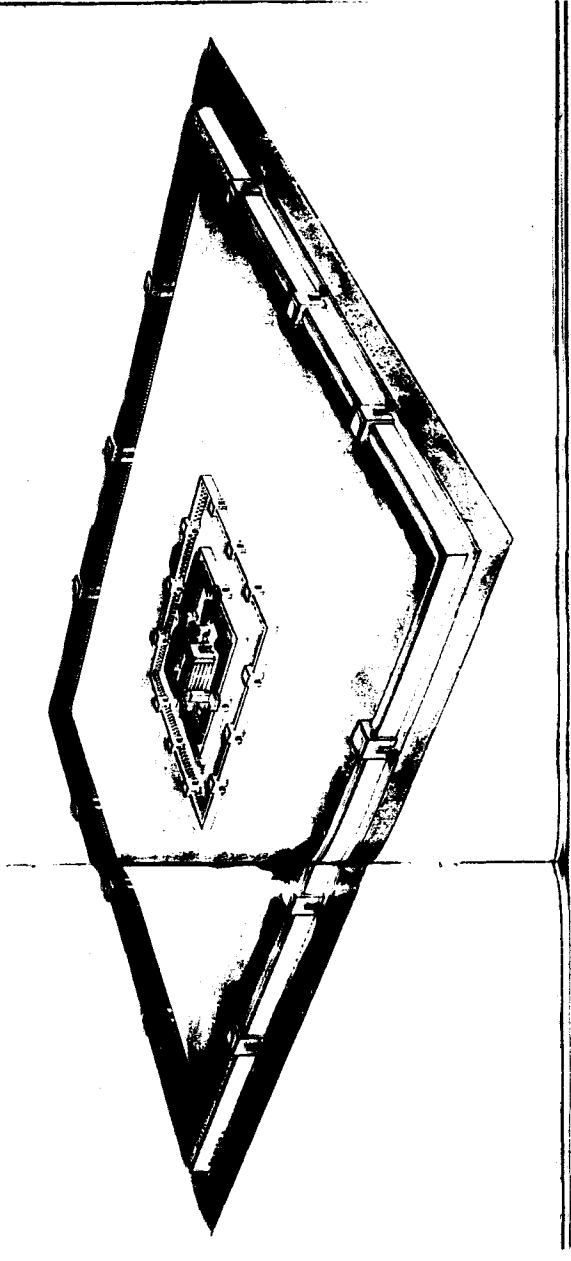
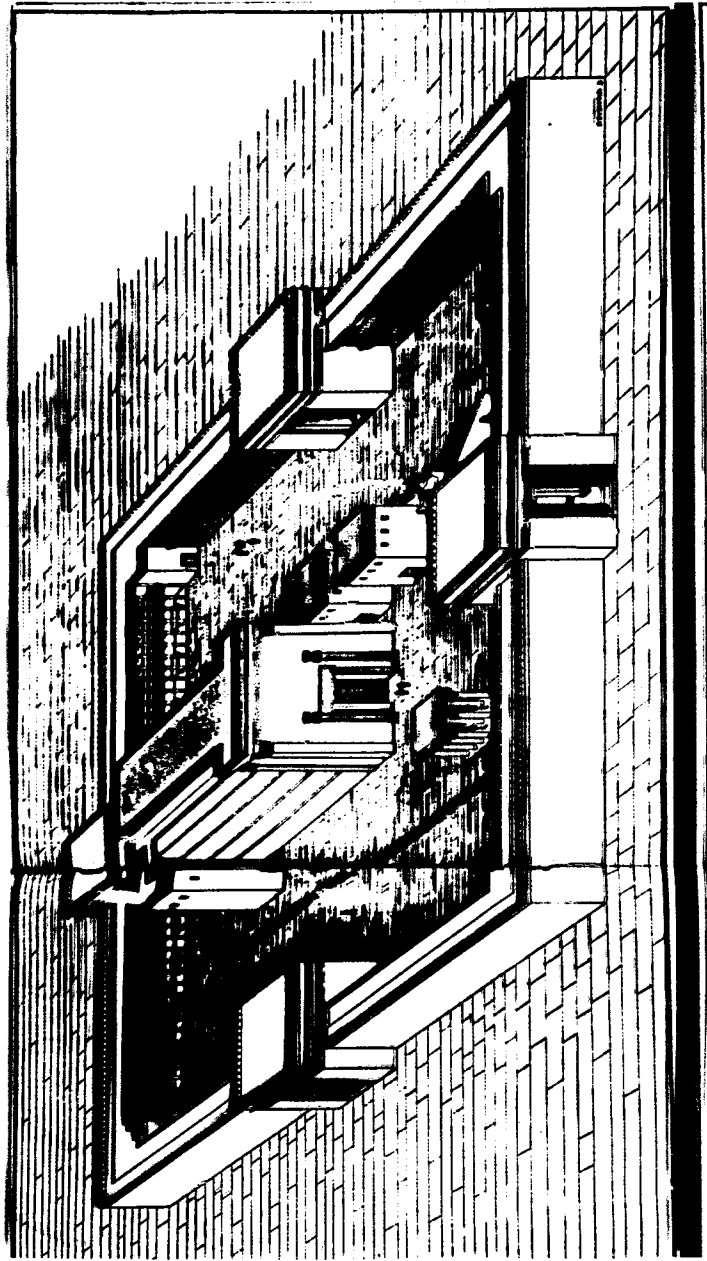
Perhaps, as Yadin claims (I, 256), the Scroll does not recognize the Rabbinic concept of טבול יום, i.e., that bathing per se effects a degree of purification,<sup>47</sup> but it surely holds to the concept of מחוסר כפורים, literally "lacking expiation" (Kel. 1:5,8), meaning that complete purification is not effected until the purgation sacrifice on the eighth day, a requirement well grounded in Scripture (cf. Ker. 2:1 for references). Hence it is logical to expect that the Scroll (and the Qumran sectaries) would have made a distinction between pure food and sacred food, thus requiring a longer period of purification for access to the latter. Seemingly, the Scroll admits of this distinction when it states that corpse-contaminated persons may at the close of the seventh day "contact all their pure food" (49:21), a possible indication that it distinguished between pure food of the seventh day and sacred food of the eighth.

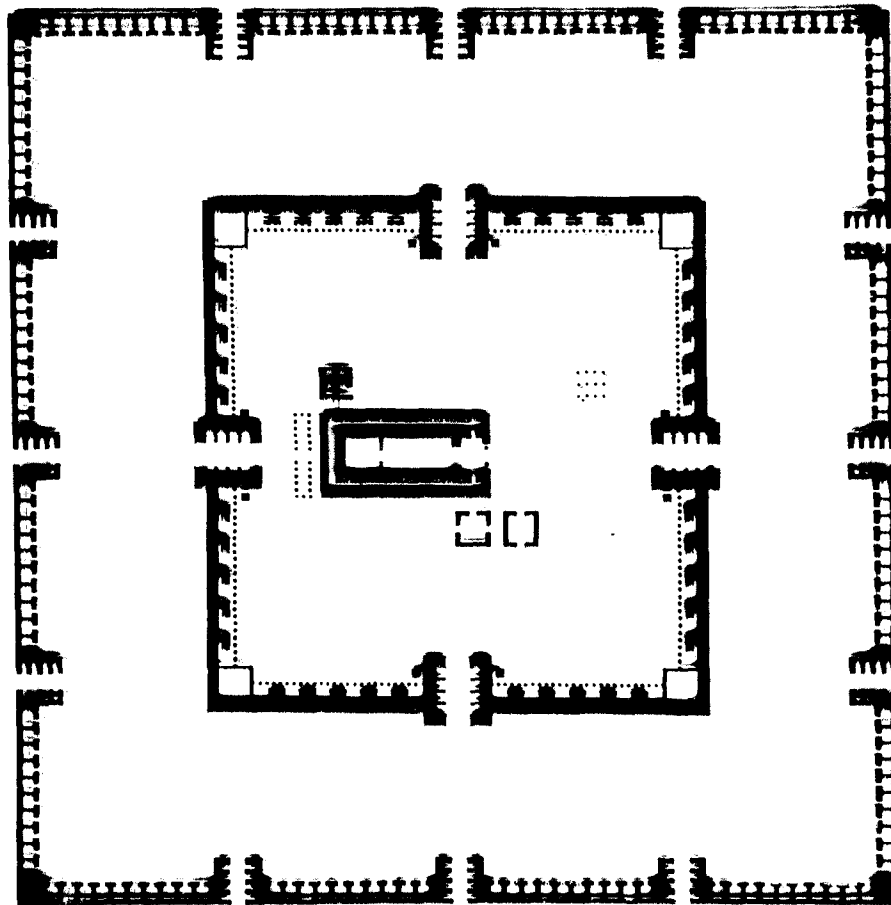
The fragmentary nature of the text does not allow any firm hypothesis about how this distinction operated in the case of the captive woman. On the analogy of the 7/8 day purification scheme it may be conjectured that she was permitted to partake of pure food when the seventh *calendar* year had ended, i.e., when the first of Nisan occurred for the seventh time. This would correspond to sunset, the astronomical end of the seventh day. But she would be permitted sacred food only during the eighth year after seven full years had elapsed.

<sup>47</sup> I am not certain that the Qumran sectaries did away completely with the טבול יום concept. True, they always require sunset as well as bathing on the seventh day, but all the registered cases deal with corpse contamination (49:20; 50:4,9,15; 51:35), which, however, is the most severe of all the impurities. Perhaps in their view the sunset was not one of the required thresholds for the leper and the gonorrhoeic (the prescriptions for these impurity bearers are unfortunately missing). The objection may be raised that the sunset requirement is imposed upon the minor impurities, nocturnal emission and sexual intercourse (45:9-10), but these impurities are discussed only in connection with the Temple-City.

(47). I would like to close by praising once more <sup>48</sup> Yadin's magisterial edition of the Temple Scroll. If I have succeeded in offering some insights and improvements, it is only because of his painstaking decipherment and restoration of the text and his comprehensive research into its polemical and historical background.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. J. Milgrom, "The Temple Scroll", *BA*, 41 (1978), 105-20, especially p. 120.





Plan of the middle court, with its twelve gates named after the sons of Jacob. The arrangement is identical with that of the outer court (see detailed caption to the illustration on page 15E).